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CALENDAR OF SCOTTISH PAPERS.

VOL. IX.

CALENDAR
OF THE
STATE PAPERS
RELATING TO
SCOTLAND
AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS
1547-1603

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EDITED BY
WILLIAM K. BOYD, F.R. HIST. SOCIETY

VOL. IX.
A.D. 1586—1588

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE documents which have been calendared in the present volume cover the period from the 10th of September 1586 to 10th March 1588-89. 1586. —

Mary had been carried back to Chartley Manor House about the 21st of December 1585, and was deprived of the services of her Secretaries Nau and Curll, who were apprehended under an order dated 9th August 1586. After being taken to Tixall Mary was brought back to Chartley on the 25th of August 1586.

On the 10th of December 1586, Nau drew up a long declaration setting forth, amongst other things, that Mary had heard that the King of Spain was preparing an army which the Spanish Ambassador hoped would set her at liberty, and that neither she nor any person about her knew anything further concerning the practices of Babington and the other conspirators than what was contained in Babington's letter to her of July 1586 (Vol. VIII., No. 646). "This accursed letter," Nau states, "came by mischance upon the grievous resentment that the said Queen of Scotland had at seeing herself separated from the King her son, neglected in the league made separately with him, and deprived, as she was informed, of her pretended right in the succession of the said Queen of England." This declaration is stated by Burleigh to contain things of no importance.¹

In the autumn of 1586 Babington's plot had been discovered. Walsingham had been informed by Poley, one of Mary's accomplices, of the entire plot to liberate her. None of the conspirators was actuated by any other motive than to effect the liberty of the Queen who had been undergoing torture

¹ Pp. 1 to 6.

1586. — during the whole of her long captivity. Some of them were tried as traitors on the 13th and executed on the 20th of September 1586. The rest were tried on the 15th and executed on the 21st. Babington wrote a letter to Elizabeth confessing his guilt and imploring her not to visit his family with the deserts of his treachery.¹

Sir Amias Powlet was ordered by Walsingham to seize all Mary's money at Chartley. This order was duly carried out by Powlet, who, with Mr. Richard Bagot, entered Mary's chamber and found her in bed, suffering from severe illness and bereft of the use of one of her hands. She at first refused to deliver the key of her cabinet to Powlet; but when he summoned his servants and called for bars to break the door, she yielded and directed that the door should be opened. Powlet was also ordered to send away Mary's servants. They were shut up in rooms and forbidden to come out.²

Powlet mentions in a letter to Walsingham, dated the 15th of September, that Mary was willing to move from Chartley, as she hoped when she was near London to hear often from the French Ambassador.³ On the 25th September Powlet informed Walsingham that he had arrived at Fotheringay.⁴

The thirty-six Commissioners appointed for Mary's trial arrived at Fotheringay on the 11th October. The next day Sir Walter Mildmay, Powlet, and Edward Barker were sent by them to deliver to Mary a letter from Elizabeth. Mary's answer to this letter was that she was sorry her good sister was so misinformed concerning her; that she had forewarned Elizabeth of dangers and was not believed; and that she was a Queen and would not prejudice her rank and state by answering according to the effect of Elizabeth's letter. Further, she said that she was ignorant of the laws of England: her papers had been taken away from her, and nobody dared to speak in her behalf. She protested she was innocent, had not encouraged anyone to hurt Elizabeth, and "remitted herself and her cause to foreign Princes."⁵

¹ Pp. 9 and 10.

² Pp. 6 to 8.

³ P. 20.

⁴ P. 48.

⁵ Pp. 96 and 97.

1586.
—

On the afternoon of the same day Powlet and Barker delivered to Mary a copy of the answers she made in the forenoon to Elizabeth's letter, and asked her if she wished to maintain her answers. Mary replied that the answers were correct, but she desired to add that she had enjoyed no protection from the laws of England, inasmuch as she had been kept under the restraint of a prisoner.¹

On the 13th the Lord Chancellor (Bromley) and Burghley told Mary that neither "her pretended captivity" nor her claim as a Queen could exempt her from prosecution under the laws of England. In case she refused to plead, the Commissioners would proceed to hear the cause against her without further intimation. Mary replied that she was no subject and would "rather dye then make her selfe one."²

On the 14th of October Mary's trial commenced before the Commissioners in the great chamber of Fotheringay Castle. At the trial no attempt was made by the prosecutors to explain by what law she was detained as a prisoner in England. She was charged with compassing Elizabeth's death and with being privy and consenting to the conspiracies of Babington and John Ballard. Her answer was that she never saw or knew Babington, and that she never received or wrote the letters which were produced against her. She denied that she ever attempted or knew of any conspiracy to kill Elizabeth; but she confessed that by Babington's means she had received intelligence.³

Nau and Curll were both examined subsequently before the Commissioners. Curll confessed that the letter written by Babington to Mary and the draft of Mary's answer were burnt by her command.⁴

Amongst the letters used by the prosecution were some from Charles Paget, Thomas Morgan, and the Spanish Ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza.

The Commissioners adjourned the further hearing of the matter to the 25th of October, on which day they met in

¹ P. 97.² Pp. 98 to 100.³ Pp. 143 to 145.⁴ P. 145.

1586. the Star Chamber at Westminster and pronounced judgment
— and sentence against Mary.

On the 12th of November both Houses of Parliament begged Elizabeth to carry out forthwith the sentence pronounced by the Commissioners. Elizabeth in her reply said that her life had been sought and that it grieved her that one of her own kin had fallen into so great a crime. She reproached the Parliament with forcing her by their last Act to give direction for Mary's death, prayed God to illuminate her understanding, and said they should have her resolution "with all convenience."¹

On the 4th of December a Proclamation was issued by Elizabeth concerning the sentence against Mary,² and Lord Buckhurst and Robert Beale were despatched to Fotheringay to announce the sentence to her.

There are two copies of the Warrant for Mary's execution preserved in the British Museum, both of which are dated on the 1st of February 1586-87.³

On the 7th of February Mary was warned to prepare for her execution on the following day.⁴ To the Earl of Kent and others she utterly denied conspiring with Babington, and, in reply to a charge that the depositions of Nau and Curll proved it against her, she replied that she accused none, and asked whether servants had not been known before that to accuse their mistress.⁵

On the 8th of February 1586-87, Mary was beheaded in the hall of Fotheringay Castle in the presence of the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, Sir Robert Melville, the Dean of Peterborough, and some of her attendants, and on the following day the news had spread throughout London.

Elizabeth, in a letter to James VI., stated that "that miserable accident" was contrary to her intention,⁶ and Sir Robert Carey, "this kinsman of mine," was sent to Scotland to make her excuses. Mr. William Davison, who was made the scapegoat, was committed to the Tower of

¹ Pp. 152 and 153.

⁴ P. 270.

² Pp. 180 to 182.

⁵ P. 272.

³ P. 262.

⁶ P. 285.

London, whence, on the 20th of February 1586–87, he sent 1586–87. to Walsingham a report of what had passed between Elizabeth and himself concerning Mary.¹ —

Philip II. had offered to lend James money for the support of 30,000 soldiers if he would make war against Elizabeth.² The news of the arrival of the Spanish Armada off the west coast of England was conveyed to Mr. William Asheby, the English Ambassador in Scotland, by letter from Walsingham dated the 24th of July 1588.³ James received the news on the 31st, and returned in post to Edinburgh, resolved to reject all offers made by Philip.⁴

Towards the close of the volume there are interesting accounts of the wreck of some of the ships of the Armada on the coast of Scotland. The survivors from some of the ships, including a nephew of the Duke of Modena—Don Antonio, illegitimate nephew of Henry, King of Portugal—were detained in Edinburgh, where they were hospitably treated.

The decision with regard to the marriage of James VI. and the Princess Anne of Denmark was arrived at early in February 1588–89.⁵

The chief events which happened during the period included in this volume are as follows:—

14th September 1586. The trial of Anthony Babington and others. (P. 19.)

20th September 1586. Confessions of Ballard, Babington, and others. (P. 25.)

[Sept.] 1586. Declaration of Mary. (P. 59.)

25th October 1586. Sentence against Mary. (P. 109.)

12th November 1586. Elizabeth's speech. (P. 152.)

8th February 1586–87. Execution of Mary. (Pp. 273 and 276.)

14th February 1586–87. Mr. William Davison in the Tower of London. (P. 293.)

¹ P. 287.

² P. 485.

³ P. 585.

⁴ P. 589.

⁵ P. 677.

- 587-88. 28th March 1587. Proceedings against Mr. William Davison.
— (Pp. 346-355.)
[May] 1588. Scottish Lords decide to resist the Spaniards.
(P. 561.)
15th July 1588. Mr. William Asheby, English Ambassador,
arrives at Edinburgh. (P. 582.)
24th July 1588. Spanish Armada off the west coast of
England. (P. 585.)
3rd August 1588. Offers by Spain to James VI. (Pp. 589
and 593.)
8th August 1588. Arrest of Lord Maxwell. (P. 592.)
September and November 1588. Spanish ships wrecked on
the coast of Scotland. (Pp. 618, 619, and 635.)
27th, 28th, and 30th August 1588. Sir Robert Sidney's
embassage. (Pp. 601-606.)
26th November 1588. Spaniards wrecked on the Orkney
Islands coming to Edinburgh. (P. 638.)
29th December 1588. Spaniards from the Armada at
Edinburgh. (P. 656.)
4th January 1588-89. Duke of Guise's death announced.
(P. 665.)

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

LONDON, *November* 1915.

CORRIGENDA, Etc.

- Page 517. Line 2 : *for* Fyndlasoir *read* Fyndlason
 „ 531. Last line : *for* is *read* are.
 „ 532. Line 11 : *for* rules *read* rule.
 „ 536, No. 439. Heading, *delete* Walsingham.
 „ 546. Third line from end : *for* Padg *read* Pady.
 „ 556. Last line : *for* some *read* come.
 „ 559. Line 10 : *for* care *read* ear.
 „ 621. Line 20 : *insert a comma after* castle.
 „ 629. Line 17 : *for* Macauhale *read* Macanhale.
 „ 645. Line 24 : *for* Langharne *read* Laugharne.
 „ 667. Line 3 Fife : *for* Perwin *read* Petwin.
 „ 677. Line 11 : *for* Scot's *read* Scottish.
 „ 679, No. 587. The date should be 1587-88.
-

TABLE EXPLAINING NUMBERS, Etc.

- The Documents without Marginal References are "State Papers, Scotland (Elizabeth)," Public Record Office.
 C.P. Refer to . . . "State Papers, Scotland (Mary, Queen of Scots)," Public Record Office.
 S.P. Dom. Eliz. Refer to the "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," Public Record Office.
 All other Documents are preserved in the British Museum.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

ELIZABETH.

1. STATEMENT BY MONSIEUR NAU.

1586.

Sept. 10.

C.P., vol. XIX.

The late Duke of Lennox having arrived in Scotland, and finding there the Earl of Morton and his adherents very strong, advertised the Queen of Scotland that it was extremely necessary for the safety and surety of the King her son, who otherwise was daily in danger of being poisoned or transported into England, to take away from the said Earl of Morton the absolute authority which he had, and to put it into the hands of worthy men, faithful and well-affectioned to her: which he would indeed undertake, were it not for the support which the said Earl had always at hand on the part of England. And hence he begged the said Queen to contrive that one of her kinsmen of the house of Guise might be sent into Scotland by the most Christian King, and to write likewise as well to the said lord the King as to her said kinsmen, in order to provide and assure the King of Scotland of sufficient support in case he should be assailed on the part of England, testifying to her thereupon the wholly good inclination and natural duty of the said King her son towards her, and the resentment that he had of her captivity. Accordingly the said Queen of Scotland, who has always very tenderly cherished and loved the said King her son, as much as any mother can do her child, wrote to her ambassador to the above effect, to treat thereof with the King and those of Guise, according as more fully the occasions arising, the said Duke of Lennox should inform her thereof. And I think that some powder and stores were sent to him from France for the castle of Dumbarton; but by reason of the then necessity of the affairs of the Most Christian King no money could be obtained, for which the said Duke made very urgent request.

The association between the said Queen of Scotland and the King her son was set forward in order by means thereof to cut the root of all difference between them, and likewise to pacify all the troubles of the past between their subjects, reducing them to a good and entire union and general reconciliation. Many of the lords had secretly consented thereto and pledged their faith to cause it to pass in parliament. On the other hand it was feared that those ill-affected to the said Queen of Scotland, supported by her enemies in England, would oppose themselves thereto: which made the said Duke redouble his requests to have assurance of money and other help on the part of France. And to this effect, in order further to fortify the said King of Scotland, the marriage between him and the princess of Lorraine was proposed: wherein

Elizabeth.

1586.

the Duke of Lorrayne himself having shown himself restive, and things going slowly in France, upon occasion of the pursuit of the Earl of Morton great forces having been raised in England upon the frontier of Scotland, that put all the kinsmen and friends of the said Queen in very great alarm and fear that the said kingdom of Scotland would be assailed and the said King of Scotland taken and carried off into England, which the said Queen of Scotland has always infinitely apprehended. This fear was much augmented in them on hearing of the taking of the said King of Scotland at Ruthwen and his detention afterwards, and the removal from about him as well of the said Duke of Lennox as of all others esteemed by the said Queen of Scotland well affectioned to their common preservation. Now in order to help him in the imminent danger in which the said Queen his mother held him to be, she wrote to her ambassador to labour by all means towards the Most Christian King, that it would please him to send promptly to the Queen of England and into Scotland some ambassador of his of credit and authority to provide for the present inconvenience; and in case this means did not serve, that the said King her son might be helped and aided with forces under the conduct of some one of the house of Guyse.

The Duke of Guyse himself offered to cross in person to Scotland with a good troop of gentlemen volunteers, but as to raising greater forces, for that purpose the King could furnish no money. Seeing which the Duke of Lennox, having passed into France and pursuing very urgently his return into Scotland, which Monsieur de la Mothe Fenélon had not been able to obtain, I believe that he treated with the agent of the King of Spain in order to get some money, and thereupon the marriage between the King of Scotland and one of the Infantas of Spain was proposed, wherein on the part of the King of Spain the principal difficulty which was alleged was the religion which the King of Scotland professed. Meanwhile the Queen of Scotland, in order to endeavour to re-establish things in Scotland by the means and intervention of the Queen of England rather than by any violent innovation, proposed to her some overtures of accord and treaty, tending chiefly to the reestablishment of affairs in Scotland, to the safety of the King her son and to the setting of herself at liberty: which treaty she had so greatly at heart, owing to the hope which she had conceived of bringing it to good effect, contrary to the advice of all her kinsmen and friends, that she attended to nothing else. But the negotiation of the said treaty breaking down, and finding herself, as she said, destitute, and her kinsmen and friends without any hope of providing for her and her son by any accord with the said Queen of England, her said kinsmen and friends entered into divers designs, some being of opinion to carry off the said Queen of Scotland by secret means, others by open force, and that if Monsieur de Guyse would pass into England he would find there assistance enough, and that in doing this he would obtain the liberty of mother and son both together. Which the Queen of Scotland hearing, resolutely forbade them to put themselves to any trouble about her, but that they should only consider how to place the person and the estate of the King her son in safety, which

Elizabeth.
1586.

would also be that of her own self: as to her, being sickly as she was, there was no likelihood that she could live long; also she cared for nought, provided the King her son were in safety from their evil subjects and the practices which they had with their enemies in England. And to provide therefor she referred herself entirely to the Duke of Guyse, leaving to him to order and advise about it as he should find most expedient, in accordance with a general power which she had formerly sent him for all that should concern her and her son. To this intention of employing the said Duke of Guyse only in Scotland almost every one of the people of the church, generally and severally, who were labouring for the religion in England, showed themselves so averse, that the archbishop of Glasgow informed the said Queen of Scotland that some of them had said to him in these terms: "If the Queen remains thus obstinate, neither she nor her son will reign"; and that provision would be made without them, and peradventure to their hurt. And in fact the said Queen of Scotland was advertised that many English had wholly addressed themselves to the King of Spain, proposing to him to invest himself with the crown of England, in accordance with a book and discourse which had formerly been composed about it between Sir Francis Inglesfield, one named Ouan, and as I believe the Jesuit Parsons. Whereat the said Queen of Scotland was much offended, persisting always in not wishing to interfere except about Scotland, as a place where no one could find fault that she and hers should do what seemed good to them.

Upon this diversity of opinions, which sundered them much from one another, the intelligences of the said Queen of Scotland beginning also to fail her through the discovery thereof, she remained very long without having any news whatsoever. At length her ambassador informed her that my lords of Guyse were beginning so to lose credit and favour with the King that they could hardly ever obtain any support from him nor be capable of aiding Scotland as she intended and as was necessary, seeing the practices that some of her subjects had continually in hand for seizing the person of the King her son, as it appeared a little after by the attempt of the Earl of Gowrie [Ghorrie]. Which put the said Queen of Scotland in very great alarm, with the advertisement that the Master of Gray sent her, to wit, that the Earl of Gowrie being his cousin had wished to reveal to him alone a little before his death that he had had a day appointed to cause to be put to death the said Queen of Scotland and the King her son together; and thereupon the said Lord Gray counselled her to escape, and as he had formerly already advised her, again offered her to undertake her deliverance by means of the acquaintance that he had around the place where she was, where his father or grand father had been prisoners, praying the said Queen of Scotland to believe that this was no vain or light offer—as he presumed because she had not replied at all to the first—but that he offered nothing which he did not feel himself well able to perform. Nevertheless the said Queen of Scotland—whom all her wisest friends have always counselled not to leave England—made no other answer to the said Gray than simple thanks for his goodwill: and at his request wrote

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1586. to the King her son to send the said Lord Gray into this country to visit her, and on his behalf to recommend her estate and treatment to the Queen of England, with offer of concurring in the treaty then in hand about her liberty, to establish the which treaty she would also send some one of her own on her behalf to the said Queen of England, hoping assuredly by such concurrence of herself and her son to arrive at an entire accord with the said Queen of England, and in doing this to restore well the estate of Scotland, to assure the person of her son, and to place herself at least in some freer and more honourable estate in England, if she could not obtain her release. Her intention appears sufficiently by a long letter which her French secretary, being in London, wrote to the said Master of Gray, which letter may be found among the papers of the said Queen of Scotland, who also informed the said Gray—contrary to that which he had counselled her—that she would not in any wise dissimulate with the said Queen of England, but in all sincerity make her last effort to achieve the said accord. In hope whereof, although much harassed, and upon the report that her said French secretary made to her on his return from his journey of the good inclination of the said Queen of England towards her, the said Queen of Scotland resolved to be patient and to live quietly while awaiting that on the side of Scotland things might dispose themselves better for the said treaty, expecting meanwhile much better treatment than in the past, with the necessary increase of her servants and other commodities which she had required, avoiding as exactly as could be the giving of any subject or occasion to the said Queen of England to withdraw herself from the said treaty and to take offence against her, in sort that it will not be found that until about last Easter she had had any secret intelligence, her friends in France having appointed for her that which she has had without its being requested. By that way she received some old packets of one, two or three years, which had remained in the hands of Monsieur de Maurvissière for want of means of sending them, but in effect of no substance beyond advice of the troubles of France and other occurrences of Christendom, some writing against the last negotiations of Nau, being at the court of England, and that he had let himself be abused, and that it was a veritable folly ever to expect that the said Queen of Scotland would succeed in obtaining her liberty by such simple treaties. Hence some counselled her to escape, and one named Owen [Ouan]—of whom I have seen but that one letter in my life—offered to fetch her if she could get herself two or three miles away from the house, where he could meet her, without otherwise giving details of the means, but only desiring that the said Queen of Scotland would inform them what she was capable of doing to get out of the house.

To this letter, written more than two years ago and only received since Easter last, she made reply by her ambassador that they should not attempt such practices for her escape and that she would not hear of it. And likewise she told them that they should make no pursuit of the money that they informed her they had requested to help in her escape. But afterwards she heard by her ambassador and that of Spain that the said money had been

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1586.

granted, and that the said ambassador of Spain had received direction for 4,000 crowns, and that, according as means should be found to send that, provision would afterwards be made for the rest. Not a single penny has ever been received by the said Queen of Scotland, nor any money whatsoever from a foreign prince for twelve years past. That which has been found in her coffers is saved from her dowry and from the balance of her expenses in England, having always kept it to reward her poor servants about her if she were about to die, having only that in this world wherewith to do them good after her death, her dowry which is all her wealth dying with her.

Touching these last practices I protest before the face of the living God that to my knowledge the said Queen of Scotland has never known whether the King of Scotland had or has an intention of attacking England, and whether there has been practice carried on in England to this effect, except as follows. At the same time that this unhappy letter from Babington came, the said Queen of Scotland heard by her ambassador and that of Spain—at whose report her own wrote—that the King of Spain was preparing one of the strongest and most powerful armies which had been seen in our time; and the ambassador of Spain added that he hoped it would be the liberty of the said Queen of Scotland, who took that only for a demonstration of goodwill, her letters showing well that she had no assurance about it, but on the contrary she judged by report that the said army was being made for the recovery of the islands near Peru and to assure the passage for the fleet of the Indies rather than to make any expedition elsewhere. Moreover, at the same time Charles Paget sent advertisement to the said Queen of Scotland that some gentlemen of England had sent a messenger into France, who had spoken to the ambassador of Spain, and on their behalf had declared to him their common resolution to deliver themselves from the miserable estate in which they conceived themselves to be, especially by the constraint of their religion and consciences, and thereupon had treated with the said ambassador, who had written thereanent to the King his master, and had prayed the said Paget to say nothing of it to the Queen of Scotland, which, however, the said Paget would not have wished to do. By that, and the examinations and depositions of the prisoners guilty of the said practices, it can be proved evidently enough—as I take it upon the damnation of my soul as far as my knowledge can go—that neither the said Queen of Scotland nor any about her has ever known anything further of the said practices, and that they have been carried on and managed without her knowledge, the letter from Babington having been the first and only inducement which made her intervene therein, in consequence of her deliverance and safety as the principal point, as the said letter of the said Babington bears, for which it remained to provide.

This accursed letter came by mischance upon the very grievous resentment that the said Queen of Scotland had at seeing herself separated from the King her son, neglected in the league made separately with him, and deprived as she was informed of her pretended right in the succession of the said Queen of England; being moreover ill content at the refusal that had been made to her

Elizabeth.

1586. of all her requests and necessary conveniences, and at the growing worse which seemed to her to take place from one day to another in her estate, treatment and liberty, the particular occasions whereof appear in the letter which she caused to be drafted about it, considering with this, as she said, that if the King of Spain made war or any trouble arose in England, albeit she had never ever so little meddled therein, she would not fail to bear the brunt of it and to fall into danger from her enemies; in sort that seeing thereby her escape to be offered and proposed to her, she let herself go so far as to accept it, and in consequence thereof to give advice for foreign support, without in any wise meddling with the third point, not deeming herself on terms where she would think herself to be bound to reveal it, being a thing never by her desired, invented, proposed or practised. For it is very true that Babington wrote to her the said long letter as quite a new subject whereof she had never heard tell. And the first that the said Queen of Scotland wrote to him was in accordance with a minute sent word for word ready made by Morgan, advertising the said Queen that the said Babington was very ill content that she had been so long without writing to him and employing him, which made him believe that she disdained his service and made no account thereof. And I would dare to take upon my conscience that the said letter had not been received by the said Babington when he wrote his long letter, at least so far as I can know or judge in any manner whatsoever, as also I will swear that I cannot in any wise remember having ever written the said first letter of the said Queen of Scotland to the said Babington, and hence I pray that Curll may be called to account for it. The letter of Morgan and his minute for Babington ought to be among the papers of the said Curll, as also all letters giving faith and verification to the above, having always had charge thereof. There is in sum fully and very sincerely all that I know and am acquainted with of any practices carried on and undertaken at present against the said Queen of England and her estate. And as regards the persons I take my Saviour Jesus Christ to witness as the very truth that I do not know by name or otherwise in any fashion whatsoever any lord or gentleman taking part in this enterprise in England but the said Babington and him who was sent into France, with whom the Queen of Scotland has never meddled.

3 pp. *French. Seal. Indorsement in Burghley's hand:*
 " 10 September 1586. Naw's long declaration of thynges of no importance sent privatly to her Majesty."

Sept. 10. **2. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig.,
 C. IX.,
 fol. 410.

Forbore according to his directions signified by his letters of the 4th instant to proceed to the execution of the contents of Mr. Waad's letters for the dispersing of this lady's unnecessary servants and the seizing of her money. Was bold to write his simple opinion thereof to him--although in vain as it now falls out--by his letters of the 7th instant, which he doubts not are with him by this time. Upon receipt of his letters of the 8th instant, which did not come to him until 8 o'clock in the evening, by reason

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1586.

—as appears by an indorsement—that they were mistaken, and sent back to Windsor after they were already entered in the way to him, considered that, being only accompanied with his own servants, it might be thought that they would be intreated to say as he commanded them.

Therefore, for his better discharge in these money matters, thought good to crave the assistance of Mr. Richard Bagot, who repairing to him the next morning, they had access to this Queen. Found her in bed troubled after the old manner with a defluxion which was fallen down into the side of her neck and had bereft her of the use of one of her hands. Declared to her that upon occasion of her former practices, doubting lest she would persist therein by corrupting underhand some bad members of this State, he was commanded to take her money, and to rest answerable for it when it should be required, advising her to deliver it to him with quietness.

After many denials, exclamations and bitter words against him [Walsingham]—to say nothing of her railing against himself—with flat affirmation that her majesty might have her body, but her heart she should never have, refusing to deliver the key of her cabinet, called his servants and sent for bars to break open the door. Thereupon she yielded and caused the door to be opened. Found there in the coffers mentioned in Mr Waad's remembrance, five rolls of canvas containing 5,000 French crowns and two leather bags, whereof one had in gold 104*l.* 2*s.* and the other had 3*l.* in silver, which bag of silver was left with her, she affirming that she had no more money in the house, and that she was indebted to her servants for their wages.

Mr. Waad's note mentions three rolls left in Curll's chamber, wherein no doubt he was "misreckoned," which is evident as well by the testimonies and oaths of divers persons, as also by probable conjectures, so that in truth he found only two rolls, everyone containing 1000 crowns, which was this Queen's gift to Curll's wife at her marriage.

There is found in Nau's chamber, in a cabinet, a chain of gold worth by estimation 100*l.*, and in money in one bag, 900*l.*, in a second bag 259*l.*, and in a silk purse 286*l.* 18*s.* All the said parcels of money are bestowed in bags and sealed by Mr. Richard Bagot, saving 500*l.* of Nau's money. Reserves that in his hands for the use of this household. It may be repaid at London, where her Majesty shall appoint, out of the money received lately by one of his servants out of the Exchequer.

Feared lest these people might have dispersed this morning in all this time, or have hidden the same in some secret corners. For doubt thereof caused all this Queen's family from the highest to the lowest to be guarded in the several places where they were found, so that if the money had not been found with quietness he would have been forced to have searched first all their lodgings, and then their own persons.

Thanks God, as for a singular blessing, that it falls out so well, fearing lest a contrary success might have moved some hard "conceits" in her majesty.

Touching the dispersing of this Queen's servants, trusts he has

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1586. done as much as may satisfy her Majesty for the time. Could not take any absolute course therein until hearing again from him; partly because her Majesty by Mr. Waad's letters refer to his [Walsingham's] consideration to return such as shall be discharged to their several dwellings and countries, wherein he seems to have forgotten to deliver his opinion; partly because he has as yet received no answer from him of his resolution upon the view of the Scottish family sent to him, what persons he appoints to be dismissed.

Has done only this—bestowed all such as are mentioned in the bill inclosed in three or four several rooms, as they may suffice to contain them, and ordered that they shall not come out of their chambers, and that their meat and drink be brought to them by servants.

Would be advertised by his next letters in what sort, and for what course he shall make their passports, also, if they shall say their wages are unpaid, what shall be done therein. It is said that they have been accustomed to be paid their wages at Christmas for the whole year. Her Majesty's charges will be somewhat diminished by the departure of these people, and by this occasion his charge will be more easy. [*In the margin.* This lady has good store of money at this present in the French ambassador's hands.]

All the persons save Bastian [Pages] are such silly and simple souls that there was no great cause to fear their practices. Upon this ground was of opinion in his former letters that all this dismissed train should have followed their mistress until the next remove, and there to have been suddenly discharged, for doubt that the said remove might be delayed if she feared or expected any hard measure.

Others may excuse their foolish pity as they may. For his part, renounces his part of the joys of heaven if in anything he has said, written or done he has had any other respect than the furtherance of her Majesty's service. So shall earnestly pray him to affirm for him, as likewise for the not seizing of the money by Mr. Manners, the other commissioners and himself.

Trusts Mr. Waad has answered in all humble duty for the whole company that none of them so much as thought that, their commission reaching only to the papers, they might be so bold as to touch the money. So there was no speech of it at all, to his knowledge, and, as he knows, he was no commissioner in this search, but had his hands full at Tixall. Discreet servants are not hasty to deal in great matters without warrant, especially where the cause is such that the delay of it carries no danger. Has been greatly comforted by his advertisement of that happy remove. Will not say [this] in respect of himself, because his private interest has no measure of comparison with her Majesty's safety and the quiet of this realm. God grant a happy and speedy issue to these good and godly counsels. Chartley. *Signed:* A. Paulet.

Postscript.—His servant, repairing to the lord Treasurer according to his [Walsingham's] commandment, found him ready to enter into his coach towards the Court. He said he could not write, but commanded him to signify to him [Powlet] that he

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1586. should prepare to remove with all speed, and to put all things in good safety. The Treasurer asked him if he [Walsingham] had written. It seemed that he thought he had written to him [Powlet] touching this remove. As yet has heard nothing.

3 pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signed.

Cott. Julius F.,
VI., fol. 33.

Copy of the same.

Sept. 10. **3. MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHELY.**

Recommends to him the bearer, Roger Ashton, sent by the King to her Majesty. Assures him that all goes well, and of the King's delight at the discovery of the late conspiracy, concerning which he has written to her Majesty. Dunfermline. *Signed*: Master of Gray.

$\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

[Sept.] **4. EXTRACTS OF LETTERS SENT TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 620.

(1) So much of the Scottish Queen's letter to Don Bernardino as concerned her practice to alienate the Crown of England by testament. (2) An extract of her letter of occurrences to Charles Paget for seizing of the King's person and delivery of him [as] hostage to the King of Spain, etc. (3) Her letter to Claud Hamilton.

(4) Notes of her practices to break the league made between the Queen and him by such practice in France. Extract of Scottish Queen's [letters] to the Bishop of Glasgow 28th May 1586, and 12th July 1586. Her ill disposition towards commanding her ambassador to deal in new service or in his favour, 28 May 1586.

(5) Arguments of Claud Hamilton's disposition to have her know. Bishop of Ross to the Scottish Queen, 25th July 1585. Bishop of Glasgow, 31st March 1585. Charles Paget, 4th February 1586. Bishop of Ross, 8th August 1586.

(6) A note of the King's disposition to return to grace with her, by Chesholm.

(7) The practice of the priests and hope of the practisers on the other side.

(8) A note of hard speeches passed between her and others touching Archibald Douglas and the Master of Gray.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsed by him*
"Extractes for the Lord Archibald Douglas."

[Sept.] **5. ANTHONY BABINGTON TO ELIZABETH.**

Lansd. 49,
fol. 64.

Most gracious sovereign, if either bitter tears, a pensive contrite heart or any doleful sigh of the wretched sinner might work any pity in your royal breast, then would I wring out of my drained eyes so much blood as in bewraying my dreary tragedy should lamentably bewail my fall and somewhat no doubt move you to compassion.

But since there can be no proportion betwixt the quality of my crime and any human consideration, shew, sweet Queen, some

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1586. miracle upon a wretch lying prostrate in your prison grievously bewailing his offences and imploring such comfort at your anointed as my poor wife's misfortune doth beg, my child's innocency doth crave, my guiltless family doth wish, and my own most heinous treachery doth least deserve. So shall your divine mercy make your glory shine as far above all other Princes as these my most horrible practices are most detestable amongst your best subjects, whom long and happily to govern I beseech the Mercy Master Himself to grant for His sweet Son's sake, Christ Jesus. Your most unfortunate because most disloyal subject, Anthony Babington.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy. Indorsed.*

Sept. 11. 6. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

" Sir, sen yow are disposit to wryte to the Master of Gray uthir mater wilbe thocht convenient also to be sent in that lettir, as be these uthir letteris which I omitted to geve at my being wyth yow may be persaved.

Cavallion wrote in France that this forespokin mariage of the Lennox and Hamiltons was thocht be the Quenis fryndis to be the only moyens to draw the hoile Hamiltonis and Stewartis to the motheris devotion, wherupon the Master and I thocht meit that the King mycht be moved to absteyn from the performing of ony such mater that caryed suspicion towards his Majestie wyth it." In this respect we advised that you might advise the Master in the matter as if you had received it from France, and altogether affirm that " albeit such advertisement be gevin from France and uthir partis, that nather his Majestie nather any Conselor heir wil be moved to think utherwaies of his hynes than according to that which I haif deliverit to hir Majestie of this realm. The ressons moving me to write this farre onto yow is, because since we devisit that lettir I spake to the King myself upon the mater conteint in this tike, and gaif suche ressonis as I culd to dyvert him from gevin eare to this mater as from ane overture that mycht be interprit to appeir to bread suspicion at the leist alteration in that realm wherupon his constancy towards hir Majestie mycht be called in questione.

He waxed half angry wyth me that I shuld put dowbt of the constancye wherof so often he had gevin me assurance at that tym upon his princely honour and Cristian fidelite. He did promes that he nevir myndit to conclude ony mater of importance nather mak alteration in his realm bot be hir Majesties advise and privaty.

As to the remanent contentis of the lettir from your honour to the sayde Master, I mynd to send be this young gentleman, my nephew, sum direction to the Provost of Lynclouden whereby I may certeynly know the ground of the Lord Maxwellis intentions, and in lyke maner sum derection to the Lard of Jhonestone how to behave himself according to that which I ressavit from my soverayn.

I think yt shalbe woll don thait your honor mycht wryt to the Lord Scroppe to absteyn from ony forder action upon that Bordour, quhill I mycht ressave ansser off these derectionis.

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As concerning the captanis that wer in Bruges, I kan not tell certaynlye what advyce to geve in that mater,' and thairfor leave your honour to your former deliberation wyth promess that you wil write more concerning that mater be your nixt lettir." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

Postscript.—" I send onto your honour this berar Robert Carvell to yow, be report of service weill knawin to be used according as you shall think gude."

2 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Sept. 12. **7. SECOND EXAMINATION OF RICHARD BOLD.**

C.P., vol. XIX.

" The examinacion of Richarde Bolde taken the 12th of September 1586."

He says that at Peckham's entreaty he dealt first with the taller man, and obtained his good will to ride unto his house to see his gentlewoman. After that he entreated the lesser man also to the same effect at Peckham's lodging in Salisbury Court, but he neither named Edmunds there nor heard him named, nor said that his kinswoman was possessed. Nor did the taller man refuse to go with him.

It may be both strangers rode on this examinant's horses, but he lent them none, but only to Peckham.

Examined whether before their going down either of the strangers talked with him at any time about any matter of religion, he says they never spoke word unto him about any such thing.

Examined whether he sent any man of his for a little coffer with church stuff, he says that to his remembrance he did not send any, but that at Peckham's request he willed one of his men to carry a little coffer behind him, not knowing what was in it. At Peckham's entreaty also he begged four or five wax sizes of Mistress Bright, which he delivered, as he says, to Peckham, and knew not wherefore they were to be occupied.

He confesses that before dinner he was certified by the taller man that his kinswoman was well, and that nothing had been done to her, because there was no need. Afterwards the same day through Peckham's motion he heard the taller man discourse, thinking he would have spoken of the disease as he has set down in his former examinations. But he did not thank him for his pains at that time nor send his brother or servants out of the way, nor ever desire to hear either of the said two preach.

He does not know of any mass said in his house by either of them.

He confesses the taller man had some longer discourses with this examinant than the lesser had, but he neither remembers the place nor other contents thereof than such as he has already set down. He talked with the lesser man, but he remembers not whereabouts; but he says he is sure he spoke no word against my Lord of Leicester nor prejudicial to his honour, for he has ever accounted him his chief pillar in this world under her Majesty, and he appeals to his honourable opinion of him in that behalf.

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He confesses that he made means by letters written to Mr. Atye and Mr. Cholmondeley about the end of summer for certain money due to him from my Lord of Leicester, whereunto he received answer from them by letters likewise. Other means he made none, saving that before that time and a little after Easter he sent Richard Wilkinson a servant of his over with Latham, this examinant's lieutenant, to bring him such money as Latham should send him. He returned and brought this examinant about 29^l. To his knowledge no servant of his ever dealt with my Lord of Leicester for any money.

Being examined what money he gave the said two strangers, he says he never gave nor sent them any.

Being examined whether he did not ask the strangers in their return where they would light for least suspicion, he says that, coming near to the place in St. Giles where they took horse, he asked one of them where he would light, because he rode upon a horse of this examinant's. But he knows not to which of them he spoke.

2³/₄ pp. Indorsed: "Mr Bold's examinacion 12^o Decem. [sic] 1586."

Sept. 13. 8. JOHN DALE TO [BURGHLEY.]

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 548.

My duty in most humble wise remembered, I send your lordship the sentence at large which was given against Robert, King of Sicily, that your lordship may read it at your best leisure. It would be considered whether Jane the Queen of Naples and Isabel Queen of Hungary were condemned by sentence or executed otherwise. I have not the story that is written of them at large, but only the compendium made by Pandulph Collenutius. It is to be thought there was some manner of proceeding against them, and namely against Jane for hanging her husband. And thus I leave to trouble your lordship any further at this present. London. Signed: "Your lordship's most humble John Dale."

Postscript.—My compendium is so short that I cannot well tell what was the name of the Queen whom John Barr put to death, and who was the daughter of Lens, King of Hungary, who surrendered her title to Charles and afterwards caused him to be poisoned, for which fact she was afterwards put to death by the said John Barr, a friend of the said King Charles; but as I gather it her name was Isabel.

1 p. Holograph. No address.

Sept. 13. 9. TRIAL OF JOHN SAVAGE.

Harl. MSS. 290,
fol. 159.

"The commission of *oyer* and *determiner* of all manner of treasons, rebellions, felonies, offences, routes, riottes, etc., was directed to William Lord Cobham, Barron of the Cinque Portes, Thomas Lord Buckhurst, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir James a Crofte, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Christopher Wray, Lord Chief Justice of Englande, Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Barron of the Exchequer, Mr. Doctour

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Dale, Mr. Rugby, Master of the Requestes, Sergeant Fleetwood, Recorder of London, Mr. Brograwe, Atturney of the Duchie, Mr. Randall, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Wrathe."

"By force whereof was a precept directed to the Liefteonnaunt of the Toure, commandinge him to have the bodies of Anthonie Babington, esquier, Chideock Tichburne, esquier, Thomas Salisburie, esquier, Robert Barnewell, gentleman, John Savage, gentleman, Henrie Donn, gentleman, and John Ballard, clarek, before the saide commissioners the day and yeare aforesaid."

"At which day before the commissioners above saide—excepting Sir Francis Knowles, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Christopher Wray—Sir Owen Hopton, Liefteonnaunte of the Toure, returned his precept in effect, that the saide prisoners wear committed to his custodie by commaundemente of the Privie Counsell, thear to be safelie kept."

"Whereuppon Mr. Vice-Chamberlaine demaunded of the Queenes learned Counsell what order they wold take in arrayninge the prisoners: and answer was by them geven that they wold proceede to the arraignment [of] Savage firste, for as muche as he medled firste in thies matters."

"Savage his arraignmente, inditmente and confession."

"And thearuppon Savage beinge brought unto the barr, and the other pri[soners] removed, the clarek of the crowne said:"

"John Savage, gentleman, hold upp thy hande. Thou hast byne before this time indited by vertue of commission directed to Sir Edmund Anderson, knight, etc.: and so red his inditement, which in effect was:"

"That William Gifford, doctour of divinitie, malitiously moved him at Remes in the contrey of Champaigne, traiterouslie and wickedlie to kill and murder the Queene's most excelent majestie, his liege soveraigne and naturall prince, affirminge to the saide Savage that the killinge of her majestie was an action lawfull, honorable and meritorious; and that thereuppon the saide John Savage did treaterouslie agree, conspire and sweare to murder the Queene's moste excelent majestie, his owne naturall prince."

"And afterwarde, that is to say the firste day of Aprill 1586, at St. Gyles in the Fielde in the countie of Middlesex, did falselie conspire to murther her saide majestie, to disinherit her of her kingdome, to stirr upp sedition in the realme, and to subvert the true and Christian relligion: and that to perform this malicious practise devised with John Ballarde how to bringe the same to pas: and afterwarde the last day of Maye did receive letters from Morgan, William Gifforde and Gilberte Gifforde, wherebie they did perswade and provoke the saide Savage to execute and fullfill his said purpose and determination."

"How saiest thou, Savage, art thou guiltie, or noe?"

"Savage. 'For conspiringe at St. Gyles I am guiltie; that I received letters whereby they did provoke me to kill her majestie I am guiltie; that I did assent to kill her majestie I am not guiltie.'"

"Anderson. 'Whether thou didst conspire at St. Gyles or noe is not substance of the enditement, but whether thou diddest conspire or noe is the matter, and the rest is but circumstance."

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Moreover thou muste say either that thou art guiltie or not guiltie, for soe hath the law ordained everie on to answeare; and if thou answeare not soe thou refusetest to be tried by the law, and soe shalt be causer of thy owne deathe.' "

"Manwood. 'To answeare directlie whoe soe refusethe, the law pronounceth grevous punishmente to suche, and they are murtherers of theim selves, which is abhominable before God.' "

"Hatton. 'To say that thou art guiltie to that and not to this is noe plea, for thou muste either confesse it generallie or denye it generallie; whearefore delay not the time, but say either guiltie or noe: and if thou say guiltie then shalt thou heare further; if not guiltie, her majesties learned Counsell is readie to give evidence againste thee.' "

"Savage. 'Then, sir, I am guiltie.' "

"Wheareuppon her majesties Counsaill said, albeit there were noethinge now further to be don but to proceede to judgmente uppon his owne confession; yet for as muche as they desired that the hearars shold be satisfied, and all the world know how justely he was to be condemned, they craved licence to give suche evidence as wold sufficientlie and fullie prove the enditmente. Which beinge graunted, the clark of the crowne did reade Savage his owne confession taken before the Lord Chauncelour, Lord Treasurour, Maister Vice Chamberlaine and Mr. Secretarie; which particularellye in substance was: "

"That the saide John Savage served in the campe of the Prince of Parma, and from thence he departed toward Remes, whear fallinge acquainted with on Hodgson and talkinge with him aboute exploites of services, it chanced Dr. Gifforde overhard theim, and comminge to theim, saide, 'But a better service cold I tell you then all thies,' moving the murther of the Queene of England."

"But Savage seemed to object how daungerous and difficulte it was, soe they went to supper. And after supper ended, Gifford declaringe unto theim how necessarie, how juste and meritorious the committinge of the murther shold be, saied that peradventure he sticked to doe the fact, for as muche as he, percase, was not resolved whether the killinge of a prince wear lawfull or noe; wheareuppon he desired him to advise himself and to ask opinions of others: and Savage havinge harde others affirme that the murther was lawfull, for as muche as in their pretence she was an heretique, an enemye to true religion, and a shismatike person, at laste after three weekes wherein he had not seene Gifford, he answered that he was contented to doe any thinge for his cuntreis good."

"Then saide Gifford: 'Assure your selfe you cannot doe a greater good unto your contrey, nor whearby the contrey shold be more beholden, espetiallie all the Throckmortons and Giffordes.' "

"At laste Savage, overcom with thies persuasions, gave his assent and othe that he wold put the same in practise. When he had geven his othe to murther her, Gifford declared unto him how, and in what place her majestie might be slaine."

"And therefore Gifford charged him to forbear noe time nor place, but to murther her: and therefore as her majestie shold goe into her chappell to heare devine service Savage might lurke in

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the gallerie and stabb her with his dagger; or if her majestie shold walke into her garden he might then shoote her throughe with his dagg; or if her majestie did walke abroad to take the ayre as she wold often doe, rather—as Gifford saied—accompanied with woemen then men, and those few men but slenderly weaponed, Savage might then assault her with his arming sword, and soe make sure woорcke: albeit in all thies cases Savage sholde be in extreame hassard of his owne liefе, for as muche as the thinge it selfe was soe lawfull, honorable and meritorious, and he suer to gaine heaven thearbie.”

“Thereuppon came Savage over into Englande with this intent and purpose for to kill the Queene. But not doing the same soe soone as was looked for, he received letters from Morgan and Gifford from beyonde the seas, perswadinge him to execute the same.”

“But then he fell acquainted with the moste notorious conspiracie of Babington, whereby was an other plott devised, that thear sholde be six which shold kill the Queene. Savage wold not assent therto, forasmuche as he thought except he did it himself his conscience cold not be satisfied, because he had promised and vowed to doe it himselfe. But Babington tolde him he shold be on of the six, whereunto he agreed if soe he might be on.”

“In the meane season, was Ballard the priest apprehended the 4 of August laste. Then came Babington to Savage, sayinge, ‘Ballarde is taken; all wilbe bewrayed: what remedie now?’ Then saide Savage, ‘Noe remedie now but to kill her presentlie.’ ‘Very well,’ saide Babington, ‘then goe you unto the courte to morrow, and thear execute the fact.’ ‘Nay,’ saide Savage, ‘I cannot goe to morrow, for my apparell is not readie, and in this apparell shall I never com neere the Queene.’ ‘Goe to,’ quod Babington; ‘hear is my ringe and all the money I have; get thee apparell and dispatch it.’”

“But the same night Babington fearinge lest Savage alone shold faile to doe it, continued his other plott that six shold ride to the court and doe it: but the next day Babington suspectinge somewhat fledd, and all was discovered.”

“Alsoe it appeared by Savage his owne confession how betweene Midsummer and Alhallowntide 1585 he was sollicitied by Gifford to kill the Queene and the Earle of Leycester. Furthermore divers other proofes wear shewed forthе by confession of others all agreeing to Savage’s confession.”

“Attorney. ‘Now I hope is Savage’s enditmente sufficientlie and fullie proved.’”

“Hatton. ‘Savage, I muste aske thee on question: was not all this willinglie and voluntarilie confessed by thy self, without menacinge, without torture, or without offer of any torture?’ Savage saide ‘Yes.’ Then spake he majesties learned Counsaill desiringe to adorne the courte untyll the morrow.”

“Hatton. ‘Forasmuche as if we shold now proceede with the other prisoners which be heare present wold aske time till three of the clocke in the morninge, and the day is alreadie far spent: also her majesties learned Counsaill hathe prayed that Savage his enditementе be deferred tyll to morrow by seven of the clocke.’”

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Soe the criar made an *Oyes* that all shold keepe their day to morrow by seven of the clocke; and the court arose.

3 $\frac{1}{16}$ pp. Copy.

Printed in Cobbett's "State Trials," Vol. I. p. 1127.

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and 14.

10. TREASONS COMMITTED BY SAVAGE AND OTHERS.

C.P., vol. XIX.

John Savage, gentleman, attainted of high treason upon two indictments by his own confession.

His offence upon his first indictment was for the undertaking to kill her majesty by the persuasion of Doctor Gifford and others at Rheims in summer last past, and for coming into England on purpose to have executed the same, as vowed by him to have been performed.

His offence upon the second indictment was for undertaking the execution of the like horrible fact against her majesty's person together with five others, by the persuasions of John Ballard and Anthony Babington, upon a plot set down for that purpose by the same Babington, and for the undertaking "eft soones" to execute that horrible act immediately upon the apprehension of the said John Ballard.

John Ballard, clerk, attainted of high treason by his own confession; for that he confederated with Bernardino de Mendoza, Thomas Morgan and Charles Paget, at Paris, and there contrived that the realm should be invaded by foreign forces and rebellion raised for assistance thereof, and the Scottish Queen set at liberty. And that thereupon he was sent into England to prepare fit ports and assistance for the invaders, to sound the pretended Catholics what forces they could make and how furnished, and to procure means to have the Scottish Queen violently taken out of custody.

That he conferred thereof with Anthony Babington, who undertook the managing thereof wholly. Upon which conference they found it was not to take the effect they appointed unless her majesty's life might also be taken away, of which opinion Charles Paget, [who] was in France, likewise was, and that thereupon himself and Anthony Babington resolved thereof, and that six persons should be selected for the execution of the act against her majesty's person at the selfsame time that the invasion and delivery of the Scottish Queen should be attempted, and that thereupon he solicited sundry of her majesty's subjects to join in these actions.

Anthony Babington, esquire, attainted of high treason by his own confession very amply and freely made; for that he undertook the persecuting of the whole plot set down at Paris, as aforesaid, added theremto the means formerly set down for the taking away of her majesty's life by six gentlemen; dealt with John Savage, Chidioc Tichborne, Robert Barnewell, Edward Abington and Charles Tylney to have been five of these six that should have executed the horrible action against her majesty's person; drew some of them and others to be instruments and means in their counties to have raised forces to have joined with the foreign

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invaders and delivery of the Scottish Queen; wrote to the same Scottish Queen of all his complots, submitting to her only his service, loyalty and obedience, and acknowledging her thereby for his only sovereign, expecting advancement by her in England for this his most treasonable service; received answers of her acceptation thereof and comforting the action; and lastly that, upon apprehension of John Ballard, he practised and determined to have her majesty's life presently taken away by John Savage and John Charnock as his last refuge.

Chidiock Tichborne, gentleman, attainted of high treason by his own confession; for that he assented to be one of the six in the action against her majesty's person and for his readiness to join in assistance both of the foreign invaders and rebels at home.

Robert Barnewell, gentleman, attainted of high treason by his own confession, for the like offence as Chidiock stands attainted of.

Henry Dunn, gentleman, attainted of high treason by his own confession; for that he was made acquainted with all the treasons and plots aforesaid, [and] allowed well of them, saying he would do what he could in it, and fled with the principal traitors.

Thomas Salisbury, esquire, attainted of high treason upon his own confession; for that he agreed with Anthony Babington to raise what forces he could in his country and those parts of Wales for assisting of the foreign invaders and delivery of the Scottish Queen, but utterly refused to be any actor in the action of her majesty's person, accounting it as an action most damnable.

2½ pp. *Indorsed*: "The points of the treasons of certaine persons withiin named, for which they weare condemned." *Also indorsed by Burghley*: "Savag, Ballard, Babyngton."

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 433.

Copy of the same.

Sept. 14.

11. JOHN GIFFARD TO THOMAS PHELIPPES.

C.P. vol. XIX.

Sir, I have written to my unfortunate son. I would God he had never been born. I may well say happy is the barren that hath no child. I pray you peruse it and pen it to your liking, and send it to me, and I will write it up.

I thank you for your letter, which somewhat comforted me, but hearing by report of Savage's confession how far he touches him in practice and generally, at his name I cannot but be very sorrowful, and in truth [it] has cast me into a fit of an ague. But I heartily pray you to request Mr. Secretary for me that Savage and others may be examined whether they were privy of Gilbert's being last in London, whether he were in my company since his going from me before Easter, and what the cause was he kept himself secret from me, and further as his honour shall think good that either I may live in his honour's good favour or be punished for mine offences.

I beseech you that this may be before Savage dies, unless their honours have searched so far before this time and rest satisfied. Thus, resting upon friendship, I desire you to have consideration of me as you think best. Islington. *Signed*: "Yowre assured frende to his power, John Giffard."

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Postscript.—I pray you have good consideration whether it be not dangerous for me to write to him, standing indicted.

1 p. *Addressed*: "To his very good frende Thomas Philippes esquier these be delivered with spede." *Indorsed*.

Sept. 14. 12. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"I delivered this day ane lettir to the messengeir whearby you may understand that no guid mater will fall out of these greit brutes in Scotland. [*Marginal note*:—This brute of the restitution will not in my opinion prove trew of the layt Erle of Arran.] The leading of tythes is ane ordinary mater for the which noblemen will assemble theyr fryndis, and this mater betwixt the Earl Bothewell and the Prior of Coldingham was no langar delayed bot quhill the 15 of this instant at my departure from Scotland. I think the King and his Consall shal tak order that no inconvenience shal fall owt be sequestration of the tythes in the handis of newtrall men, so it was devise quhen I was theyr.

This Convention hathe beyn dyvers tymes prorogate and now it is thocht gud to be halding at Edinburgh, and to begyn the 18th day heiroyf. It was devised be our Secretary to haif causit the noblemen and marchandis assemblid fynd falt wyth this league contracted wyt hir Majestie; and the bettir to fordar his purpose he devised that ane subsidy shuld be askit of the statis for supplying of the King his necessity, to which they shuld not condescend bot conditionally. The King was heiroyf advertised before my departure, and mayde promes to be constant and nowise to yeald to theyr appetite if it shuld ouny wise tend to the displeasing of hir majestie, which I beleave he will perform.

Roger Aschetone, who is to intend ane sute of hir majestie, is to cary letteris hither. He was recommendit be the King to me befor I departed.

The Jesuistis that are in Scotland, specially Father Hay, is becummit now colerik and blodetharsty. He conducit ane man to shoote the Master of Gray going to his lodgeing at Styreling. I think it shal be weill done that his majestie or your honour shuld wryt to me or than mak motion that these kind of people that are verray dayngerus may be removed out of this realme. When her majesties leasure may serve I wold be glayd to repayr to Court to haif hir majestie's anssuer upon such matterris proponit." *Signed*: A. Douglas.

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 431.

Copy of the same.

Sept. 14. 13. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Pleis your honour to ressave ane lettir from the Master of Gray contening as I beleive such mater as the granting theyroyf may be doubted. His letteris to me, besidis that mater, doeth conteyn that Rogeir Aschetone is to be send to me wyth lettris of congratulation to hir majestie and to my Lordes of the Consall for hir happy escape from dayngeir.

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The Convention that shuld have holding at Sanct Andrewes is now thoct meit to begyn at Edinburgh upon the 18th heirof.

His majestie hath causit mak proclamation throu his hoill realm that all men shalbe in redines to follow the King and his leutennants upon the warning of 24 houris. I pray your lordship to ma[ke] my Lord Tresorier acquaynted wyth this far, which is in effect the contentis of thes letteris.

I hartly pray your honour that I may haif pasport, and letter to [*] Douglas for the post horses and ane [*] He hath stayed heir theis two dayis upon the coming thairof.
London. Signed: A. Douglas.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 431.

Copy of the same.

Sept. 14.

14. WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

The Queen has been informed of the contents of his last letter dated August 30, and considers herself beholden to him for his care in her interests. She considers it inconvenient that he should send any more private soldiers into the Low Countries for the following reasons:—(1) Some alteration being likely to happen in that realm, as may be conjectured from the levies made by Lord Maxwell, it were safest for himself that his friends, servants and dependants should remain at home. (2) She understands from the Earl of Leicester that the States do not keep promise in the performance of such contribution as they offered.

It were better that he [Gray] should not employ the captains who served at Bruges, for, though they surrendered that town by necessity, the people of that country are by natures subject to jealousy and suspicion that to do so would do more harm than good.
Windsor.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p.

[*Second part.*] Informs him of his desire that the friendship and amity between their two sovereigns should continue. Has heard the rumour of an intended marriage between the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamilton's daughter, which in the minds of ill-affected people both in England and Scotland might lead to a breach of the friendship between the two countries, and hopes that the King will not give his consent to such a match without asking her majesty's advice on so important a matter.

1 p. *Draft. Indorsed.*

Copies of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 431b.

Sept. 14.

15. TRIAL OF ANTHONY BABINGTON AND OTHERS.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 160b.

The prisoners present were John Ballard, Anthony Babington, John Savage, Robert Barnwell, Chidiock Tichburne, Thomas Salisbury and Henry Dunn.

Sandes, Clerk of the Crown, calls upon them to hold up their hands, and proceeds to recite the indictment.

3 pp. *Copy. Unfinished.*

Printed in Cobbett's "State Trials," Vol. I. p. 1131.

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16. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

Sept. 15.
C.P., vol. XIX.

Finds by his letters of the 12th instant, received last night at midnight, that he is not acquainted with the Lord Treasurer's first and second letters to him of the 8th, the contents whereof may appear by his answers to the same sent to his lordship.

Finds this lady very willing to move upon hope to hear often from the French ambassador, by reason her lodging is within 30 miles of London. Twenty carts are appointed to be laden on the morrow, and thinks they will remove about the middle of next week if they are not stayed by contrary news. Thought good to advertise him thereof.

Since his [Powlet's] last letters found in a casket in Nau's chamber 5*l.* 10*s.* in gold and 27*s.* 3*d.* in white money, and among the same the silver pieces inclosed. He may easily judge thereby his malicious, cankered and traitorous heart against her majesty. All this Queen's seals were in this casket, which are of great number and serve for privy packets and all other purposes. Chartley. *Signed*: A. Poulet.

Postscript.—Nau had bestowed these pieces among a number of *Agnus dei*.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 15. **17. TRIAL OF EDWARD ABINGTON AND CHARLES TILNEY.**

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 162.

The prisoners brought forth from the Tower on this occasion were Edward Abington, Charles Tilney, and Edward Jones, esquires; John Travers, John Charnock, Jerome Bellamy and Robert Gage, gentlemen, and Elizabeth otherwise Catharine Bellamy, widow.

11 pp.

Printed in Cobbett's "State Trials," Vol. I. p. 1142.

Sept. 15. **18. TRIAL OF JOHN JONES AND OTHERS.**

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 168.

The arraignment of John Jones, and arraignments and confessions of John Travers, John Charnock and Robert Gage, and judgement against them, with Jerome Bellamy, Edward Abington and other prisoners.

4 pp. *Copy. Unfinished.*

Printed in Cobbett's "State Trials," Vol. I. p. 1151.

Sept. 16. **19. [] TO [WALSINGHAM.]**

C.P., vol. XIX.

The 12th of this month I talked with John Poole, a Sussex man, who told me he had been in some question and danger of trouble about the Catholic cause late in hand, but was dismissed by good hap.

He greatly discommends the proceeding of Babington and the rest, and much dislikes the course they observed as not likely to take effect. "For," said he, "if one resolute man had followed the matter it had been to better purpose than to acquaint so many young heads with a cause of such weight. And their detracting

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overthrew their practice, for such a thing must be no sooner thought on than done. But," quoth he, "would I were with my cousin Geoffrey in Rome, for I see this wicked country is in small hope of amendment."

I have spoken with one Hewes, of Winchester, who saw Father Garlyk, the "demonyte," about three days before the date hereof. That man labours with great diligence in Hampshire and Dorsetshire. Would God he were intercepted, for these hellish priests are the poisoners and infecters of all the wicked ones in England! Cut off them, and then both treasons and disloyal attempts have lost their taste.

Green, another of that faction, is now to be found at a nobleman's house within four miles of London, but what the nobleman is, either my author could not or would not tell me. What I have done further in matters mentioned in my last letters, and confirmed by your blank, I will within these few days deliver to you. In the mean space the Lord of heaven bless you and guide you.

This day a servant of Anthony Fortescue came from London with report of the arraignment, and that Ballard, the priest, had been so racked that he was carried to the bar and arraigned in a chair.

1 p. *Copy. Indorsed: "Secreat advertisments."*

Sept. 17. **20. MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIX.

In hope of the goodness and clemency of the Queen your mistress and of your good offices towards her majesty, as it pleased you to promise me, I do not wish to render myself importunate. But I venture to address to you, Sir, this word of reminder, in order that according to your former favours and courtesy towards me it may please you to interpose your credit with her majesty for my deliverance, for which I protest that after her I shall have my chief obligation to you, to be repaid by me by all humble service.

If I dared I would make very humble request to you that it might please you in consideration of my health to procure for me that I might sometimes take the air in your garden: whereof if it be granted to me I promise you in no wise whatsoever to abuse it. But in that as in all other things I will refer myself, as your prisoner under her majesty, to your prudence and discretion. *Signed: Nau.*

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *French. Seal. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 17. **21. WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.**

The hard terms in which the United Provinces find themselves, and of which he spoke in his last letter, have been confirmed by the report of Mr. Wylkes lately returned from there. Therefore fears great inconvenience will occur not only to her majesty's own subjects, but also to the soldiers of all other nations serving there, on account of a lack of monetary payment, and, by her majesty's directions, advises him to send over no more companies.

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“ In a by paper ” :—

Thanks him for sounding the King's disposition how he would be content to have the Queen his mother proceeded against for the late fact, but supposes it will be in vain to move him any further in it, because he may conceive it would be against *bonos mores*—in respect of the bond of nature between them—that he should make himself a party against her. Nevertheless he may with good reason persuade him that he make no mediation for her, considering the hard measure his father received at her hands, for which detestable fact she was deprived of her Crown.

She is to be tried here according to an Act of the last parliament. Certain noblemen are to be appointed and assembled on the 26th of this month to charge her. They will be with her by the 4th of next month at Fotheringay Castle, where she is appointed to be brought. The matters of which she is guilty are so plain, being confessed also by her two Secretaries, that they will not require long debate. Supposes she will challenge the privileges of her sovereignty, which in this case cannot be available, neither by civil law nor the laws of this realm.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Copy. Indorsed.

Sept. 19. 22. FRANCIS MILLES TO [WALSINGHAM.]

C.P., vol. XIX.

Upon the receipt of Mr. Phelippes' letter this day I have again dealt with Nau to understand the right name of La Rue, what matters of State he was, and is still employed in by the Scottish Queen; what letters about such matters he has written to her; what letters his mistress has written at any time to the Pope or to any other at Rome to procure from the Pope *episcopalia jura* for the priests that from time to time serve her in her train; as also to procure from the Pope dispensation for her servants to dissemble their popish religion and to frequent the prayers and exercises of religion in Sir Amias Powlet's family, as also to declare plainly what priest succeeded La Rue and is now presently with his mistress. These be the first points which, according to Mr. Phelippes' letter, I demanded.

His answer was that, for La Rue, he neither knows nor ever knew any other name but Henry, as on Saturday he told me that assuredly this priest was not by his letters or otherwise any dealer with his mistress in any matters, save only of consolation appertaining to the calling of a priest, that he never knew of any letters written to the Pope or to any at Rome to procure from the Pope such dispensation and *jura episcopalia* as are above mentioned, but confessed that his mistress had spoken to him of this matter of getting *episcopalia jura* and privilege for her servants to dissemble *etc.* And yet to his knowledge or remembrance she had not written to any at Rome in these points.

Last of all, for the priest that now serves his mistress, by no means will he say she has or has not one about her, but humbly desires the lords not to press him—making as it were great religion or conscience to reveal any of this calling that is about her—but that this question may be asked of his mistress herself.

For *episcopalia jura* his mistress meant no other power to be

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1586. given these priests but to absolve in her train such persons and matters as were not incident to the power of every common priest, and not to reach to any matter of State.

But telling him that he dissembled with the lords in making La Rue to be but an ordinary priest that dealt in no matter of State, I told and assured him that this priest dealt with his mistress by letters and otherwise in matters of State that were of very great importance, that he was a man, howsoever obscure he pretended him to be, of great credit and employment by the Duke of Guise and other confederates of the Holy League as they term it.

All this he constantly denied. "Why then," said I, "had he a cipher to deal with your mistress? Had he such a cipher or no?" He would not deny that there was a cipher between this priest and his mistress, but if there were any it was used for matter of consolation only. "Well," said I, "to put you out of doubt there was a cipher of your own writing, and that chiefly for matters of State," telling him, howsoever he peradventure imagined many things to be perished and destroyed that might bring his mistress' practice against my sovereign to light, yet there was much more evidence to be showed against her, himself and others than he thought of.

In the end I showed him this inclosed cipher of his own hand-making between this priest and his mistress, which he acknowledged to be of his own handwriting, but by his mistress' direction and no persuasion of himself; who liked not this priest otherwise than for his religion, persisting still herein that this cipher was only to be used in consolatory matters, wishing his mistress to be herein demanded as it were to justify his sayings.

I told him I marvelled not a little of his boldness to affirm this cipher not to be for matters of State, the same containing the names in cipher of all the principal princes, great personages and places in this part of the world, as it indeed does.

To which he answered that it was the manner in a cipher to put down many names of persons and places of which no great use should be in writing. But I told him that these were not put down as *nulles* in the cipher, for there were *nulles* besides, and the cipher for persons dealt only with men of State.

In the end of all he said that his mistress never liked to deal with priests in matters of State, that the Master [of] Gray—"Let him be asked," said Nau—knows and can say that his mistress liked not ever to have such priests to deal in her causes that were other than concerned religion. "You have," says Nau, "Creyton, a Scottish priest, in prison here. Let him be asked whether ever he and my mistress have dealt each with other!"

For revealing what priest his mistress now has, he said if he should declare it it was no matter of importance, and therefore my lords seeing it might be otherwise learned would therein spare him. I told him if the matter were so small his fault and stiffness to satisfy their lordships herein was the greater.

I am sorry to have troubled your honour with so long a letter, which I could not well shorten. And yet I must add a word or two concerning the time of La Rue's abode with that Queen in house. I wrote on Saturday that he was there two or three years, as I

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1586. remember; but in course of our speech this day Nau tells me he was with her only about eight or nine months, and that it is about three years since he went from her. Wherein, whether I then mistook Nau or he now has better remembered, your honour may judge. The point is not greatly material. Yet I would be loth by my letters to misreport in the least things in these cases. And thus I most humbly cease to trouble you. Seething Lane, London. *Signed: Fra: Mylles.*

$3\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Indorsement:* " Fran. Mills to the l. Sec. touching his proceeding with Nau, 19 Sep. 1586 " [*Crossed through.*]

Sept. 19. **23. ANTHONY BABINGTON TO []**.

C.P., vol. XIX. Good cousin, speak with Mr. Flower, for I wrote to him yesterday. If he received my letter, I know not; but he that keeps me here told me that he spoke with you yesterday morning and delivered to you a letter that I sent to my Lord Treasurer, and a note that I sent to you. And he told me that you had moved Mr. Rawley for me, and promised 1000*l.* if he would get my pardon.

Hereby I would perform to pay so much, for I have friends would disburse it for me. Good cousin, speak in my behalf and move some one of Mr. Vice-chamberlain's gentlemen in the matter, and let him tell his master I can do her majesty more service than would recompense my fault. Good cousin, deal for me, or, if you will not, speak with the younger Mr. Lovelace, and he will do anything for me. And deliver him this note and bid him tell Mr. Flower that in respect of this service that I can do her majesty I desire to speak with his master.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Indorsed by Burghley:* " Babington's motion y^e daye afore his deth. Septemb. 1586."

Sept. 20. **24. LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO BURGHELY.**

" Verie guid lord, efter my maist hartlie commendatiounes, I am to crave your lordship's pardoun, that since my coming out of France I have not wrettin to your lordship, gifing your honour thankis of the greate courtesseis and favour shewed to me at my being in that countrey, quharoff I will never be forgetfull, bot salbe ever willing to acqute the same to my pouer.

And now heiring that I am accompted be Mr. Welsinghame—in ane letter send be him to my lord my brother—an double dealler, insuafar as I professed my selff outwartlie ane friend to hir majestie of England, and that as he allegis—the contrairy thairoff is maid manifest to the world be intercepted letteris of Charles Pagettis, quharin is mentioned the forsaking of my relligioun and becoming enemie to that estait. As to my relligioun it is well knawn in all pairtes quhair I have bene quhat relligioun I have professed since my tender yeiris.

As for her majestie's estait, I have never meinnit inuartlie bot yat quhilk I have professed outwartlie, quhilk is that I acknowlegit my selff moir oblist to hir hienes and countrey than to ony wther foran prince and natioun in the world, and that in respect of the benefites I did ressave of hir majestie and divers hir subiectis during the time of my exile.

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As to these calumneis contenit as is allegit in the said Charles Pagettis letters to my dishonour as is meinnit, gif he or ony wther will accuis me thairoff, I will answer thairto as it becumeth my honour. But seing uponn the occasioun of intercept letteris but farther tryall or wretting thairoff to my selff be the said Mr. Welsinghame befor he had dilaitt me sua dishonorable in his letter foresaid, I can not bot think me evill entreatt be him, quho, being estemit ane wyse man jugeis sua raschellie before ony guide prui or certaintie. Sua, be this his dealling, hes he maid manifest his evill will without ony just occasioun ever offerrit be me.

Thairfore as your honour at all tymes hes schewin your selff my speciall freind, now maist effecteonslie will I requeist your lordship to do me that honour as to impart this my letter to hir hienes, craveing hir majestie in my name to consave no sinistrous nor wrong opinioun of me upoun sua slicht occasiounes, as ether ar intercepting of fals letteris or misreportis of evill willaris, for I hope her majestie is myndfull how wprytlie I behaveit my selff in hir countrey, and takis God to witnes, that nether than nor sensyne have I practissed ony thing prejudiciall to hir majestie or estait, and wald be sorie that the meinnest within hir hienes countrey sould have just occasioun to accuis me of ingratitude, lat be of double dealling, bot mekle moir hir majestie." Paisley. *Signed:* Claud Hamilton.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 20. **25.** LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO HUNSDON.

As in No. 24.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 20. **26.** CONFESSION OF BALLARDE AND OTHERS.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 170.

"The confession of Ballarde uppon the ladder before his execution, the xxthe of September 1586, beinge Tewesdaie."

"Ballarde. 'Praie for me I beseeche you; and I desire all those that came with me to saie the creede for me, for that is a speciall meanes to strengthen our beliefe.'"

"Dr. White. Dr. White willed him to acknowledge his faultes and confesse his sinnes."

"Ballarde. Then he saide—'For the matter for which I was condemned I am guiltie.'"

"Dr. White. Dr. White willed him to aske the Queene forgevnes. Dr. Whyte woulde have had him to have made a confession of his faithe, but he saide:"

"Ballarde.—'I have allreadie talked with you sufficientlie of that matter.'—And soe desired soe manie as weare of the Catholique church to praie for him;—'For I hope,' saide he, "within this halfe houre to bee with the aungels in heaven.'"

"The sheriff of London. Then the sheriffe of London asked him whether he was guiltie of that matter for which he was condemned?"

"Ballard. And he saide,—'I am justlie condemned.'"

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“ Dr. White. And Dr. White willed him againe to make confession of his faithe.”

“ Ballard. Then he saide,—‘ There is not one pointe in the Catholique faithe but I confesse it.’ And then saide his praiers in Latin, the most parte privatlie to himselfe; and soe ended his life.”

“ The confession of Babingtonne in like sorte.”

“ Babington. First he kneeled downe on the ladder, and privatlie to himselfe, crossinge him and knockinge himselfe manie tymes on the brest :—‘ Since it hath pleased God to bringe me to this, and that my offence is suche, that nothinge can satisfie but the sheddingde of my hartes bloode, I protest that my entrance into this accion was not for my temporal promotion but for matter of religion.’ ”

“ Dr. White. Dr. White willed him to aske the Queenes majesties forgevnes, and he saide :—”

“ Babington.—‘ I aske forgevnes of all those I have offended, especiallie those of the Catholique church.’—And soe desired that his debtes might be paide, and saide he had lefte a note therof with Sir Owen Hoppton. And saide he had a poore man in the east cuntrie whom he ment to imploye in the trade of merchandize :—‘ He is at want of manye thinges. I have a wife and a childe, and I knowe not howe they are lefte, but her frends be riche ynouge : I would humblie desire that favoure might be showed them.’—And then did request all his frends to praie for him bothe at this present and after his deathe. And then the people all murmured at that, and he saide :—‘ I am sure you will confesse that those praiers after I am dead will doe me no harme.’—And then he began to praie in Latine.”

“ Dr. White. But Dr. White willed him againe to aske the Queene forgyvenes.”

“ Babington. And then he saide,—‘ I aske God forgyvnes and the Queene, and I praie that my deathe maie doe her good, bothe for her bodie and soule.’—And soe prayed in Latine privatlie and departed this life.”

“ The confession of Savage in like sorte.”

“ Savage. Firste he praide in Latine, kneelinge on the ladder as Babington did : and saide,—‘ I must confesse that I was guiltie of this treason for whiche I am condemned : and I did it not for my worldlie benefite, but for resolucion of myne owne conscience.’ ”

“ Dr. White. Dr. White willed him to aske the Queene forgevnes.”

“ Savage. And he desired all Catholiques to forgive him ; and saide that he had done the Queene good service for her owne persone.—‘ But all that I have offended by my weaknes I aske forgevnes.’ ”

“ Dr. Whyte. Dr. White willed him to confesse his faithe ; and he saide :—”

“ Savage.—‘ I beleeeve in the Catholique faithe.’—And soe prayed in Latine ; and then was turned besydes the ladder. And when his bowels were in cuttinge out he cryed—‘ Lorde, have mercye on me.’ ”

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“ The confession of Barnwell in like sorte.”

“ Barnwell. First he prayed as aforesaide, and beinge willed by Dr. Whyte to confesse his faulte and aske forgyvenes of the Queene, he saide,—‘ I aske the Queen and all others whom I have offended forgyvenes :—and saide he woulde not dissemble.—‘ I was drawne into this action as Mr. Babington before this tyme hathe declared; but I did it not for my worldlie comoditie but for my conscience sake.’ ”

“ Mr. Sheriffe Radcliffe. Then Mr Sheriffe Ratcliffe demaunded of him why he conceyled the matter soe longe.”

“ Barnewell. And he saide, he thought it an offence to bewraie a Catholique : and said he wished as well to the Queen as to his owne soule, and prayed she might be converted to be a Catholicke : and desyred all Catholiques to praie for him.”

“ The Sheriffe. Then the sheriffe asked him whether he were at the courte at Richmonde walkinge in the greene,—‘ And that there the Queene’s majestie espyed you, soe that if others had had knowledge therof as well as her majestie your daies had bene shorter.’ ”

“ Then he saide :—‘ I must firste doe my dutie to God and then to my prince. But at that tyme I had noe suche pretence, for I had matters at the courte to dispatche.’—And soe praid that God woulde graunte him pacience in this agonie, and saide other prayers in Latine, and soe ended this life : the roppe did slippe soe sone as he was turned of the ladder.”

“ The confession of Tichburne in like sorte.”

“ Tichburne. Firste he praide in sorte aforesaide and saide :—‘ O my good cuntrimen, you loke for a longe discourse of me, beinge a badd orator and havinge a worse texte. But lette me, a younge man, be an example to all, *praesertim generosis adolescentulis*. I am sorie I have offended the Queene, and I have offended more then I shall now receive punishment for : and yet I never entended the deathe of her majestie, but I was privie to all their actions, and soe proved the olde proverbe true, *qui tacet consentire videtur*, for I will not make my faulte lesse than it is.’ ”

“ ‘ It was Mr Babington, my deare frende, whose head heere standeth, that made me pryvie to all these matters.’ ”

“ ‘ I maie verie wel compare the state of Babington and my selfe to the state of Adam before his fall, to whose subjection all thinges were obedient, onlie the tree of life forbidden. Soe we havinge the worlde at will, were accompted the happiest of anie that were either dwellinge or abydinge in London. Noe place forbidden us, noe one thresholde to stoppe us, the streetes as we passed by admyred us; onlie her majesties life was onlie the tree that we ought not to have touched. Adam with a little licourousnes was brought to offende his Lorde, and soe procured his owne distruction. We, I knowe not for what consideracion, have wrought our owne overthrowe. Adam, after his sinne was discovered, sought to hyde himselfe in the garden amonge the trees, but all in vaine, for he coulde not escape the sight of the Lorde : we endeavoured to harbour our selves in woodes, but the careful and vigilant watchmen of her majesties true subjects had

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" 'Praie for her majestie, for she loveth the you well, and I perfectlie knowe she is noe niggarde of her mercye; but the qualitie of my offence deserveth it not. What thinge at anie tyme hertofore did enter into my head lesse then matters of estate!'"

" 'I am discended from an house which was two hundred yeares before the Conquest: their blood was never stayned before nowe.' "

" 'But my deare wife: O Lorde, if I shoulde thinke one earthlie thinge she woulde greeve me more then I canne speake of. But let me not deceyve you: I am [de?]ffended, and am a true Catholicke, and nowe cannot change. I expected some favoure, although I deserved none. I left a note of my debtes with my wife; I beseeche you that it maie be paide.' "

" And then he spake to one Mr. Falwell, one of Sir Christopher Hatton's gentlemen, that he would comende him to all his fellowes and aske them all forgyvenes:—" And lette not these my unnatural dealinges be anie waie offensive unto them, and that it maie be saide that one of Mr. Vyce-Chamberlaine's men had attempted her majesties destruction; it can be no scandall unto them that be free from it. I desire his honowre to forgeve me. If it please the people to praie for me I am willinge.' "

" Dr. Whyte. Dr. Whyte willed him to saie the Lordes praier in Englishe.' "

" Tychburn. And he saide he woulde firste saie it in Latine and then in Englyshe,—' That you maie all knowe that then I understande it in Latin.'—And then they were somewhat hastie with him, and he willed them to stave, not for that he feared deathe, but he might thinke on God as he saide; and saide manie praiers in Latine, and soe ended this life. He hanged longe, and yet was alive when they ripped him."

" The confession of Tylneye in lyke sorte.' "

" Tylneye. He firste prayde as aforesaide withe manie crossinges, and saide:—" For my parte I am come not to argue but to dye.' "

" Dr. Whyte. Dr. Whyte willed him to aske the Queene forgyvenes, and he saide:—"

" Tylney.—' I aske the Queene and al others whom I have offended forgyvenesse':—and desyred all Catholiques to praie for him; and said he trusted to be saved by the blood shedding of Jesus Christe.' "

" Dr. Whyte. Dr. White willed him to acknowledge his offences, and he saide:—"

" Tylney.—' I acknowledge my offences to God':—and soe beganne to praie in Latin, and ended his life verie obstinatelie. After he was turned of the ladder the roppe brake or slipte, for he hanged never a whitte.' "

" The confession of Abington as aforesaide.' "

" Abington. Who praied as th'other aforesaide. He saide he would not dissemble he was a Catholique.' "

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“ Dr. Whyte. And Dr. Whyte willed him to aske the Queene forgevenes.”

“ Abington. And he saide that there would shortlie [*sic*] great blood shedinge in England.”

“ Sheriffe. Then the sheriffe asked him what moved him to saie soe?”

“ Abington. And he saide, for that the countrie was hated for their iniquities,—‘and God dothe not love it.’—And desyred all Catholickes to praie for him.”

“ Dr. Whyte. Then Dr. Whyte willed him to make a confession of his faithe.”

“ Abington. And he saide:—‘ I beleeve the whole Catholique faithe, which is in all places save here in Englande.’—And soe prayed in Latine, and ended this life moste obstinatlie.”

Memorandum that one Captaine Graye was taken with a dagge under his cloake, and it was charged, as was saide: but sure it is that he was committed to the custodie of Sir Drue Drurie’s men.”

3 pp. *Copy.*

Sept. 21. **27. GEORGE HACKET TO THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND.**

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 31.

“ My verray gud lord; being arrywed at London on Mounday, understanding of your lordship’s reparing to the Court, comme yistirnycht to Coilbrugh, quhair I stey till I heir from your lordship your advyce and mynd, praying your lordship to be my addres, moyener and gud lord in all my affares, quhilkis your lordship sall amply understand at my cuming. I wald not tak the hardies to come to the Court before your lordship had schawin to the Queen’s majestie of my cunning and knawen her hienes wyll therin.”

“ I have sent to your lordship this berer Jhone Gourlay to quhome your lordship may gyff credit and to returne ansur wyth him as your lordship sall think convenient.”

“ I have also writin to my lord Secretare to the samin effectis, inace your lordship had bein absent, to be presentit or not as your lordship thinkis convenient.” “ Coilburgh.”

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 21. **28. CLITHEROW TO BAINES [MONSIEUR GERARD].**

C.P., vol. XIX.

“ You are sayde to practise a mariage for the sonne of the Duke of Parma with Arbella, and hit is written so in to Italye and Spaine for to disgrace and plage you, and one of the counsell of England gave out this matter of you as hit is sayd. The brother of Sir William Stanley hath broken the heade of Mr. Owen and is in the sanctuary for hit, for the Duke taketh it done in despite for the matter of the lieutenant colonell.”

I wish for the book of the last edition. That person desired, about whom you ask, lives and is well. He was once about two months ago in peril by thieves, but escaped by the aid of his feet.

Hulst was lately surrendered by treachery, but by the grace of God will shortly be conquered. Our soldiers are now at the siege

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1586. thereof. Otherwise there will perchance be great dearth of victuals here. Thou wilt do a favour if thou canst either thyself or through a friend signify to the wife of Lord [cipher] that her sister is in great want of necessities. Lho [Lillo?], 1 October new style. *Signed*: N. M. []

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *First part in cipher deciphered in English; the rest in Latin. Addressed*: "A Monsieur Monsieur Gerarde Burghet gentilhomme françois a Londres." *Indorsed by Phelippes*: "From Clitherow to Baynes."

Sept. 21. **29. CHARGES AGAINST NAU.**

C.P., vol. XIX.

(1) That Curll deciphered B[abington's] letter* to that Queen, who afterwards read it in her cabinet, and so also Curll and he read it, and the Queen after reading it resolved to answer it.

(2) That the points written in his own hand in French were by him drawn out of that Queen's answer to B[abington] for his—viz. Nau's—general remembrance of the points of that letter according to his confession, the 5th of this present September.

(3) That the clause of that Queen's letter written to Sir Francis Englefield October 1584, whereby she wills the execution of the great plot to be proceeded in, was meant of foreign forces to be brought into England for his mistress's delivery. Which matter Englefield and the rest of the English rebels solicited.

(4) That he received from his mistress' own mouth point by point, the points of the letter she wrote to Babington, 27th July 1586, for her delivery in the very same form and manner as himself put the same in writing. And upon those points that letter was drawn in French by him and then corrected by her, and afterwards put into English by Curll, as it was sent from her to Babington.

(4) That his mistress gave him instruction for penning this letter to Babington in her cabinet at Chartley, none but Curll being present thereat.

The heads contained in his mistress' said letter to Babington were delivered to him by her own mouth after she had considered of Babington's letter to her, deciphered by Curll, in which letter of Babington the same heads were contained written to her:—

1. That in his mistress' said answer to Babington's letter she required first that Babington should deeply examine what forces as well on horse as on foot they might raise amongst them all.

2. What towns, ports and havens they might assure themselves of in the north, west and south to receive succours from Spain, France and the Low Countries?

3. What places they thought fittest to gather together their chief company of their forces, and which way to march?

4. What foreign forces, horse and foot they would require?

5. What money and armour they would demand?

6. What were the means by which the six gentlemen deliberated to proceed?

7. By what manner she should be gotten out of the hold she was in?

The greater part of all which heads were comprised in Babington's letter first to his mistress.

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That clause of his mistress' letter to Babington, in which clause she moves him to make an association under pretence to strengthen themselves against the Puritans, proceeded from his mistress herself, and by her direction was set down in that her letter sent to Babington.

That one other clause of his mistress' said letter to Babington, in which clause she advises the six gentlemen to have about them four stout men with good horses, so soon as their purpose should be executed to come with all speed to advertise thereof to those that should be appointed to transport his mistress, was likewise set down in the same letter by her direction.

2 pp. *Indorsed*: "Matters wherewith Curle is to be charged, 21 Sep. 1586."

Sept. 21. **30. CHIEF JUSTICE WRAY TO BURGHEY.**

Lansd. 50,
fol. 57.

It may please your lordship. I have this 21st of September received your lordship's letter that her highness' pleasure is I should attend at her Council at Fotheringay the 4th or 5th of this next month. I was determined upon Mr. Secretary's letter to be at London near that time, but I humbly thank her majesty that I have some longer time, for my body is yet very weak. And, nevertheless, I will not fail, God willing, but be at Fotheringay at that day by your lordship appointed. Humbly thanking your good lordship for all your great benefits and favours to me, who rests most assured always at your lordship's commandment. Glentworth.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 21. **31. FURTHER CONFESSION OF ANTHONY TYRELL.**

C.P., vol. XIX.

Matters that I have to inform your honour of but briefly here set down.

In primis, it was thought good by most of the priests and gentlemen about London that Fortescue and I should be sent into Scotland to confer with Jesuits there to have been preferred by certain noblemen of that country; to have been maintained by general collections out of England; to have been brought to the Scottish Court, where we should have dissimuled our functions; have had a dispensation for breaking of fasting days if occasion served, where secretly we should reconcile of the nobility men and women, gained credit by commendation with the King. [By whom in names?]

We should have given as full advertisement as we could as well to the Duke of Guise as also to certain appointed for the purpose in England, and so to have tried what for the advancement of the papists might have been done. [Who are they?]

We had gathered for us at our first departure from London 150l., with the which we rode as far as Buckstones [Buxton]. Our conduct should have been Boast, who talking with Fortescue at Newcastle prolonged our entrance for that the Scottish state was then very unquiet. What friends and acquaintances we should have found in Scotland I shall inform your honour hereafter, or

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1586. anything else that you shall think necessary about this article. [Who they are?]

And at Buxton we met with divers priests that conversed in those countries, of whom we were informed how the minds of infinite numbers of the commons with gentlemen of good account were stirred up and fully prepared for a rebellion, chiefly in Lancashire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire, and that they had many good helps in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, and that we should send up such advertisement to Parsons, who was sent from Paris to Rome, and laboured there for foreign forces both for money and men. [Who are they?]

After they had examined us how the south part of England were inclined, we had mutual instructions how to deal according as we found men's natures inclined.

Great consultations were had for the delivery of the Queen of Scots as of one that all made choice for their lawful queen. To recover her out of Tutbury where she was then they found it difficult. The way must be by corrupting the countries by dealing chiefly with the malcontents, whose number was far greater than the resolved Catholic, to comfort and cherish them in their weakness, to persuade them to use all the means they could to further God's Church, that their sins might then more easily be forgiven them. By reason of their more liberty and freedom in the State they might creep into the Protestants' business, understand their secrets, persuade their friends, find out devices and in time grow to such a number as they should be able to help themselves by fine force, or at least, having assured assistance procured them from beyond, they might at a short warning make so much force as to recover the Queen of Scots, convey her to some place of security for a time which should be procured and laboured for in Scotland if all other failed, where she should be defended as our lawful Queen.

Great rejoicing was had of the general coming in of many young gentlemen, whose natures were thought most fit to work any matter of import upon. There Fortescue proponed the consent of the Pope for the Queen's death as a thing lawful for any man, and that it was a doctrine that might safely be taught [to] such as of whom any hope might be had for the achieving of any such enterprise.

For the better gaining of the young gentlemen of England it was concluded amongst us that they were to be handled with all courtesy, to graunt them as much liberty as were possible without scandal, to inflame them daily, and as oft as we might by exhortations and sermons to defend the quarrel of God's church and to spend their blood so honourably, to tickle their humours with plausible speeches of fame and glory, to make choice of such as were best of ability, and by the gaining of one unto our bent we should soon be brought to recover many, as I have found most true by my own experience.

Letters were sent sundry times and many to Edmonds the Jesuit, by Parsons and others received by Anthony Medcalfe, dealer for Parsons, Byukett and Gratley, which informed how matters proceeded from thence, and to enquire advertisement from

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1586. us. He advertised that things had been ended a long while since, but there was such strife among our own nation who should be chief actor in the cause that almost they had marred all.

The taking of the Earl of Arundel was their wonderful loss, for if he had come over safely he had ended the quarrel. Francis Brown and his brother were altogether governed by Edmonds and Cornelius. They have been by their means conveyed to sundry noblemen, their practice and dealings have been most secret as likely to be most perilous. I have heard Edmonds tell me that he has said mass before the Lord Compton and others of the Court, preached, and was well rewarded for his pains.

Cornelius was thought the fittest man for to preach before ladies and gentlemen, both for his sweet and plausible tongue and for that he could best counterfeit simplicity. It was laboured that one lady should inform another and get him made famous to some of her majesty's privy chamber, that so soon as any of them could be caught to affect our religion, then some of us that best could court it should be "brought familiar" amongst them, and by corrupting such as should be near her majesty we might have better means to practise any further treachery. Your honour's during life.

2 pp. *Unsigned. No flyleaf.*

Sept. 21. **32. CONFESSION OF SALISBURY AND OTHERS.**

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 171d.

"Salisburie. When he went uppon the ladder he began with his auncient countenance, but his voice somewhat altered in sorte followinge:"

"'It hathe pleased God to call me that I shoulde ende my life heare, and therfore I thanke the Lorde God firste that he hathe redemed me, and secondlie that he hathe elected me and chosen us. I confesse I have grevouslie offended her majestie, throughe ignorance; I beseeche her to forgyve me for the same, and I counsaile all Catholiques to laie noe violent handes on her majestie, but to beare patientlie this crosse of their tribulacion.'"

"Dr. Whyte.—'Salisburie, call unto God for mercye, for he is mercyfull and readie to forgyve.'"

"Salisburie.—'I hope in his mercye, and I penitentlie confesse I am a grevous sinner, and I beseeche all Catholiques to praye for me: and I beseeche God from my harte to blesse her majestie and all her Counsaile.'—And then he saide his prayers in Latine and crossed himselfe."

"Dr. Whyte.—'Whosoe is ashamed to confesse God before man, God wilbe ashamed of him in his kingdome. Wherefore doe not dallie with the worlde for anie vaine ostentacion, but cleave unto God with a true faithe.'"

"Salisburie.—'I have lyved a Catholique and soe will I die.'"

"And then the hang man thruste him of the ladder, where he hanged till he was almost utterlie dead, and then cutte downe accordinge to his judgment: and soe ended his lyfe, as it seemed penitentlie, accordinge as his religion woulde permitte."

"Dunne."

"Next unto Salisburie proceeded Dunne, who was condemned the seconde daie with Salisburie."

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“ Firste when he came to the seaffolde, he kneeled on the ladder, and withe a blacke visage—for soe was his complexion—a chereful voice and a sorowfull mynde, he demaunded whether the people did expecte anie thinge; and aunswer beinge returned that they did, he uttered these speaches.”

“ Noe soule more sorowful then my sorowful selfe; first unto God, next unto her majestie, and thyrdlie unto all, for that I have offended them al: and I confesse that there livethe not anie one more sinfull then myself. Also I beseeche all Catholiques to beware howe they attempte anie thinge againste the Queene, whom I beseeche God from the bottom of my hart to blesse.”

“ Then one that stooode on the scaffold saide:—‘ If thou meane Queene Elizabeth, God blesse her.’—Dunne answered,—‘ Yea, I meane Queene Elizabeth and none other, and I beseeche God to blesse her.’ ”

“ Then Dunne proceeded, and saide,—‘ I lyved here joyfullie and pleasantlie under her majestie, and tenne weeks agoe I mette withe Anthonie Babington, who toulde me of all his treasons and devises, and he urged me thereunto to geve my consent, but I refused and dissuaded him also. Then he toulde me that I was one whom he loved well, and therfore he woulde bestowe me we^m [*sic*]. And soe urged me againe. And to confes a truthe, I saide I woulde doe the best I coulde, and consented.’ ”

“ Afterwards when Babington grewe rype in these treasons he made me pryvie to all, and I sayde that I woulde doe nothinge but that which shoulde be to the glorie of God.”

“ Dr. Whyte.—‘ Why diddest thou thinke that the murder of the Queene would be to the glorie of God?’ ”

“ Dunne.—‘ Noe, noe, I never thought it woulde be to the glorie of God.’ ”

“ Then Dunne proceeded further and saide,—‘ I owe some moneye and am indebted, and I knowe not howe to paie it. I beseeche them moste hartelie to forgyve it me. But I protest I came indebted by reason of others, and others’ procurement. Thirddie, I am sorye, I am most sorowfull, more sorowfull then ever I was in all my life, for Mistress Bellamie’s house, whom Babington hathe brought to this, for he never rested till he had gotten us entertainment when we fledde.’ ”

“ Laste of all I hartelie aske my princee forgevnes, and I praie that she and you all maie be eternized withe eternall blessednes.”

“ Sir Frauncis Knolles. Then Sir Frauncis Knolles desired him to saie the Lordes prayer in Englishe, that all the people might praie withe him.”

“ Dunne. But Dunne aunswered,—‘ I have bene alwaies of this religion, and brought up in it. And therfore I beseeche you pardon me in that, but I will saie it in Latin for I understande it’ :—and soe saide it in Latin. And when he had done he saide,—‘ *Domine, miserere mei; Domine, miserere mei.*’ ”

“ And soe was throwne of the ladder, where he hanged till he was throughlie deade; and soe humble—exceptinge his religion—and yet bouldlie finished his tragedie.”

“ He was of a middle stature, a broade visage, and broad sette, blacke eyes and blacke bearde whiche grewe somewhat thicke; of

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speache he had a reasonable good deliverye, and was of a melancolicke complexion, as it seemed."

"Jones."

"Jones. When he had ascended the scaffold, after some speache passed betwene those on the scaffold, which were Sir Frauncis Knolles, Sir Richarde Knightleye, Sir Drue Drurie, the two sheriffes and him, he saide,—'I will confesse the truthe, as I shall aunswere at the dreadfull daie of judgment, I will conceale nothinge. Howe farre I was of my selfe from comittinge these treasons God dothe knowe, for I was prepared to have gone into Flaunders when my Lorde went, and I was readie, and my horses were in the towne.'"

"Then he spake in blame of my Lorde of Leycester his officers, for not payinge Salisburie fyfteene hundred poundes, whiche he shoulde have had to have kepte him. And one that was on the scaffold aunswered, returninge the blame uppon Salisburie himselfe."

"And Iones saide,—'Well, I knowe not in whom the faulte is, but be it [*sic*] had not that bene as it was we had not come to this.'—Furthermore said he,—'Two daies before I was taken I was readie to have gone into Irelande, either of whiche thinges if had happened I had escaped this ende.'"

"Then he saide,—'*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccatum mundi, miscrere mei*,'—and saide soe thrise; and then saide it in Englishe thrise,—'O Lambe of God, that takest awaie the sinne of the worlde, have mercye on me.'"

"And soe he went up the ladder and spake lowder then he did before—for his speache on the scaffold fewe coulde heare—and saide,—'I am come hither for to die, beinge adjudged for to die, and therefore now must speake truthe, for in this worlde I muste speake noe more. In Trinitie terme laste some speache was passed betweene Babington and others; my selfe was conversaunte amonge them, but I protest they durste not make me pryvie or acquainted withe it nor call me to counsaile. Onlie Salisburie, Thomas Salisburie, mocioned unto me the deliverie of the Queene of Scottes, desyringe my ayde; and I toulde him it was Babington's hye mynde onlie, and prayed him to refrayne his companie.'"

"At laste when he urged me, I saide,—'Well, Tom, thou maiest commaunde me anie thinge.'—Herein I have offended her majestie, and I beseeche her to forgeve me. And I beseeche withe all my harte [*sic*] to blesse and preserve her.'"

"And when Salisburie came to his countrie to keepe him at home, I kepte house anewe, havinge kepte noe house before, onlie to kepe Thomas Salisburie at home, meaninge to bringe him from his gaddinge life and make him leade a setled life. Also because my selfe woulde live quietlie, I made meanes to Mr. Secretarie that I might have conference, because I woulde not be obstinate: and I had be [*sic*] with Mr. Goodman of Chester, and I was prisoner to Sir Edward Fitton.'"

"I confesse I concealed these treasons; and when a note came to my sight, that Babington, Salisburie and others were sought for as they that woulde have kilde the Queene, then I thought that he, even he, Thomas Salisburie, woulde be my destroyer.'"

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“ And then he wepte; but recoveringe his former alacritie he proceeded and saide:—‘ He ’—meaninge Salisburie—‘ came to my house at mydnight, and takinge a candle out of one of my men’s hande, he came up to my chamber where I laye and said,—‘ Ned, howe doeste thou?’—‘ Then I toulde him that he was sought for, pytyng his case, but he saide,—‘ There be manie Catholiques that be as deepe in these actions as my selfe.’—‘ Thus farre have I offended, but since I was a Catholique I alwaies did beare a loyall mynde towardes the Queen’s majestie; and I proteste here that she is the onlie prince that hathe right and tytle to this crowne and realme; and I protest before God I would have spent my life in her majestie’s service againste French, Spanishe or whatsoever.’ ”

“ ‘ I aske her majestie’s forgyvenes and you all. And withe you, Sir Frauncis Knolles, I have layde a note of all my debtes. I owe three hundred threscore and odde poundes: wherof I owe to my brother Pype 400*li.*; for when he had my sister it was concluded that eyther he shoulde have certaine landes conveyed unto him, or els soe muche moneye: and I have borrowed of my mother 300*li.*’ ”

“ ‘ The debtes owinge me whosoe seekethe shal fynde a great rablement, and some of them be bill paie, savinge 40*s.*, some three poundes and suche like. The somme that is owinge me is a thousande sixe hundred and odde poundes.’ ”

“ And I beseeche her majestie my debtes maye be paie: and I praie that some man of conscience maie have the accomptes of my goodes, for a great deale of my landes is morgage landes, and that onlie by worde of monthe: and I beseeche if they paie the money it maie be redeemed.’ ”

“ And then beinge moved to saie his prayers in Englishe, he saide,—‘ I understande the Latin, and I will saie nothinge but which shalbe to the glorie of God. My profession was a Catholique, and yet a Catholique that acknowledged my dutye to my prince. And I beseeche all Catholiques to praie for me.’ ”

“ Then he saide the Lordes prayer in Latin, and then saide it in Englishe, and that fynished he saide,—‘ *O Jesu esto mihi Jesus, O Jesu esto mihi Jesus: non secundum peccata nostra sed secundum misericordiam tuam.*’ ”

“ Mr. Whyte. Then spake Mr. Whyte, willinge to [*sic*] laye holde of salvacion by Jesus Christ alone.”

“ And Iones aunswered;—‘ I confesse my carcasse can doe nothinge, it is a lumpe, a peece of claie, not able to doe anie thinge. And I beleeve without a true faithe I canne doe nothinge.’—And then he saide:—‘ *Ignis Dei, qui tollis peccatum mundi, miserere mei* ’;—and saide it thryse, and then saide it in Englishe thrise; and then saide;—‘ *Propitius esto mihi peccatori,*’—and saide soe thrise, and then saide it in Englishe thrise,—‘ Be mercyfull unto me a synner.’ ”

“ Taste of all he saide;—“ *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.*’—And then was throwne of the ladder and hanged till he was dead, and afterwarde quartered accordinge to his judgmente. And soe dyed penitentlie and pitifullie to the beholders, as one that was more faithful to his frende then provident for him-selfe, and as one that was rather mysled by the ambitionse mynde of others then caryed headlonge by his owne bad nature.”

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“ Charnocke.”

“ Charnocke. When he came uppon the ladder, he began and saide;—‘ *Ave Maria, gratia plena,*’ etc.

“ Sir Drue Drurie. Then Sir Drue Drurie aunswered,—‘ What can Marie doe? She cannot heare the.’ ”

“ Dr. Whyte. And Dr White saide,—‘ Charnocke, praie when Marie was alyve this was but a salutacion, and nowe when she is dead, when she cannot heare the, what can it be nowe?’ ”

“ Charnock. Then Charnock saide,—‘ I beseeche al Catholiques to praie for me.’ ”

“ Dr. Whyte. Then Dr. Whyte aunswered,—‘ We be all true Catholiques.’ ”

“ Charnocke.—‘ Then I beseeche you all to praie for me ’:—and then saide—‘ *Pater noster* ’—in Latin: and then saide,—‘ *Ave Maria gratia plena,*’ etc.—again. And beinge moved to aske her majestie forgyvenes, he saide,—‘ If I have offended her I desire her to forgeve me. I must confesse I conceyled these treasons when I knewe them.’ ”

“ Sir Frauncis Knolles. Then Sir Frauncis Knolles saide,—‘ Therin thou didest offend her and comit hie treason.’ ”

“ Charnocke.—‘ Then I beseeche her to forgeve me.’ ”

“ Dr. Whyte. Then Dr. Whyte movinge him to beleve in Jesus Christe alone, he saide: ”

“ Charnocke.—‘ I beleve in Jesus Christe, and I truste he will save me.’—And then crynge he saide,—‘ *O Jesu esto mihi Jesus, O Jesu esto mihi Jesus* ’:—and soe was throwne of the ladder, and hanged till he was dead: and afterwarde used as the others; and soe died fearfullie and obstinatlie in his religion.”

“ He had bene a good souldier and tall fellowe, and onlie drawne into these actions as it seemed to plaie the butcher, for soe it appeared by his arraignment. He was a proper man in his apparell, somewhat tall and verie stronge; his visage somewhat wanne and pale; a little bearde he had, betwixt blacke and browne: his skinne appeared to be scrubbie and scabbie; he had a fowle botche in his lefte legge, whether of a wounde or some badde disease I knowe not; onlie this, he lyved lyke a hardie souldier and dyed like a fearful treataure.”

“ Travers.”

“ Travers. As for Travers, his superstition was soe great, as nothinge more. What soe was saide unto him he neglected, onlie he seemed to regarde his idolatrouse [*sic*] opinions, for before he came unto the ladder he ceased not almost continuallie to crosse him.”

“ Dr. Whyte. Then Dr. Whyte movinge hym to crye uppon Jesus Christe onlie, he said: ”

“ Travers.—‘ I crye Jesus in faithe,’—and when he had ascended the ladder he saide he was never guiltie of anie treason in his lyfe. And when they that stoode one the scaffold shewed forthe invincible argumentes to prove his guiltie, by confession voluntarie of his companions, he gave noe eare, but was whollie geven over to his owne wilfulness. Onlie he saide,—‘ I doe die a true Catholique, and belevee all that the Catholique church dothe.’—And then he saide his creede in Latin.”

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“ Dr. Whyte. Then Dr. Whyte bade him aske her majestie forgyvenes : ”

“ Travers. But he regarded him not, but besought all Catholiques to praie for him. And when Dr. White tould him that all were true Catholiques that were there, he fell ymmediatlie to his—‘ *Ave Maria gratiæ plena,* ’ etc.—And that done, he begane,—‘ *Omnes sancti martyres,* ’ etc.—And then,—‘ *Signum crucis est necessarium omnibus, etc., corporibus nostris.* ’—And when he was fallinge besyde the ladder :—”

“ Dr. Whyte. Dr. Whyte prayde,—‘ God deliver thy soule from the error of poperie. ’—Soe he hanged to all men’s thought till he was dead ; and when the hangman had his harte in his hande it leaped and panted. Even thus concluded the laste parte of this obstinate fellowe, who had fullie purposed as is to be conjectured to live a seditious Papiste, and resolute to die as appeareth a papisticall treator.”

“ Gage.”

“ Gage. Gage came hastelie and wilfullie unto the ladder, and when they moved him to aske forgyvenes of her majestie for his offence againste her, he answered,—‘ I aske all forgyvenes whom I have offended.’ ”

“ Mr. Sheriffe. And when Mr. Sheriffe toulde him that this was the fruit of their religion, to comitte suche abominable treasons, he withe wonderfull vehement yernestenes replied :—

“ Gage.—‘ O Mr. Sheriffe, condemne not the whole religion for a fewe badde men.’—And when it was toulde him howe muche his father was behouldinge to her majestie for speciall great favours, he answered,—‘ I confesse she hathe bene as graciouse a prince and mistresse to my father as ever was anie.’ ”

“ Sir Frauncis Knolles. Then Sir Frauncis Knolles woulde have proved his offence to bee accordinge as he was adjudged, but he hastelie interrupted him, sayinge ; ”

“ Gage.—‘ O Sir Frauncis, take me withe you ; when I went awaie with Babington I knewe nothings of his treasons ; but afterwards he toulde me therof, and after that tyme I sought occasions to escape from them : and when I was taken I was out of their companie.’ ”

“ Topcliffe. Then Topcliffe, a justice of peace, toulde him he had confessed that a prieste came unto him and saide,—‘ If anie thinge be to be donne let it be done quicklie,’—after that Ballarde was taken.”

“ Gage.—‘ I confesse this, but is [*sic*] no argument to prove me guiltie’ ;—and when he [*sic*] was sufficient to prove his treason, he answered,—‘ Why then, I confesse I am guiltie in that sense.’—And when it was objected he attended on Ballarde as his man, when Ballarde went into the northe to incite rebellion, he answered,—‘ I did soe, and I will waite one anie suche . . . * in the worlde. I did it,’ saide he, ‘ and I confesse it. And I confesse . . . when Ballarde came out of the northe he writte certaine letters . . . Fraunce, and desyred me because I writte a faire hande to write it faire, and I did soe,

* Decayed.

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but the subscription or superscription I sawe not; but it was to some great man, for this worde 'graciously' was in.' "

" 'But nowe if it be treason to keepe companie with treators, then have I comitted treason; but I proteste as I shall die, I never had malit[ious] mynde againste her majestie.' "

" Then he fell to his prayers in Latin, a[nd] then saide,—*'Ave Maria gratia plena,' etc., et Sancta Maria ora pro nobis,*'—withe suche like rablement."

" Sir Frauncis Knolles. Insomuch that Sir Frauncis Knolles saide,—*'He knowes not what he saies, and yet will not be advised.'* "

" Laste of all he concluded,—*'Averte faciem a peccatis meis'*; —and soe was thruste of the ladder and permitted to hange till he was dead. His harte did leape in the hangman's handes; and soe dyed Gage, resolutlie obstinate and altogether unlearned."

" Of personage he was a proper man, tall and sclender, but yonge in yeares, and yet rype in abominacions; of visage somewhat longe, a pale countenance and a proude looke. To conclude, his personage required far better actions, and his accions deserved far greater punishment."

" Bellamie. He talked with the sheriffe and others uppon the scaffold concerninge his guilte; he excused his offence by ignorance that he knewe not they were traytors, onlie he confessed that the reporte of one man was that they were traytors."

" Then he ascended the ladder and desired Mr. Sheriffes to shoue him some favoure."

" Dr. Whyte. Dr. Whyte aunswered,—*'Aske mercye of God, and he and they will shoue the favoure.'* "

" Bellamie. Then Bellamie saide,—*'I have bene a Catholique, and I beseeche all true Catholiques to praie for me.'* "

" Dr. Whyte.—*'Beseeche all Christians to praie for thee, for here be not suche Catholiques as you meane.'* "

" Soe he desyred leave to saie his prayers, and when it was graunted he prayed privatlie with himself."

" Laste of all he was throwne of the ladder to abyde the torment of deathe, and there hanged till he was dead."

" He was a bigge man, broade sette, and tall, of mightie lymmes: the coloure of his skine was dunne; broad visaged, a brownishe beard which grewe without curiositie: and when he was dead his countenance was wonderful blacke. Finallie he seemed rather to have bene aweariend handlinge of the ploughe then over laboured with studyng of a booke; and rather to have bene mersed in papistrie by others than able to maintaine his erronious opinions by his owne ingenie."

5 pp. Copy.

33. CONFESSION OF CHRISTOPHER BYERS.

Sept. 21

and 22.

C.P., vol. XIX.

" into France, which I confessed
Jedworth, esquire, justice of the peace, being brought
before him the 21st Sept. 1586."

First being apprentice with Godfrey Willington of Coventry, I was sent up to London, there meeting with my brother Cuthbert.

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I talking with him asked him for my brother John, who told me that he was gone beyond the seas, and said that he made much labour to have me over to be a priest. For he said otherwise I should never be saved, whereto I answered that I would never consent to it. Then, a little after, I went home and served out my apprenticeship. Then thought I to myself, I will go over the seas to see the country, their conversation, and my brother, and being there a year with them, I did as they did, was servant to the president Doctor Allen; who, afterwards going to Rome, left all with me.

Then thought I to myself, now is it best time to go away. So I took so much money as I thought would bear my charges and came to Rome. There I was taken and stayed for the money, and coming away, and having a countryman, one George Stoker, he gave his word that I should send over the money again. Then I came to Newhaven, and falling in company with Cuthbert Kessupp, we had on Saturday night to supper, flesh, and were talking against priests, there being a priest in our company. He went and told English priests of it, who afterwards would have stayed me and brought me before the governor, who, hearing my talk, let me go. The priests names were Wilkinson and Yeomans.

We took shipping forth of the road on Tuesday night or Wednesday, and so I came to Newcastle. And as for others that came from Rheims I know divers, two of Durham, one, son to Milton Johnson, another son to Pattison—his name is Bernard Pattison—a countryman I know in the south, whereof I think the most be taken. The others, after I know their names that be taken, I think I shall show also. And for most that be at Rheims, I can tell their names if need were. *Signed*: Christopher Byers.

The names of such as are come from Rheims in my time into the north of England, Cuthbert Johnson, Bernard Pattison, Henry Taylor. Into the south Robert Anderton, William Masden, William Rutter, Thomas Canerley, William Hodgson, William Hunt, Richard Yeuxseley, John Wright, Doctor Bagshawe. The names of these that be at Rheims, William Allen, president, Thomas Baly, Doctor Webb, Doctor Barrett, Doctor Stillington, Doctor Gifford, Doctor Parkinson, Mr. Tempest, Mr. Brodshawe, Mr. Worthington, Mr. Malley, Mr. Grene, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Hargraves, Mr. Coynes,, Mr. Shawes, Mr. Lawe, Mr. Naylor, Mr. Bagshawe, Mr. Gerard, Mr. Smith, Mr. Lewekenor, Richard Yeamans. He came over in a russet cloak, a purple mandillion, and breeches of the same, a long man, small legs, slender body.

Coming to Newcastle in a barque of Mr. Smynn's with Cuthbert Kessuppe, a merchant—the master's name is John Clerk, the pursuer's Roger Rawe—the 19th of September, who brought me before Mr. Mayor, and we sent word to his worship that a young man came passenger over, and he came from Newhaven and was of Durham and had been to learn the language: who told his master Mr. Mayor, who sent word that he had nothing to say to me. but God speed me well.

I lay at Robert Commyng's house by the quayside, and so came to Burtley and was taken with the watch betwixt 9 and 10 of the

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clock upon Tuesday night the 20th of September. The things I left, a mandillion of "grograyne," a pair of taffeta breeches, a pair of black jersey stockings, a shirt, a ruffe band and a plain, a cane with a silver tag, two pairs of cuffs left at Robert Commyng's. *Signed*: Chr. Byars.

This examate's confession further made before the Lord Bishop of Durham, Sir William Bowes, knight, and Mr. Doctor Mathews, dean of Durham, the 22nd September 1586.

The manner of the English College in Rheims, that the doctors and seniors of the house daily meet after dinner unto Doctor Allen's hall, where anyone that has letters containing matter of intelligence communicates the same with the rest; unto which place and company this examate, being Mr. President's man, was permitted to attend.

About Whitsuntide last came letters from Doctor Allen from Rome, that there was great preparation for wars both by the Pope, the King of Spain, and other Catholic Princes, of which army the Duke of Savoy should be general, and next under him the Prince of Parma, who should be ready before the next spring; to maintain the which war there is already provided a million and a half in gold. About the same time came letters from Lord Paget out of Spain that the King had lying in Lisbon 150 great ships ready at all times for opportunity.

About the same time came letters from the Earl of Westmorland from Paris that he looked daily to be sent for into Spain for that service. About midsummer last came letters from Doctor Allen, the president, from Rome, that he was in election to be cardinal. Upon St. Lawrence's Day last, Doctor Webb, whose proper name is and seniors, where he spake openly that he would lay three to one that be in England before the first of August next to come. This speech Thomas Baly, the vice-president, confirmed, being of more note in special regard for his sobriety and gravity.

About the 28th of August last came letters from Doctor Allen, from Rome, that there should go no more into England before he sent word again. Doctor Webb aforesaid, D[octo]r of the Canon Law, an earnest persuader of the murder of her majesty, being the instrument of bringing in a bull into England to that end certain years past, as I hear him report.

Upon Wednesday next after our Ladyday last, this examate being at Paris went to the Earl of Westmorland, who required him to carry some letters into England to his daughter; which he denying, the Earl required him. "If you chance," quoth he, "to see or meet any of our house, tell them that I am well and in good health." In the Earl's company was one Swigo, a familiar of his. An Italian about half a year since came out of England with his mother and two other his brethren, of which one was sent to be a scholar at Rheims about Easter last. In this woman's company came over one Edward Tempest, about the age of 15 years, and one Ward, otherwise there called Fleming, of the age of 25 years, not intending to be priest, but lives as a gentleman, and a third, called there Burres, about the age of 21, as he reports, lately a singing man in Westminster.

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Alexander Swigo told this examinee that the Earl of Westmorland was going to a Scottish lord, then instantly come out of Spain, to know of his going into Spain.

This examinee, continuing at Paris three days and a half, there saw Charles Paget walking with the Earl of Westmorland in St. Jermyn's churchyard, as it was told him by Swigo. This examinee, coming to Rome upon Saturday next after the same Lady Day last, there learnt that thirty French ships had been in purpose to take Dover, and there have made their entry, expecting that some of their friends within should have killed the Queen, and that the Tower of London should have been burned by one within, at the sign given by a woman waving her handkerchief.

The Tuesday next after their computation ended, this examinee, coming to Newhaven, found there thirteen of the thirty ships aforesaid, which then instantly after took the sea again—as it was said—to take what could be gotten. It was there further reported that, upon stay made of certain French goods in the west of England, one Peter Raper, Englishman, having his goods stayed, was returned into England, who if he brought not word of restitution to the French before said, it was looked there should be a stay of the Englishman's goods. *Signed*: Christopher Byers, of the age of 19 years, born in Durham.

3 pp. *Holograph. Indorsed.*

[Sept.] **34. STATE OF THE SCOTTISH KING'S AFFAIRS.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 659.

“Caussis that suld move the Queen's majestie to be beneficiall to the King my soverane.”

“The estait of the King and of his rentis I trust her majestie be sufficientlie informed of. Alwayes it is certane that the revenues of the Crown wer sa dilapidat be the Quene his moder and put in sic mennie handis now hard to recover, as thay ar not weill able presentlie to sustene his estait.”

“He hes acceptit the government of the realme in his awin persoun and will now shortlie be abroade, before quhilk tyme the estait of his houshold must be erected. And it will also be maist requisite that he have a gaird ordinarlie and continewallie to await on his persoun, chosen of able men affectionat to his preservation and service, seing thair remanis still within the realme men quhilk hes dippit in the blude of his parentis and dearest kynnisfolkis, that be his inlaik hes great hope of warldly commoditie, and utheris factious personis, in quhais handes it were richt perillous for him to fall being slenderly accompanyt.”

“And of necessitie he must have that quhilk will sustene this charge be freindly support, quhilk he can not have sic occasioun to sute of any uther Prince in the warld as of her majestie that hes alreddy bene sa favorable and beneficiall to him and his estate, he being also so deare and tendre of blude unto her hienes.”

“The mair favorable and bountifull that her majestie shaw hirself at this tyme unto the King my maister the mair sall she procure his kyndlie affectioun and gratefull mynd towards hir hienes. She sall thairby acquire the continewance of the gudewillis of all his faithfull and loving subjectis, and shall put

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silence and stay the adversaires sinisterlie affected that ceissis not maliciouslie to persuaid that hir hienes bearis him onlie favour and guidwill in wordis, as also thay wald mak it appeare that thair wer a mair advantageus course for him to seik other mantenance and freindship, quhilk practize wald thairfore be prevented now quhen he of himself is sa weill affected towards her majestie, and before he cum abroade, quher the evill willaris sall have indifferent acces and oportunitie to move and persuad him utherwys, as the mair easely thay may do, finding him then in neade and unprovidit for, and the moyen to help the mater then cut off from sic as hes allvayes and yit luiffis the amytie, in cais her majesty slip this occasioun and deffer the shewing of her favour and bountyfulnes towards him at this time."

"It is to be regarded that the chargeis lyis now on his awin persoun, and he is enterit in the governament empty handed. The daylie debursing is and must be greate and the importance small, be ressoun of the troubles and devydit myndis, alsweill on the Bordouris as in sum partes of the incuntrie. Seditionis and practizes is and wilbe movit to disturb this amytie, and chargeis must be bestowed baith be force and moyen to repres the same."

"Thair is also provision to be maid for plate and movables to the Kingis house, and his houses fallen in sum decay during the lait troubles must be repayred."

"Bot the cheif causes to move her majestie to this support wer to sustene his garde for the better preservation of his awin persoun and to help to suppres the insolence ather of the borderers or utheris that wald disturb the publick amytie."

1½ pp. *In a Scottish hand. No indorsement.*

Sept. 24. **35. BURGHLEY TO THOMAS PHELIPPES.**

C.P., vol. XIX.

At my coming hither the Queen's majesty has delivered to me eight original letters which I found lacking, seven in Nau's hand in French. The eighth is a little letter of Curll's to Barnaby. The seven are these:—one to Mendoza 5th July, and another to him 27th July; one to Glasgow, 27th July, another to him, as I think, 12th July; one to Sir Francis Englefield 27th July; one to the French ambasador 27th July; one to Charles Paget noted K.: one of the 13th July of Curll's to Barnaby. Consider therefore that there is no need to have Nau or Curll dealt withal for any of these, for they are both written with their own hands and also subscribed. The Queen's majesty would have you return from Windsor.

If you speak with the attorney or solicitor tell them hereof and they shall have the copies. *Signed: W. Burghley.*

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 24. **36. POINTS IN PROCEEDING AGAINST MARY.**

C.P., vol. XIX.

1. Whether any "hoys" [oyez] ought to be upon publication of the commission.

2. Whether the accusation shall be by writing or *ore tenus*, and by whom.

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3. If she will not answer.
 4. If she will require counsel.
 5. If she will require time to answer.
 6. If she will require to come to the parliament house.
 7. If she will require to hear the accusers.
 8. Whether it shall be convenient to admit the accusers to maintain the accusations upon their voluntary oath, being partakers in the action, being criminal.
 9. Whether the commission may not be adjourned to any place to finish the sentence.
 10. Whether any entry or record shall be made of the proceedings journally, and the form, and whether in Latin or English.
 11. Whether she shall be dealt with by the name of Mary, late Queen of Scots, or by what name.
 12. Whether the sentence must be given there present or upon an adjournment to any other place after.
- $\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Indorsed*: "Points to be considered in the proceeding against the Scotishe Queene."

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37. COMMISSIONERS FOR FOTHERINGAY.

Lords and others of the Privy Council to be at Westminster, 27th September.

92 lords absent.

1. Archbishop of Canterbury. 2. Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley. 3. Lord Treasurer, Lord Burghley. 4. Earl Marshal, Earl of Shrewsbury. 5. Earl of Derby. 6. Earl of Warwick. 7. Earl of Leicester. 8. Lord Admiral, Lord Howard. 9. Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon. 10. Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Lord Cobham. 11. Lord Buckhurst. 12. Mr. Treasurer, Sir Francis Knollys. 13. Mr. Comptroller, Sir James Croft. 14. Mr. Vicechamberlain, Sir Christopher Hatton. 15. Mr. Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham. 16. Chancellor of the Duchy, Sir Ralph Sadler. 17. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay. 18. Captain of Jersey, Sir Amias Paulet.

14 Councillors.

The principal earls and barons of the realm. 1. Marquis of Winchester. 2. Earl of Oxford. 3. Earl of Kent. 4. Earl of Worcester. 5. Earl of Rutland. 6. Earl of Cumberland. 7. Earl of Pembroke. 8. Earl of Lincoln. 9. Viscount Montague.

Barons.

1. Lord Burgavenny. 2. Lord Zouche. 3. Lord Morley. 4. Lord Stafford. 5. Lord Grey. 6. Lord Lumeley. 7. Lord Sturton. 8. Lord Sandys. 9. Lord Wentworth. 10. Lord Mordant. 11. Lord St. John. 12. Lord Compton. 13. Lord Cheyney.

Justices.

1. Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. 2. Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. 3. Master of the Rolls. 4. Lord Chief Baron. 5. Serjeant Gawdy. 6. Serjeant Puckering. 7. Mr. Attorney. 8. Mr. Solicitor.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Indorsed*: "Names of the Commissioners for Fodringhay."

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38. CLAUD HUBERT TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Sept. 24.

I have received the letter that you were pleased to write to me ; for answer whereunto, believe me, it is not for lack of writing if you have not received my letters ; for I placed them in the hands of Monsieur La Veille, your agent, to be conveyed to you, having no other commodity than that.

In truth, for nearly three months past he has dissuaded me from writing to you, because he assured me every week that you would be returning, and it was not forgetfulness.

As to your affairs, it has not been possible to me to procure the patent quittance of the gift which was made to you by the King ; Monsieur Jossier refers me to the return of Monsieur Pinard who is with the Queen, and the said Jossier has gone to Brittany, and there is no talk of his speedy return.

As to what is owed to you by the King, I spoke of it to those who have all the power, after my uncle the Controller had employed himself therein and told me he had no means of getting any of it. I hope that you will obtain part of it this year ; it has been promised to me, and I vow to you that Monsieur Do has done more about it than if it had been for himself. Believe me, I will do all my duty therein, and after me another will do but little. Money is marvellously short. Monsieur Nabert, and my brother the notary, while he was here, solicited the said Sieur Jossier, from whom they have at last the same reply as I. From what I have heard it would be well if you would write to him about it. What vexes me is that I have been willing to deliver money to him and he will not have it nor send it. Mr. La Veille will be witness thereof, who does all good offices for you which can be named.

Believe me, your said affairs are not neglected. With regard to the receiver of the Queen of Scotland, I am preparing to sue him at law ; too many delays are necessary. I hoped to see you sooner than I shall do, as I have said above, but you will sojourn longer than I was told, whereof I am very glad, since it is to your contentment and so good an occasion.

The day after Monsieur D'Auneval's arrival, which was Saturday, I went to see him and to make my reverence to him. I repaid him the 250 crowns sterling which he had lent to you, and took back your promise thereupon in quittance. He told me that he would advertise me of the first commodity that should present itself for going to Scotland, in order to send you your books that you ask for, which are bought, and there remain only eight volumes unbound.

There has been no talk yet of your estate, because no one has spoken to the King ; for the last fortnight he has been at the Bois de Vincennes at a farm. I have spoken thereof to the Sieur Do, who has been ordered to the secret council, who will aid you there so soon as he shall be commanded.

I will get instruction from my uncle how to bear myself there, and if I cannot attend there, Monsieur Nabert will employ himself therein, or some other whom I shall find well versed in these affairs.

If Monsieur Pinard were here you would have a good protector ; but he is always where I told you. Monsieur La Veille has promised me that he will get the said Sieur D'Auneval to write to him.

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The said Sieur D'Auneval told me that he had sent you [] de Tombes, and that he was surprised that he had not returned, because he had written to you to send him back; but that he had heard that he had been arrested and taken back to London, and he thought that Monsieur de Chasteauneuf would have sent him to you.

Your sister will cause that which you desire to be dispatched to you as soon as the resolution of the Council be known concerning your sojourn or return: nevertheless, from what I can hear, you will remain agent. In order to forward to you what you sent I will take direction from the said gentleman.

In accordance with what he has told me I am seeking some honest man to send to you: if I can obtain knowledge of one I will address him to you, as also a cook; of this condition there are many to be found, but one must have knowledge of them.

I have spoken to the Sieur Caron, who was not willing to take the 250 crowns which you told me to send you until the middle of this month. As to the price he did not wish to go beyond 47 shillings.

There has been a calling in of money this September, which troubles us much, for there is not one single kind of money which is not now weighed, so that those who have to receive any suffer loss.

Out of the first money of your estate I paid the said Sieur D'Auneval the 300 crowns remaining. There remained in my hands of your money only five hundred and twenty one crowns, as you will see by what you have ordered. As to what you owe me, we will consult about it when we see you, by God's help.

By the first commodity you shall have the silken cloths you desire, which your sister will buy tomorrow or Wednesday, which she would already have done but for today's festival.

I sent your letter to the receiver, who makes answer to you, as does Monsieur Nabert. Paris. 1586.

2½ pp. *French. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 24. 39. JAMES VI. TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

There is heir thre brother Englishmen named Wallaces banishit that realme for a slaughter of ane Gray, allegit Englishman, quhome we have tryed a Scottissheman in deid, fugitive fureit of our realme, and ressett and intertenyt sensyne upown the English Bordour, quhais death baith for the qualitie of the persoun, and the gude and honest behaviour of the said thre brether sence thir arrivell heir we have yeeildit to remitt unto thame, and thairwit to become suteris for thir restitutionoun agane to our dearest susteris grace, and thir native countrey, quhairin haveing heirtofoir employed the mence and credite of our trusty cousing the Lord Hunsdon, and finding that his pains and intercessiouns in that behalff have not as yit provin effectuell, we have thoct meit, for the favorable gudwill quhilk the saidis Wallaces have wyn with us, ane of thame being ordinarie in our gairdis, ane uther in service with out traist cousing and counsallour the Master of Glamis, our Thesaurare, and the thrid with our trusty Counsallour the

Elizabeth.

1586. Laird of Coldiknowis, to recommend thame to your earnest travell to be tane at our said sisteris hand for her said grace and pardone to thame, that be the graunt thair of thay may returne unto thir native soyle, and yeild her that service and obedience quhilk you protest they sall reserve unto her as thir naturall Prince." Holyrood House. *Signed: James R.*

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 25. 40. MONSIEUR DE L'AUBESPINE TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I send you a packet from Monsieur d'Esneval, which has been brought to me with the outside all torn, and the inside has not been seen, as it seems, and will be found to be very old.

I received yesterday your letters of the 19th of last month, which had not been opened. You have every right to complain of those of whom you do complain, and that is not all.

The chief thing is always to do well for the service of his master.

The Queen of England is ill content with the Queen of Scotland. It is even said here that those criminals Babington and Sauvage have vehemently accused you of having given them letters which treated of this matter, and I believe that she has also written about it to the King of Scotland to have you sent thence or put into her hands if he were so ill advised as to do this. They have indeed abused others, and have brought into trouble many persons, of whom a great part are already prisoners.

Yesterday they put seven of them to death, and today seven others, whose names you will see marked in your note, who died faithfully and as good Catholics amid great torments.

The worst is that the poor Queen of Scotland is in very bad case, and it seems that the Queen of England is resolved to put her upon her trial.

She has been brought nigh this town to a castle called Fotheringham [*sic*], and in the coming week all those of the Council are to go to interrogate her. Nau, Curle and Pasquier are here prisoners, in very great danger of their lives. I have spoken for them to the Queen of England, who appears very rigorous. The King of France will send a lord expressly to aid the said lady and her people in all that may be possible.

On your part, do all that you can in order that these lords bestir themselves in good sooth, as you well know how to do, and show them what is of consequence in this matter, that they may not let themselves be abused by a vain declaration of a successor, which is already spoken of here in order to allay suspicion. Parliament is summoned for the 20th of October, and there a great blow will be struck against the said Queen of Scotland. Monsieur d'Esneval is at his house of Suzeran and had not yet seen either the King or the Queen on the 25th of last month, whereof I am very sorry, on account of the instructions that I had given him.

Your boy is still here, and I have sent for him in order to send him to you, ten days having passed without my seeing him, because I chid him five or six times that he did not go to France; and I would espccially advertise you that he has been seen twice at the house of Douglas talking to him.

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I do not know how I may be able to get him to you, unless it be by sea, for they will hardly give him a passport, being a foreigner.

I will add yet one word, that I pray you to make as urgent request as you can to the King of Scotland to take up the cause of the Queen of Scotland his mother; for from no source can there come better aid to avoid this danger wherein she stands. Your man has come to see me, and instead of wishing to go to France he tells me that he now wishes to go to Scotland to see you, which he would undertake to do without passport; which makes me suspect that he will pass by means of the said Douglas. Yet I would not give you a bad impression of him; suffice it to say that he has been seen in the house of the said Douglas, and even Patrike Tompson has also assured me of it.

$1\frac{1}{3}$ pp. French. Deciphered. For cipher see No. 23. Indorsement of No. 30 gives date as 6 Oct. Underlined in parts.

Sept. 25. 41. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIX.

Has not failed, according to the direction given to him, to advertise the Lord Treasurer from day to day of his proceeding in this late journey, which being now finished, Mr. Thomas George repairs to the Court to make report to her majesty of all circumstances belonging therto.

Will be glad to hear he is recovered from his late grief. Fortheringay. Signed: A. Poulet.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Sept. 25. 42. ATTORNEY-GENERAL POPHAM TO BURGHEY.

Lansd. 50,
fol. 59.

It may please your lordship to be advertised that it was thought on whether it were convenient to make special mention of the Scottish Queen; and since the matter has been so revealed already by the traitors themselves, I think your lordship has conceived a very good course to have it so, if it may so seem good to her majesty. But then there must be good consideration had by what name she is to be named in the commission, wherein the draft of the Act preferred in the 13th year against her, which your lordship has, will be a good precedent and direction. It seems by the penning thereof there was great case had of it at that time.

I have sent your lordship herewith a draft of the commission, whereof resolution must be with expedition, if the commission shall be made ready by Wednesday, which I took your opinion to be it should not need nor was convenient, upon good reason delivered by your lordship that this was rather to have the lords advice upon the matter opened what course should be fittest to deal with her of the several ways proposed than to inform them as commissioners.

The commission, although by the draft it seems but short, yet in respect that the commissioners names be many, and are very often to be recited, will be very long and would require good time to send it exactly done and duly examined before it pass the seal.

I find by the note "kast" with Mr. Watson that there are no more judges named for the commission, but the three chief for the

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Master of the Rolls. He may not be in the commission, wherefore, in respect of the weight of the cause, if your lordship with the rest of the lords shall think good to send three more of the judges it would haply satisfy the world the better; and one may suffice in every court until the return of the rest, and haply the Lord Chief Justice by his sickness cannot be there.

I have also sent unto your lordship herein inclosed the several prisoners names and the state of their causes, as near as I can be informed of them, according as your lordship directed; whereupon it may please their lordships to give order what shall be further done concerning them, and if any shall be proceeded against on Friday next, that we may send your lordships' directions therein. Chancery Lane. *Signed*: Popham.

Postscript.—I propose also to confer again with the judges concerning the point of mentioning the Scottish Queen in the commission, as your lordship wills.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 25. **43. MONSIEUR DE L'AUBESPINE TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

The King has returned to Paris to hear the ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.

The Queen, mother of the King, is still at Chenonceau, and has sent for the last time Monsieur de Chenueraulx to the King of Navarre in order to settle upon a place of meeting to treat of peace, resolved to return to Paris if the said King will not come to reason.

Monsieur du Maine has taken Castillon by composition, and Monsieur de Joyeuse has taken Maranse in Auvergne and two other strong castles.

Monsieur d'Espernon has gone to Provence to take possession of his government, where he has great troubles. Which is all that I can tell you of the news of France.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *French. Chiefly in cipher. For decipherment see No. 30. Indorsed. The indorsement of No. 30 gives the date as 6 Oct.*

[Sept.] **44. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO [WALSINGHAM].**

"Upon sume conference wyth my Lord Tresoreir yt was his pleassour to geve me his adwyce to know hir majesteis mynd whatt was to be done anent sume mater that passit betuixt ws, anent the using of such instructionis as I caryit from my maister to hir majestie. I most hartly pray your honour to know quhen her majestie may be pleased that I shall repayr to hir for that effect. I think yt shall be best that I may know the same befor the departure of these gentillmen, in whose company I mynd to send one off my awn to his majesty." *Signed*: A. Douglas.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph. Indorsed.*

[Sept.] **45. NOTES TO THE AMBASSADOR OF SCOTLAND.**

Matters to be communicated by him to the King on his return, that orders may be taken therein. It is desired (1) That the King should choose and establish upon the frontier such wardens as are

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known to be desirous of peace between the two nations, and to punish offenders. The Queen, exercising a like care in the choice of her wardens, the subjects on both frontiers will so be able to live peaceably.

(2) That the late "indents" and "accords" made should be better performed on the part of Scotland, Sir Robert Carr has been delivered for default of such pledges, and is now at York, but the Queen is willing that he should be allowed to return to his own house if he will deliver his brother and some other of his kindred at Berwick as "gages" until he has obtained the appointed pledges, and promised to perform the same, in his own handwriting. If he fail to obtain the aforesaid pledges he shall return again to England until her majesty be satisfied with the performance of the indent.

(3) That whoever is keeper of Liddesdale shall be subject to the Warden of Scotland on the Middle March, being parcel of the said wardenry, just as in England the keepers or Tynedale and Ridledesdale are answerable to the Warden of England.

(4) That the full number of pledges for Liddesdale, some of which are wanting, should be delivered, as appointed by Buccleugh.

(5) That some special man of reputation be chosen as Warden of the West Marches. Lord Ogletree, now the lieutenant, does nothing for delivery of the pledges though the English Warden has been always ready with his, and will be when the Warden of Scotland is answerable on his part.

(6) The Queen is willing that when Buccleugh has delivered his pledges according to the indent his son shall be set at liberty, with condition that the King promises to give redress of the foul attempt committed by Buccleugh at Carlisle Castle.

(7) That the ambassador receive her majesty's letters to the King, and a gratuity, with a sum of money for the King's use, and also a safe conduct for Lord Seton.

2 pp. *Indorsed.*

Sept. 26. **46. ROBERT BEALE TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 445.

It may please your honour. Before Friday last I durst not venture to go into the air for danger of falling back into my sickness again, such has been my disease and small recovery. Then I sought for such things as I had and your honour desires, and send to you herewith the bill that passed both Houses concerning her. Other particular things which were then done I think your honour may have of Mr. Wilkes among Mr. Norton's papers, who then was of the house and gathered the actions better than I could; who then was with you in France.

Touching the message sent to her by Mr. Middlemore, I remember that she much relies on it, which was—as she pretends—at her being upon the Borders, when she was first driven out of Scotland. What her majesty's pleasure was heretofore that the Earl of Shrewsbury and I should answer to her, your honour shall perceive by our instructions herewith sent to you, folio 4. And in truth it is of no moment. For albeit courtesy was promised, yet no licence of impunity to do what she would or to trouble the estate,

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and so as in case of a safeconduct which is not to be extended *ad maleficia commitenda*. And so *quia novum crimen commisit non meruit gaudere securitate promissa*.

Concerning the manner of dealing with her, I think it more convenient that she should be rather charged in writing than in speech, as she was when heretofore the lord Chancellor and Lord de la Warr were sent to her, and that the attorney and solicitor only used speeches to her *nomine communi* of all the commissioners, after conference, without any other particular speeches of every of them, for causes better to be thought of than set down.

For matter, I think it meet that she should be charged with two, viz., her actions with the late Duke of Norfolk and the conspiracy now. For I take it that she is not yet discharged of the first; and the favour which has been shown her has been rather a merciful suspension of her majesty than any pardon or acquittal. And herein the book made by the Bishop of Ross, which I found in Lord Henry Howard's study, may be joined with other proofs. I think that it contains more than was well known at the duke's arraignment, and the said lord confessed before the Chancellor of the Duchy and Exchequer, Mr. Norton and myself, that he received it from the said bishop. Of the matter of this conspiracy I can say nothing, but refer it to your honour and others.

Her answers, I doubt not, will be, as in former times, by protestation, as when the lord Chancellor and others were sent to her in the parliament of 13th [year], and that she is a free Prince. *Item*, I have heard her often say that she cannot be reputed but as a prisoner at war, and so presupposes that she may do anything for her liberty and escape.

For the first, the words of protestation cannot be taken from her, but yet the commissioners may esteem them as shall please them, as the parliament did in the 13th year, in holding her guilty notwithstanding her protestations, and enacting that in case she should afterwards offend she should be indicted and convicted as the wife of a peer of the realm, and have no other privilege. For, as the fact is committed within the realm, and to be tried by the laws of the realm, so is the manner of proceeding and proof to be according to the laws of the realm. And the nice exacting of proofs according to foreign laws, or men's fantasies and contentments, will draw in question the prerogative and authority of the law of England, which will be a very dangerous matter both in this and other matters that may fall out.

To that she pretends to be a free Prince, and so not bound to answer, it may be well answered that the case is now otherwise. First, *ratione proprie subjectionis*, as appears by her own allegation of Mr. Middlemore's message to her, in that she implored, and was contented to accept her majesty's protection in this realm. And as in well doing she enjoyed the benefit of her majesty's laws, so in evil doing ought she to feel the justice of the same laws. For the rule is *non mereri legis beneficium qui in legem commisit*. And unless she were subject to both, viz. the benefit of the subjection and justice, *melior esset conditio principis extranei peccantis quam boni regnantis*, which is against all law, dignity and prerogative royal.

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Besides, it may be said when my lord Chancellor and Lord de La Warr were sent thither her desire was to answer in the whole parliament; and to my lord Shrewsbury and myself she once offered to refer the decision of hers and her son's rights to the parliament.

Secondly, in respect of her being in the realm of England, she is subject to the laws of England, for no law can presuppose that at one time there can be two free Princes in England. And therefore some civilians hold that a Prince passing through another Prince's country is *tanquam privatus non rex, ideoque regalia neque conferre neque exercere potest*. He cannot make knights, etc., he cannot hang, etc. And therefore they conclude that a Prince, otherwise free, may commit treason during the time of his abode in another Prince's country, and so make himself subject to his laws.

Thirdly, she is not an absolute free Prince *ratione delicti in Anglia perpetrati*; for albeit, behaving herself well, she might be accounted a free Prince in England, yet *per delictum* or *contractum amisit merum illud imperium*, as if the Scottish Queen or other Prince should be in England [and] make a contract, that contract is to be judged according to the law of England whereto at the making they submitted themselves. And so is it *in delicto*. If her *treason* against her majesty had been continued without England, then the freedom of her person would have excused, etc., for that her majesty had nothing to do in that territory. But in England, under her majesty's jurisdiction, a free Prince offending is subject to her laws. Otherwise there must be two free princes in one realm, which cannot be.

And so is the case of Clementine Pastoralis. If the fact of Robert, King of Sicily, had been *intra districtam imperialem*, then the Emperor's sentence against him had been good; but being *contra vassallum Papalem propter factum perpetratum non in territorio imperiali, sed spectante ad sedem Romanam*, the Pope disannulled that sentence. And so the rule *non subditus non potest committere crimen læsæ majestatis* takes place *ubi non est subditus vel origine vel domicilio vel delicto, etc.*, as the civilians teach.

Her allegation to be a prisoner at war, and so to have liberty to do what she lists, is as vain. For then, *si timor est ne captivus turbet pacem non debet ei parei, sed potest ad mortem damnari*. She was used honourably at the first, her majesty sent commissioners to deal between her and her subjects; and under colour hereof she and her friends began to deal with the duke and afterwards proceeded further with Rudolphi; and so was she restrained, not as prisoner at war, taken upon the Borders, but for an action done in her majesty's realm under colour of courtesy and hospitality.

Many more things might be said and examples produced for this purpose. But I think it shall not need them; neither by reason of my infirmity can I do it at this present.

I trust this shall suffice for answering of your honour's letter. Touching my negotiations with her, I have overlooked them all. The first time I was sent to her, about eleven years since, to accompany the nephews and steward of Monsieur de la Motte, a little before he returned to France, I then had no especial message to deliver her, but only a token from her majesty.

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My second message was in November 1581, upon her desire that it would please her majesty to send to her some person to whom she promised to discover some matters, which were concerning the association between her and her son.

My instructions were to charge her with certain misbehaviours towards her majesty; but yet I was restrained to do this until I had further commission, and so was willed to advertise first her answers to the other points, which I did. And albeit I desired to understand her majesty's pleasure for the second part touching the charging, yet because her majesty then either meant to take hold of some of her offers or Monsieur being here were the cause, I received no further commission.

Thirdly, [April 1583] the Earl of Shrewsbury and myself had instructions to charge her with sundry misdemeanours, as appears by the same now sent to your honour, and by the copy of our letters then sent, hereto annexed, your honour shall perceive what her answers were.

Fourthly, in June 1583, I was appointed to attend upon the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Walter Mildmay, but had not my commission to deal with her.

Fifthly, I was sent to her in May 1584, upon occasion of some speeches delivered to Mr. Waad by her, with an instruction to offer the continuance of the treaty begun by Sir Walter Mildmay, if she would employ her credit for the restitution of the Scottish noblemen, and discover whether she was acquainted with a purpose that her cousins of Guise had to invade the realm, whereby her majesty might have cause to think that she meant well. This was upon Throgmorton's apprehension. Whereto her answer was that she had been no dealer therein herself, but was not bound to discover what she had understood from others, and she added that therein she must use the same protestation that she had done to the lord Chancellor and Lord De La Warr. Nevertheless, she would discover that when it would please her majesty to give a reasonable answer to her offers, and grant her her requests.

This is the substance of all that I can remember at this present. I beseech your honour that the inclosed papers may be safely kept, and that either by your honour or some others my book may be remembered and despatched. The man that should do the feat of taking oil out of cloth has written hither that he would send one hither, and offers to perform more than was first promised. I have nothing else worthy of writing to your honour, and so most humbly take my leave. London. *Signed*: Robert Beale.

5 pp. *Indorsed*: "Beall letter contra R. Scotiæ." *No address*.

Copy of the same.

Cott. Julius,
F. VI.,
fol. 30b.

Sept. 27. **47. BURGHELEY TO WALSHINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIX.

In perusing of some writings of moment this afternoon, there are found to be wanting the originals of two letters translated by Phelippes, the one of Sir Francis Englefield written 1584 to the Scottish Queen, and the other by Charles Paget, of the 20th or 21st of the last May, to the same Queen; both which, being of much importance and necessarily to be used tomorrow morning at the

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meeting of the lords, it may please you with speed to send to Phelippes to seek them out and to bring them hither early in the morning with him.

And so with my very hearty commendations I bid you farewell. From my house near the Savoy. *Signed*: "Your assured, loving friend, W. Burghley."

Postscript holograph—"We meane to sitt by 8 in the morning and I thynk all well not be well done afor 2."

1 p.

Sept. 29. 48. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIX.

Received his letters of the 28th instant. Is glad to find by the same that he is recovered from his late grief, and that he is appointed a commissioner to come hither. Trusts to be so happy as to see him once again before he dies. Should not have done so had he continued another year at that unhealthy house at Chartley. Finds himself already mended in health since entering on this journey. Has no other matter for this time. Fotheringay. *Signed*: A. Poulet.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 30. 49. ARTICLES FOR PASQUIER.

C.P., vol. XIX.

1. Whether he has not used to write letters for his mistress, the Scottish Queen, in cipher, and by whose commandment and order, either hers or Nau's, and to whom, and how many times.

2. What matters did the said letters contain and whether they were not to the prejudice of the Queen of England, namely touching an enterprise to be made for the change of religion and escape of his mistress, and deposing of her majesty by a combination of foreign forces and the home Catholics.

3. Whether he used not to decipher some of the letters that used to be sent his mistress in cipher, and whose they were that they used to decipher, and what they contained.

4. What alphabets and with whom had his mistress the same. In whose custody were they kept, and being appointed to decipher any letter, what was his mistress's order therein? Whether he delivered the same deciphered to herself or to Nau, and who kept the letters in cipher, or what was done with them.

5. Whether he did not always use to decipher the letters which came from Fontenay to his mistress or if not all, what letters of the said Fontenay he ever deciphered and what they contained.

6. Whether he did not decipher a long discourse sent by the said Fontenay to his mistress about Christmas was 12 months, touching his negotiation in Scotland, containing the same set down with divers propositions, and the King's answers thereto, and what the heads thereof were.

7. Whether he does not remember that there was one special article therein touching an enterprise to be made by the Pope, called by the name of Vaybode, the King of Spain, termed the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of Guise, who was called the

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Count of Huntington, against the Queen of England, termed Queen mother, in favour of the Queen of Scots, called the Queen of Navarre.

8. What the said enterprise was, when first and by whom propounded to his mistress, the number of forces expected or promised from Spain and the Duke of Guise. What the articles of the agreement for that enterprise were, what men of account in England were to have been employed therein, or had promised their assistance, whereupon the execution failed.

9. Whether he did not decipher certain letters that came to his mistress from one Parsons a Jesuit, one Hugh Owen and one Liggons, and what the same contained.

10. Whether the same did not concern specially the said enterprise before mentioned, and what the particularities thereof were, namely, whether it was not written to his mistress that the King of Spain had sent to the Prince of Parma a commission for execution thereof, and whether the said Prince of Parma did not write to the Queen his mistress to that effect, and assure her of his readiness to perform the matters committed to him.

11. Whether he has been acquainted with any letters written by his mistress to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Bernardino de Mendoza, Charles Paget, Thomas Morgan, the French ambassador at London, Courcelles, Lord Claud, D. Allen, D. Lewes, Sir Francis Englefield, Lord Paget, Thomas Throgmorton, and in former time to Monsieur Mauvissière, Francis Throgmorton. What did they contain and how often he has seen thereof.

[*In another hand* :—These were the articles whereupon Pasquier was examined in the Tower of London, 30th September 1586, by Sir Owen Hopton, Mr. Thomas Phelippes and Ed. Barker.]
Signed: Owen Hopton, Ed : Barker, Tho. Phelippes.

1½ pp. *In Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsed by him:*
"Articles ministered to Pasquier in the Towre of London."

Sept. 30. **50. ANSWERS OF PASQUIER.**

C.P., vol. XIX.

The examination and answers of Jerome Pasquier to certain articles whereupon he was interrogated within the Tower of London the 30th of September 1586 before Sir Owen Hopton, knight, Mr. Thomas Phelippes and Edward Barker.

To the first he answers that he has written letters in cipher for the Scottish Queen, his mistress, above twenty times, but always to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and to no other, for to him this examinant wrote most commonly all the letters which were written in cipher, as he thinks, and he so wrote continually by the order and commandment of the Queen his mistress.

To the second he answers that having written many letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow and some of them long since, he cannot possibly remember the several contents of the sundry letters, but he remembers that in some of them there was mention of the King of Scots' marriage, namely that Glasgow should procure a marriage between him and the Princess of Lorraine. He remembers also that divers times it was contained in those ciphred letters directed to Glasgow that he should hasten the enterprise. But he says he

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1586. does not know nor never understood what was meant by that enterprise, but thinks it was meant for Scotland.

Otherwise touching any matter contained in those letters which he wrote to Glasgow for the Queen his mistress by her commandment, tending to the prejudice of this state of England, he does not particularly remember any more at this present than that which is contained in one letter written in French entitled "Hopton, Barker, Philips," and subscribed in the end by this examinant, thus;—"Pasquier," which letter he read advisedly and afterwards subscribed with his own hand.

He confesses that by the express commandment of the Queen his mistress he wrote that letter in cipher to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and that after the letter was written in cipher the Queen herself delivered this examinant the postscript [*Added by Phelippes in the margin*—Touching Morgans liberty.] written of her own hand, and willed him to add that to the letter; which he did accordingly.

He remembers also that by the direction and commandment of his mistress, he wrote many times in cipher to Mauvissière, the late French ambassador, and to Châteanneuf, the now leger ambassador; but the contents of any those letters which might anyways tend to England, he does not remember, as he says, at this present than only this, that she willed Mauvissière to procure Francis Throgmorton's pardon, if it were possible, promising that in lieu of him there should be delivered out of prison in Scotland and discharged any of the best which were imprisoned there for rebellion.

To the third he confesses that he used to decipher many letters which was sent to the Queen his mistress from the Archbishop of Glasgow or the French ambassadors. He has also deciphered letters sent from the Prince of Parma to the Queen his mistress about six months past, and about two years since from the Duke of Guise, and no others, so far as he can now remember.

Being demanded what things have been contained in any of these deciphered letters appertaining anyways to the state, he says that Glasgow wrote that he had conferred with Mendoza and Taxes, and assured her from them that the Spanish King their master would do her any good he could, and that he would not have maintained so long so great an army under the Marquis de Santa Cruce, but only in regard of her service. And more particular points he does not remember at this present.

To the 4th he answers, the Queen his mistress had not, to this examinant's knowledge or so far as he has been made acquainted by her, any other alphabet than with those persons whom he has before mentioned, viz., the Archbishop of Glasgow, the French ambassadors, the Duke of Guise and the Prince of Parma. He confesses that by the Queen of Scots' appointment sometimes, and sometimes by Nau's direction, he has written divers other alphabets in cipher, but he knows not for whom they were. And all the alphabets were continually in the custody of the Queen or Nau, and were delivered to this examinant when he was to decipher anything, or to put anything into cipher. Touching the order of deciphering, *etc.*, he says he was wont to do all that he did

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in cipher in Mr. Nau's chamber, and if he received any letter from the Queen he would then deliver the same either in cipher or deciphered in her own hands, and if he received it from Nau he then delivered it back when it was done to Mr. Nau. And for the letters in cipher, he thinks they were always kept by the Queen herself.

To the 5th he confesses that he used to decipher some letters of Fontenay written to the Queen his mistress, but there was never anything contained in any of them, to his remembrance, anyways touching England or the state thereof.

To the 6th he confesses that he deciphered the long discourse sent to his mistress from Fontenay, specified in this article; but he says that he does not remember what were the points of the discourse.

To the 7th he says that he does not remember any such special article to be contained in that long discourse of Fontenay. He confesses that the three several papers written in French and entitled thus "Heopton, Barker, Phillipps, 30 Septembris" were and are all of his own handwriting, and were by him deciphered by the commandment of the Queen his mistress.

To the 8th he cannot answer otherwise, as he says, than to the 6th article.

To the 9th he answers he has not deciphered any such letters, nor knows no such men.

To the 10th he cannot answer otherwise than as to the 9th article.

To the last he answers that he has not been acquainted with any letters other than such as he has already now set down in these his examinations. And if he can remember more he will then confess them, as he says.

[*Added in another hand, in French*:—I have read all the articles hereabove just as I have received them, and I understand them well. *Signed*: Pasquier.] *Signed*: Wm. Heopton, Ed. Barker, Tho. Phelippes.

5½ pp. *Indorsed*: "Answer of Pasquier to the articles ministred unto him."

Sept. 30. **51.** MONSIEUR NABERT TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I wrote to you on the 16th of July last, as I had received two letters from you, the first letter of the 2nd of the said month, and the other of the 10th of May, the 12th of the same month of July; I do not know whence comes the fault.

In compliance with the said letters, after having communicated them to M. Hubert, I sent to speak to Monsieur de la Veille, who tells me that he has delivered all your papers to the said Sieur Hubert; and that there was no means of obtaining from the treasurer of Spain the 300 crowns remaining to you until he should have a certificate from the said treasurer that he had only paid you 200 crowns out of the 500, which must be had, so that it was necessary to have the day and date that he delivered the 200 crowns to you, or else to wait to verify his account.

As regards the one thousand crowns, after the Sieur Gerffronneau told M. Hubert that he had not the plea, we addressed ourselves to M. Jossier, from whom we have never been able to

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obtain the warrant or money bearing upon the said plea, both on account of the absence of M. Pinart and of the said Sieur Jossier. But now that M. D'Auneval is in this town he will be asked to speak to him about it, and if it had pleased you to write a line about it to the said Sieur Jossier it would have been best, inasmuch as he makes semblance of doing you service, albeit he does not keep his word, both my brother Hubert and myself having spoken to him about it several times. As regards M. Du Tabourin de Biscaye there is a default against him which must be adjudged: I suppose that the said Sieur Hubert writes to you fully about him.

Since my other letters I have received another from you about speaking to the Controller Le Brun, which I have done, and he told me that he had been assigned to satisfy you for the 1100 crowns; and not for the other. And he had delivered all your papers to the said brother Hubert. So that having spoken to him about it he told me that he would do what should be fitting to do about it; and, in fact, after your last letters of the 18th of August last he did speak about it to M. Do, to have you paid by the said treasurer of Spain. He will let you know what he has done about it. I think you will have a good result from it.

Your man is not yet come, but I heard from the said Sieur Hubert, who has been to talk with M. d'Auneval, that you have been sent to this place to help, of which I am very glad, and I pray God to give you good success there in that which you desire.

Not having any papers with me about your affairs I cannot do anything but what our said brother Hubert shall command me for you; wherein I will employ myself with all my heart, and in your other affairs as you shall command me. For the rest all goes well, thank God.

We were to have been paid 400 crowns and afterwards to get rid of us, but all has been revoked on account of our having been a whole month without going to the palace, and this year we are having a double vacation, to my great regret; so that I have all leisure to occupy myself in other affairs than my practice, should they present themselves.

My wife, your sister, greets you (who has had a daughter for our beginning), as do all our kinsmen and friends in these parts. Paris. 30 Sept. 1586.

1 p. *French. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[Sept.] 52. [] TO WALSHINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 667b.

"From the same spy to Sir Francis Walsingham."

I most humbly thank your honour for the great favour and bounty wherewith you entertain me. I am most sorry for the "ympayer" of your health, instantly beseeching the restitution and continuance thereof as to one to whose honours and services I am and will remain most deeply affected.

They on the other side not receiving any understanding from us since their last, with the packet for the Queen of Scots, having lately sent to the ambassador for assurance of the delivery of their letters, it were convenient therefore that your honour gave me some instructions touching the said packet and other occurrences

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till your honour's better convenience serve for dispatch of that delivery which should not be too long delayed, lest they require the said packet again.

The ambassador instantly requires what occurrences [are] out of Scotland and Germany, what the Prince of Condé does, and what her majesty's determination is likely [to be] for France. If your honour will that I write to them on the other side it shall be requisite that you give me the cipher again.

1 p. *Copy.*

[Sept.]

53. [] TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 667.

"From one of Sir Francis Walsingham's spies."

I advertised as your honour advised. He says that the resolution for the King's departure into France is not yet determined, but that the Earl of Arran alone was now to have gone into France for conditions and confirmation of the same. Yet his stay is very likely in respect of certain tumults presently likely to be raised against the King there, procured by us and to be executed by the Earl of Angus, Earl of Mar, the Lord Hamilton and the Master of Glamis, yet here, but shortly to depart thither, and others of the same faction there. Certain have already gone hence thither of late to insinuate and prepare the enterprise, *etc.*

This advertisement he had from one conversant among the Scots. I believe he is without all means of advertisement into Scotland, for he requested me to advise of some safe recourse thither, or that myself should undertake it. I put him in some hope for the future thereof if I could find therein any hope of my safety *etc.* He told me that his King advertised him by the last of a report in France of 2000 Englishmen to be landed on an island near Rochelle, and of a great quantity of powder, shot, and other ammunition to be sent hence and received at Rochelle, also that our great preparations here for the Low Countries have some special relation to give direct and personal aid even within the territories of France to the King of Navarre. He would most willingly have answered intelligence thereof, *etc.*

I have made him very suspicious that some of those whom Thomas Morgan and Christopher Paget commended to him for the receipt and delivery of letters deceive him and endanger Mr. Bl. and myself, so that he will be easily persuaded henceforth to deliver their letters to me, *etc.*

He does not acknowledge that his King has subscribed the holy league. I cannot find by any means that he has any recourse to the Queen of Scots, but that he would willingly have Mr. Bl. undertake that service, *etc.*

It were convenient that I understood what your honour will that I answer or advertise him, before Friday night, when I promised to see him again. He would also understand the time and manner of the Earl of Leicester's going into Holland.

1½ pp. *Copy.*

[Sept.]

54. DECLARATION OF MARY.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 632.

It is no small grief for me to think how hardly the Queen uses me after my long misery of imprisonment and indisposition of

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body, to stand suspected of integrity whereof I have given so great a testimony. I have not—as is well known—stuck to advertise the Queen of many things dangerous to her estate and person, wherein I was not only neglected but unjustly condemned by the malice of some of my private enemies, whereof I wanted not of the mightiest.

I have been contented with any course the Queen would with me, although I well proved when first the instrument of association was “disgested,” what way they meant to deal with me, wherefore it stands upon me to declare for myself, seeing my papers are gone from me, my servants sequestered, and myself unacquainted with the laws of this realm. And sure I am no man shall be allowed to speak for me. To avoid therefore the prejudice that I might do to other Princes, my son and myself, my answer is that I allow not her commissioners my lawful peers, and therefore I am not to be dealt with but by such as myself—absolute Princes—thinking it very hard that whatsoever is discovered of foreign powers, private practice in this land, or any other fruit of discontented humour, should be laid to my charge.

I confess I have given over what courses soever, and have committed the estate of me and mine to the consideration of other Princes, my allies and friends, protesting further that I never have done anything against her person, by whatsoever suggestion the Queen may be misinformed. But notwithstanding that I am an absolute Prince and not within the compass of your laws, nor to be examined or tried to yield to [any] but only to God, for I am equal to any Prince of Europe, yet this protestation saved to me that my answer may not prejudice my royalty nor be any hurt to my posterity, for that the crime which is laid against me is most horrible and unnatural, I will be contented for the clearing of my conscience and better satisfaction of others, to make answer only to anything that shall be objected against me touching the conspiring of my dear sister's death.

Thereupon Mr. Serjeant Gander informed the Lords that whereas the statute of assentation was enacted that if any person pretending title to this Crown, *etc.*, and so said that Mary, commonly called Queen of the Scots pretending title, *etc.*, had since the making of the said statute pretended title and gone about to compass and conspire her majesty's death, which he said should be proved by these means, *viz.*—(1) by a letter which she received from Charles Paget wherein she was advertised of one Ballard a priest coming over to understand what forces the Catholics were able to make in England, (2) her letter to Mendoza the Spanish ambassador and “leiger” in France to further the said service, (3) the receipt of a letter from Babington wherein was contained the whole plot of these practices, and that he and six of his dearest friends had undertaken and vowed the killing of her majesty, which they would perform or haply lose their lives, (4) her letter also of allowance in answer whereof, where also she advertised him to be very circumspect and sets down three means fittest for her delivery, *viz.*—(1) he with 100 followers to take her as she should be in the moors between Stafford, for commonly there went but 18 or 20 only with her keeper, with pistols: (2) about midnight to fire the houses adjoining the place where she was, and when her

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guardian's servants should come to the fire they might enter and suppress them, and so be masters of the house: (3) some carter who comes ordinarily might be dealt with in the midst of the great gate to overthrow his carriage, and they to enter there.

To this the Queen answered that touching the receipt of any letters from any personage she was not to answer, nor could not to any other point than to that whereby she might be charged to conspire the Queen's death. She said she had received divers letters from divers Princes and sundry persons, as was lawful for her, neither would she refuse the offer of any that would undertake her delivery though it were by invasion. She protested that she knew not Babington nor ever saw him or received any letter from him. But if Babington wrote to her as aforesaid, it is an ill argument to say because he so wrote, therefore she had conspired.

But she said these matters were not to the purpose nor answerable by her. It was answered by the Lord Treasurer that both these and the matters before repeated, as he took them, were necessary inducements to the proof of the matter wherewith she was charged, and they were so woven and interlaced one with another, as without the showing of this, the other could not appear. Therefore they were urged not as a matter to charge her, but to make the other apparent, and he said it was told him it was one o'clock, and therefore thought her grace had sat too long. He was sure there were some of the nobility who were not accustomed to fast so long, therefore if it should please her grace, it was a convenient place to leave at and to go to dinner, and after dinner at her pleasure they would come again, wherewith she said not for herself but for the nobilities ease, she was well pleased.

About 3 o'clock Mr. Serjeant Puckering made rehearsal of that which had been spoken, and further delivered the effect of her letter to Babington, which was read, whereof the Queen desired a copy or counsel. But the Lord Treasurer answered that the matter was in her knowledge whether she wrote any such matter contained in the letter or no, and therefore to require a copy or counsellors was to no purpose; whereupon she said the laws of this land were strange, that would neither permit her counsel, witness nor copy of that which she was accused of, and prayed God if they were such laws, to bless her from them.

Then she denied and said it was not her letter, which to prove the Attorney General took this course,—first delivered Water's confession, and after, both his deposition and Curll's, who both affirmed upon their oaths that, for that they had not seen the same letters after they read it to their mistress, they could not depose it was verbatim. Yet they swore that it was in effect the same and every point set down, first by her written in French, by Waters translated into English, and ciphered by Curll.

She answered that Waters was of no credit because he had been perjured, and Curll was perhaps timorous, and therefore they rather laid the matter upon her than took it upon themselves. After many other speeches Mr. Solicitor made repetition of what had passed that afternoon, and said that the confessions of Ballard and Babington, who were the Scottish Queen's favourers at their death, and the voluntary confessions and oaths of her own servants

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made so against her that there was nothing but the Scottish Queen's denial, which every offender would use. He hoped that wind would not blow away so manifest proofs, and therefore left it to their honourable and grave considerations.

And now being six o'clock they ended, save only there passed some speeches between the Scottish Queen and the Lord Treasurer, she urging that no promise had been kept with her and that she had no relief of the Queen, but was kept as a prisoner, whereunto my Lord Treasurer answered that though these matters were out of the commission, yet as a councillor he was bound to answer to anything that might impeach his mistress' credit. Therefore he prayed her to spare him, for he must needs tell her that she wronged his mistress, for he knew she had relief of her, and had enjoyed her life of her, and that if her majesty had not protected her since the time of her flying immediately after her husband, Lord Darnley, was murdered, her own countrymen would have killed her. Thus ended this day's account.

On Saturday morning the Council and nobility being set, and the Scottish Queen sent to to understand her pleasure whether she would come forth or no, she sent word that for her promise sake she would come to them, but she would not answer to anything that should be objected. Soon after she came to the place, where being set, she said that she thought she had been very hardly dealt with and in other sort than she imagined, but that from the beginning she had been so used and that she had always kept her word and never any promise holden with her for divers things at her first coming were ever performed.

For her liberty, for which she must appeal to the consciences of divers of the nobility, meaning the Lord Treasurer, Lord Shrewsbury and others, and since she was induced that she should "recreate" herself in hunting and in the meantime her chests were rifled, her papers taken away, and she dispoiled of them and divers of her servants, and lastly now she was brought in belief by these who showed the commission, that it was but to examine her touching the conspiracy of her dear sister's death, having more deeply looked into their proceedings yesterday and weighed their orders, she perceived that their meaning was otherwise. For there was no interrogatory ministered to her, but a plot laid long and advisedly, premeditated of, for which wise councillors were brought to handle, and wherein those that were judges were so instructed, as namely the Lord Treasurer, that what the councillors delivered against her he was able both to amplify and urge the same.

Therefore she was certainly persuaded that it was a matter to entangle her and to make a record against her, and therefore would not answer any further, but made this request to the nobility, that her protestation first might be remembered to her sister, and that she was not so dealt withal when she was held suspected of Wyatt's conspiracy.

Further she entreated that it might be delivered to her majesty, that if she must needs answer, that it be granted her to have this cause re-examined and redelivery of the writings taken from her made, because she was now taken upon the sudden, and upon

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better consideration of old letters she might make things which were now obscure more manifest, and because she was altogether inexperienced in the laws, that she might have her lawyers to deliver and answer for her. Then she would think herself more indifferently dealt withal.

It was answered that her majesty should be made acquainted with her request, but the Lord Treasurer said that they were come to hear the matter fully, and therefore if her grace would not answer, yet she must give them leave to hear and execute their commission. Therefore they left it to her pleasure whether she would sit still and hear or else take her ease, and repose herself in her chamber.

She said she would sit still but she would not answer, and bade them proceed at their pleasure. Now, Mr. Puckering the Queen's Serjeant delivered what remained, *viz.*, that Mary Queen of Scots had pretended title to the Crown since the making of the statute, which he proved by divers points out of her own letters and otherwise. So the same took end, and the Queen alleging it was false, used some private speech to the Lord Treasurer, and so passing down, turning to judges and the Queen's learned counsel bade "God forgive you lawyers for you are so sore fellows. God bless me and my cause from your laws, for it is a very good matter that they cannot make seem bad," then, calling to Mr. Vice-chamberlain and praying him to deliver her petition to the Queen and to Mr. Secretary, departed.

The Queen in her first speech "begone" turned her speech to Mr. Secretary and told him if she should believe what was told her, she might greatly suspect Mr. Secretary's dealing towards her. But she prayed him to take it in good part for she spoke it for good will for charity and did not believe report, and therefore prayed him not to be too credulous, for she verily thought that those who reported evil to her of Mr. Secretary would speak as badly of her to him.

She knew that he had intelligence which she had also, "and perhaps both one and they gained on both sides and were to be trusted on neither part." But she said she was told that Mr. Secretary went about to seek the blood of her and her son, an unchristian part if it be true, a matter that might move her to think that many things by sinister practices might be produced against her, her letters altered and witnesses hired, but she never so much as suspected any such matter.

Mr. Secretary most gravely answered that according to his duty by all lawful means he could he sifted out lewd practices and practisers against her majesty, and more than suspected her. In truth he carried great regard to have intelligence of her actions, but by lawful means without all corruptions, and protested that he did nothing of malice against her person or hers, but for duty to her majesty and her country. As for the letters they were never altered, but kept in such sort as was the office of an honest man, which he would stand to avouch before her and the world.

5½ pp. *Indorsed*: "Examination of the Queen of Scots."

Elizabeth.

1586. **55.** [GILBERT GIFFORD] TO THOMAS PHELIPPES.

[Sept.]

C.P., vol. XIX.

Sir, I will say no more, but I trust you will stand my good friend against all evil informers, and assure yourself by the faith of a Christian I always dealt faithfully with you, and never meant to abuse so honourable a personage. But, alas! if I desired to save my credit here, forgive me and deal so with our friends that they never know circumstances, which will prevail you greatly in a greater matter now in handling, whereof you shall hear presently after I receive your cipher.

Farewell, and remember my poverty. I have extreme want else I would not fail to see D. Allen at Rome. I beseech you send me the 10*l*. Send it to Walter Leson at the place named. Farewell. I have great matters, therefore fail not. *Unsigned.*

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Indorsed*: "To Mr. Philips."

Sept.

56. WALSINGHAM TO GILBERT CURLL.

C.P., vol. XIX.

Curll, you greatly charge me with my promise, and forget the favour you have received by my mediation. Yet your own conscience and judgment, weighing the foulness of your offences, ought to tell you that the favour you have already received is extraordinary. That which you have confessed is no more than that which you saw no reason to deny when you found yourself charged by your fellow Nau.

I have and will perform my promise so far forth as shall lie in me. The favour is to grow from her majesty. I can be but a mediator, and therein I shall have the better ground to deal for you, when you shall lay yourself so open that her majesty may see in you remorse for that which is past and a disposition to deserve her favour by acquainting her with your knowledge of such things as may any way concern her estate.

I pray God give you grace to take profit of this advice. At the Court.

1 p. *Draft. In Walsingham's hand. Indorsed*: "M. of my letter to Curle."

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 412.

Copy of the same.

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57. PRIVACY OF THE KING OF SPAIN.

C.P., vol. XIX.

Francis Throgmorton, 22nd November 1583.

The King of Spain.

About four years past Sir Francis Englefield wrote to him that he had been a mean that the state of this country had often been presented to the King of Spain, who after hearkening to the motion resolved to yield what furtherance he might, and to give all aid necessary for the reformation of religion, so they might be backed by such as were well affected within this country. He prayed Throgmorton to sound men therein, and gave direction how Throgmorton's letters should be conveyed to him.

Mendoza. After Throgmorton dealt with the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, to have letters conveyed between him and

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1586. Sir Francis Englefield. The ambassador agreed thereunto, affirming that he had been intreated in that behalf from Sir Francis Englefield.

Francis Throgmorton, 23rd November, 1583.

The King of Spain. His brother, Thomas Throgmorton, at his last coming hither out of France told him that for two years past there was continual solicitation by the Duke of Guise to the Pope and King of Spain to supply the Duke's forces, *etc.*, and that it was now grown to this resolution, that if there could be a party found in England to join in the action, and convenient places and means for landing and other things necessary, there should be a supply of forces for the Duke of Guise, and that John Baptista de Taxis, the Spanish ambassador in France, was acquainted with the matter.

Francis Throgmorton, 4th December, 1583.

Taxis, Mendoza. Baptista de Taxis, being wholly employed for the attempts to be made here by the Spanish King, commended Francis Throgmorton to the Spanish ambassador here. Mendoza told him, the said Throgmorton, what plot was laid for the enterprise by the Duke of Guise, and that he was willed to confer of the matter with the same Francis Throgmorton. Thereupon he, the said Throgmorton, acquainted Mendoza with the plot that he set down of the havens, and the catalogue which he had made of the names of noblemen and gentlemen that were fit to be dealt with in that cause. Thereupon Mendoza affirmed to him that the King of Spain had promised to disburse the one half of the charge that should grow in performing this enterprise, and that Parsons was gone to Rome to solicit the Pope for the residue.

Francis Throgmorton, 17th December, 1583.

Mendoza. It was debated between him and Mendoza how the Scottish Queen might be delivered with safety, and the lack of resolution thereof was the principal stay of the execution of the enterprise.

Francis Throgmorton, 9th and 18th December, 29th January, 1583.

Mendoza told him that Mope, whom after he declared to be Charles Paget, was sent over into England to sound the Catholics and to view the country and havens.

Francis Throgmorton, 26th January, 1583.

Mendoza. It was devised by Mendoza that such noblemen and gentlemen as would be contented to join with the foreign forces might by colour of their credits and authority in their countries, being justices of the peace, levy men as for her majesty's defence, and yet employ them to assist the invaders.

John Ballard, 8th August, 1586.

Mendoza. In Lent last he went into France and there about Easter last conferred with Charles Paget [and] Mendoza, and there they resolved upon the purpose of invasion and delivery of the Scottish Queen. Thereupon he was sent into England to solicit the matter

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1586. and to stir the people to be ready to assist the foreign forces, with direction from Mendoza that the Catholics here should appoint how many men, what money, armour and munition they would have, and the time most fit, and they should have it accordingly.

John Ballard, 16th August.

Parma. Charles Paget told him that the Prince of Parma had his commission to invade England.

John Ballard, 30th August.

Mendoza. He wrote to Charles Paget how far he had dealt with Babington, and what plot was laid here, requiring further assurance under Mendoza's hand for performance of his promises. Further, he was appointed to have gone into France to advertise Mendoza and Charles Paget in what readiness things were here, and to have resolved upon the time of the invasion and the execution of their designments, and that he was apprehended about the time appointed for his going.

The Scottish Queen's letter to Sir Francis Englefield, 9th October 1584.

"Whatsoever shall become of me, let the great plot go forward without respect of peril or danger to me."

"Further I pray you use all possible diligence and endeavour to pursue and procure at the Pope's and the Catholic King's hands such speedy execution of their former designments that the same may be effectuated some time this next spring, which is the longest time the same can be expected."

Sir Francis Englefield's letter to the Scottish Queen, 12th January 1585.

"If there be any hope of succour from hence I see no other way to procure it but by the Pope, the Prince of Parma, and the King's other ministers abroad. Sure I am that Taxis furthered it to the best of his power."

"It behoves that some way be found that the Prince of Parma be better informed as well of the number and readiness of the English Catholics, as of their uniform desire to have assistance."

The Prince of Parma's letter to the Scottish Queen, 12th January 1585.

"If I were not engaged with the duty I owe to the service of the Catholic King, my master, I would offer to come in person to the east parts, where your majesty should be pleased to command me to adventure the same in your service."

"And as touching the great secret, I will keep it as it becomes me, and put to effect as much as you shall command me, and shall be within my power."

D. Allen's letter to the Scottish Queen, 5th February, 1585.

"Madame my good sovereign, for our resolution out of Spain, the whole resolution is committed to the Prince of Parma, and that Father Parsons, Owen, and myself have brought the King's determination to the Prince, who seems as glad as we that he may

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1586. have the effectuation thereof. He gives great sign to do it straight upon the recovery of Antwerp. Parma, as I take it, by order of the King acquaints none particularly of these things fully but myself, Parsons, and Owen. They think it behoves very much that it be marvellous secret, that the affair is to be executed by him and by the way of Flanders."

The Scottish Queen's letter to D. Allen, 20th May, 1586.

"Reverend father in God, I am glad the King of Spain's ministers import their secret intentions to so few heads as you write."

"I will not refrain to accept of the Prince's offers and answer the same by whomsoever he likes best of."

The Scottish Queen's letter to Charles Paget, 20th May, 1586.

She writes very earnestly to Charles Paget to practise with the Spanish ambassador in France to incite the King of Spain to invade this realm and to take revenge of the Queen's majesty, *etc.*

The Scottish Queen's letter to Mendoza, 20th May, 1586.

Charles Paget had a large commission from her to impart to Mendoza certain overtures on her behalf, wherein she requires him to deliver freely what he thinks may be obtained thereof from the King his master. There was another point depending thereupon which she reserved to write to Mendoza himself to be sent to the King his master on her behalf, no man else, if it were possible, being privy thereunto, *viz.*, that she resolved, in case her son were not reclaimed to the Catholic religion, to give her right to the King of Spain in succession of this Crown, by her last will and testament, praying him to take into his protection both her and the state and affairs of this realm. [*In the margin*:—This letter was first written in French by the Scottish Queen with her own hand, and then translated into English and put into cipher by Curll, as he confessed, and subscribed the same 25th September 1586.]

Charles Paget's letter to the Scottish Queen, 29th May, 1586.

He brought Ballard to the Spanish ambassador, and Ballard declared to the ambassador the willingness of the Catholics to take arms, and what number they would make, armed and unarmed, and informed him also of the ports and many other things fit to be known. The ambassador gave him instructions how to proceed in more particular, and assured him that after satisfaction given in those particular points, the King of Spain would be brought to give them speedy relief, and that the aid should be by the Prince of Parma. The ambassador had already certified the King of Spain what Ballard came for. [*In the margin*:—A paper containing certain points taken out of this letter was shown to Curll, 25th September, 1586, who confessed that he deciphered the same letter and so subscribed the same paper.]

Mendoza's letter to the Scottish Queen, 5th July 1586.

"Charles Paget is gone to the Spa, and has signified that unto one which your majesty gave him in charge. I will thereupon

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1586. satisfy him with the affection and zeal which pertains to your majesty's service."

"The army by sea is preparing with great speed, which will not be only the greatest the King my master ever made, but that ever was seen in this age, of any Prince's, wherewith I hope in God shall be done a great service whereby your majesty's liberty shall be procured."

The Scottish Queen's letter to Anthony Babington, July, 1586.

She has of long time dealt with foreign princes touching the matters whereof he wrote unto her, *viz.*, invasion, *etc.*, always putting them in mind how dangerous their delays were to the Catholic cause. Amongst many points she advises to be considered of, one is of what ports and havens they could assure themselves to receive succours from the Low Countries, Spain or France. She advises also that after they had amongst themselves taken their best resolution, they should then impart the same to Mendoza, and she promises to write to Mendoza of the matter with all the earnest recommendations she could.

Note that the Scottish Queen after she had received Babington's letter and written answer to the same, thereupon wrote five several letters, all of one date, *viz.*, 27th July 1586, and to such effect as follows:—

1. To Mendoza. She wrote to Mendoza that she was discouraged for entering into any new pursuits, seeing the small effect of those in times past, that she shut up her eyes to divers overtures and propositions that were made to her by the Catholics. But upon that which of late she understood of the good intention of the King of Spain towards these quarters, she had written very amply to the principal of the said Catholics upon a "designee" which she sent. And for fear of loss of time she gave them order to despatch unto Mendoza with all diligence one from amongst them sufficiently instructed to treat with him, according to the general propositions which have been already made unto him of all things which they were to demand of him in that affair with the King his master.

She adds also that she would inform Mendoza of the means of her escape which she would take upon her to perform so as beforehand she may be assured of sufficient forces to receive and preserve her within the land whilst all the armies may assemble. [*In the margin*:—The original draught of this letter written in French by Nau and by him confessed and subscribed was shown to the Scottish Queen, and she confessed it to be his hand.]

2. To Charles Paget.

She wrote to Charles Paget that she had made a very ample despatch to the Catholics containing her advice point by point. She directed them to impart the same to Mendoza. She promised to write to Mendoza, as she did presently, to give credit to their messenger. For all difficulties which Mendoza could allege, as for getting her forth of hold or otherwise, he should be thereof sufficiently cleared and satisfied. [*In the margin*:—Two original draughts of this letter, one in French written by Nau, the other in

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1586. English by Curll, were acknowledged and subscribed by them, and affirmed by their oaths.]

3. To the Lord Paget.

She wrote to the Lord Paget that she doubted not he understood by his brother the overture which a deputy for the Catholics in this realm had made on their behalf to Mendoza, whereupon she wrote very amply to the principal of the Catholics upon a plot which she dressed for them to have their common resolution. For to treat accordingly with the King of Spain she addressed them to the Lord Paget. [*In the margin*:—Of this also two original drafts were shown and affirmed, *ut supra*.]

4. To Sir Francis Englefield.

She wrote to Sir Francis Englefield to give thanks to the King of Spain for the 12000 crowns, assuring him they should be employed to none other use but the accomplishment of her escape. The messenger sent from the Catholics declared their designment to Mendoza to know if the King his master would hearken thereunto, whereupon all good hope being brought back again unto them as they signified unto her, and finding the same in manner confirmed by Englefield's own letter, she made them a very ample despatch *etc*. She directed them to send one sufficiently instructed to Mendoza, to impart unto him particularly the whole plot, *etc*. [*In the margin*:—Of this also two like original drafts were showed and affirmed, *ut supra*.]

5. To the Bishop of Glasgow.

She writes to the Bishop of Glasgow to know if the Duke of Guise—in case peace be made in France—will join as heretofore he has promised in the enterprise of the King of Spain for this country. [*In the margin*:—The original draft in French written by Nau, and by him confessed and subscribed.]

6 pp. *Indorsed*: “A collection of divers thinges to prove the K. of Spayne to have been acquainted with the practices against England.”

Sept.

58. PLOTS BY MARY.

C.P., vol. XIX.

“Matters to prove the Scottishe Queene to be privie unto and a partaker of like former plottes, gathered out of her owne letters.”

Scottish Queen to Englefield, 9th October 1584.

Of the treaty with the Queen of England for her liberty, she neither hoped nor looked for good issue, and that the execution of the great plot and designment should go forward without respect of peril or danger to her, and that he should procure at the Pope and King of Spain's hands a speedy execution of their former designments.

Scottish Queen to Charles Paget, 21st May 1586.

“I see, as things stand, no other means to reestablish my affairs on this side, except the King of Spain, being pricked in his particular, would take revenge of England whilst France being occupied as it is cannot help her. I remember Don John was of

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1586. opinion that there was no other means to set up the King of Spain's affairs than in reestablishing this Crown under God and a Prince his friend."

Scottish Queen to Mendoza, 20th May 1586.

"I find myself greatly troubled what course to take anew for the affairs on this side the sea. Charles Paget has charge from me to impart to you certain overtures on my behalf, whereupon I pray you deliver him freely what you may think may be obtained thereof from the King our master."

Scottish Queen to Mendoza, 27th July 1586.

"For my own part I will confess freely that I was so discouraged from entering into any practices, seeing the small effect of them in times past, as I shut up mine eyes to divers overtures and propositions of enterprises that have been made me within these six months by the Catholics, having no means to give them any sound answer," and thereupon did advertise him of the last plot addressed by her to the Catholics, as she terms them.

Scottish Queen to Babington, 27th July 1586.

"For stirring on this side before you be well assured of sufficient foreign forces, it were but for nothing to put yourselves in danger of following the miserable fortune of such as heretofore travailed in like occasions."

"In any wise, never keep any paper about you that may in any sort do harm, for from like errors have come the condemnation of all such as have suffered heretofore, against whom could there otherwise have been nothing proved."

Scottish Queen to Charles Paget, 27th July 1586.

"If his Holiness and the King of Spain will yield to this enterprise, I desire they should declare resolutely and plainly, undrawing things to length by artificial negotiations and vain hope, as has been done hitherto."

Scottish Queen to Englefield, 17th July 1586.

The principal is to have the King's plain and assured promise and no artificial entertainments as have been given heretofore. That of the Lord Paget's wisdom and virtue she had experience before in divers occasions of importance.

Scottish Queen to Lord Paget, 27th July 1586.

"You may freely and surely communicate all these affairs to Englefield, having so long time had the managing of all that has concerned me in these parts, and travelled in like enterprises."

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Indorsed*: "Collections out of the Scottishe Queene's owne letters to prove her a dealer heretofore in matters against her majestie and the realme."

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59. EXTRACTS DELIVERED TO EDWARD WOTTON.

"A memoriall how the tenne parcells of extractes and copyes delivered to Mr. Wotton are to be used."

First, for demonstration of the just causes her majesty has to

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reckon herself assured of the French King's entire affection towards her and devotion to the amity of England, serves the extract thereof taken out of the intercepted letters for that peculiar point marked with the Figure 6.

(2) For manifestation of the attempt against the Queen's person, invasion of the realm, and stirring a rebellion within the land.

To have been propounded by Sir Charles Paget and Babington, with her acceptance and approbation of the whole, serves :—

The extract of the letters sent by Charles Paget to her, 29th May 1586, with the said Queen's answer of the 27th July 1586 touching the enterprise of the Catholics by the entremise of Ballard, Figure 5.

The copies of Babington's letters to her and hers to Babington, Figures 1 and 2, verified by a copy of Nau's confession, Figure 9, showing both the manner of writing and making up all her despatches, and particularly proving the said letters to Babington to have been written with her own hand.

The extract of the letters written from the Scottish Queen to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir Francis Englefield and Lord Paget, 27th July, 1586, Figure 3, all which divers circumstances concurring in these principal points, as also does that to Charles Paget of the same date, Figure 5. That an overture had been made unto her by the Catholics of England for to join with foreign forces for disturbance of the present state.

That she had embraced the same.

That she had thereupon made them an ample despatch, which was that to Babington, with direction for all things necessary for the execution thereof.

That every of them should yield the best furtherance they might for to bring the said enterprise to good effect. Mendoza and Charles Paget for to treat with his master of that which was necessary to be performed on his part. The Bishop of Glasgow for to travail at Rome, and by all means to advance the correspondence of the Pope with the King of Spain, and that on Scotland's side he should assay to set up some new faction against that of England, and deal with the Duke of Guise either to keep France occupied, or the peace being made, to join with the King of Spain in this enterprise upon the dissolution of the armies. Sir Francis Englefield and Lord Paget to be earnest in Spain with the King in her name for his full resolution upon the overtures made to him by Mendoza, and thereupon his advice where and how his forces should march.

(3) For to draw the King's affection from the said Scottish Queen, and incense him against her and her servants, and particularly to better the delivery of Morgan and Paget. By shewing :—1. The said Queen and her servants' inwardness and devotion to Spanish causes serves the extract of her own despatch to Charles Paget and Mendoza, 20th May 1586, concerning the deliverance of the King of Scots into the Spanish King's hands, and alienation of this Crown to the King of Spain by her testament, Figure 4. And the articles A. B. Q. T. whereby Morgan is discovered to have had intelligence to have practised both against

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the Queen and the French King with Mendoza since his imprisonment.

2. The said Queen and servants' dislike disgracing and crossing and hatred of that King's person and course of government and their partial or factious affection to the house of Guise and participation of their enterprises. Verified (a) against Morgan in the extract, articles C. D. H. G., written since his being in prison, and articles N. and Q. whereby he discovers himself privy to the Leaguers' enterprise before it burst forth, and to have sought to cross the amity of England at the presenting of the Garter.

(b) Charles Paget, article G.

(c) Parsons the Jesuit's privy to the Leaguers enterprise and a practice thereof before it was discovered, article O.

(d) Bishop of Ross, article P.

(e) By the extract of letters written by the Queen of Scots' domestic priest called La Rue, sent from her own side into France and employed and trusted, as by the said letter appears, and having been since in Spain for her causes and the Leaguers, returning he was despatched by the King to Rome.

3. The said Queen, Paget and Morgan to have been dealers against her majesty.

For charging of Paget particularly serves his own letter of the 29th of May, propounding the said enterprise of Ballard, Figure 5.

For charging of Morgan particularly serves his own confession, article F, to have been a special contriver of the plot taking upon Creyton the Jesuit, article E, against the Earl of Leicester, article K, with Doctor Gifford, a seminary priest that first set Savage to work, which was one of the six to kill the Queen, articles R. S. and V., with Ballard, who was likewise privy to the said conspiracy and with all that was contrived.

(3) Lastly, for furtherance of his delivery serves the extract whereby may appear to the King how both he and her majesty were abused in the perusal of Morgan's papers when he was first demanded, the papers being concealed and his proceedings disguised by Cherelles and others more careful of the Queen of Scots and the Queen's rebels' safety than of their master's own honour and satisfaction.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Draft in Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsed: "A memoriall from the extractes delivered to Mr. Wotton and to be used."*

Another copy of the same. *In Phelippes' hand, with this additional note: "Note further y^t Morgan is pryvie to all y^t passed from the Scottish Q. to Pagett having receaved his letters during his absence at Spain and decifred them and treated with the Spanish ambassador in his absence."*

[1586.]

60. CONCERNING A SECRET LEAGUE.

[Sept.]

[*Notes in Burghley's hand.*]

"A note of such things as are

"Hir majesty for answer to be resolvid by the Queen's hereto sayth that she can not majesty touching the secret resolve uppon any partieu- league."

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laretys concerning these articles untill it may be understood from you, first whyther y^e intention of this secret leage be not both for y^e mayntenance of Monsieur's actions in y^e Low Contries, and for y^e assistance of Don Antonio to recover y^e kyngdom of Portugall.

Secondly hir majesty is to be informed accordyng to my late wrytyng to you, what may be thought to be or that will be y^e charges of Monsieur, and how y^e same may be born by y^e States accordyng to their compact, and what shall be furder thought mete for a supply. And than may it be considerid how that supply shall be answered, how much by Monsieur hymself, how much by y^e French Kyng, and than it may be considerid what hir Majesty's portion may be, to whose benefitt y^e acquisition of y^e Low Contreys can not redound as it shall to y^e crown of France."

"To y^e 4th hir majesty can best lyk to have y^e compact made secrett as y^e natur of y^e cause requireth."

1 p. *Indorsed.*

The foregoing notes amplified by Burghley.

Lansd. 112,
fol. 24.

Oct. 1. 61. ATTORNEY GENERAL POPHAM TO BURGHELY.

Lansd. 50,
fol. 61.

My humble duty done; may it please your lordship to be advertised that, immediately upon the receipt of your lordship's letter yesterday, I gave order to the clerk of the Crown to make the commission, with a space for the Scottish Queen's name, as you directed; but for that his clerk was past that part of the commission before the letter came, I caused him to write it off new, and for that I gave order it should be written in a set hand—in respect it was of great importance, and to continue in after ages—it will not be finished until to-morrow at night, so that I cannot yet send it unto your lordship. And therefore I send you herewith a true copy of the substance of the commission, omitting the most of the names, with a space where the name of the Scottish Queen is to

1.

"What some of money her majestie wilbe content to contribute. In what sort, openly or secretly."

2.

"To what somme we shall presse the King to yeld unto in proportion of that which her Majestie shalbe pleased to supply: whether dooble or treble more then the said somme which her highness shalbe content to contribute."

3.

"How long her Majestie wilbe pleasid to contribute the said somme, and upon what consideracions, whether by way of loane or other wais. And if by way of loane, what caution she will require. And whether it wer not meete to covenant with him to procure the bondes of the States *ad majorem cautelam* within soon convenient tyme for the repayment of the same."

4.

"Whether her Majestie could not best lyke that this secret treaty betweene the King and her shuld passe onely by mutuall promesse to be contaynid in pryvat letters under their owne handes."

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be put in ; wherein it may please her majesty to have a great care, and not upon any conceit to hazard the whole proceedings. For besides her Christian name she must also have either the surname of her last husband or the name of her father, as was set down ; for no name of dignity is taken knowledge of by our law, but that which is grown or created within her majesty's dominions, or by her majesty's or her progenitor's warrant. But in the *alias dictus* anything may be said that shall please her majesty, being once surely named as the law requireth before.

Wherefore I humbly beseech your lordship, if anything be so set down therein as may endanger the whole proceedings, it may be so known to her majesty, and thus to set off the blame that hereafter might grow to us thereby. It may be this without peril :—*Maria filia et heres Jacobi quinti nuper Regis Scotie alias dicta Maria Regina Scotie et Francie*. For it is not regarded what the *alias dictus* is. And if this might be resolved on by her majesty so as I might have knowledge thereof to-morrow, then shall your lordship have the commission itself on Monday morning, for I doubt the man that writeth, being old, will not be well able to travel to the court, and there is not another that I know to write it so.

I have likewise sent your lordship herewith the course that we have thought on for our proceedings, which it may please your lordship to reform, and further to direct us therein, as in your honour's judgment shall seem best for this service. I am by that your lordship writeth much in doubt your lordship may hardly be spared from hence, and yourself not to be at the proceedings may work great prejudice to the whole thereof, in respect whereof, if her majesty could so be persuaded, it were better the Scottish Queen were brought nearer than yourself to be absent. Chancery Lane. 1 Oct. 1586. Signed: Jo. Popham.

2½ pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Oct. 1. 62. THE ENTERPRISE OF ENGLAND.

C.P., vol. XX. Deliberation of the *Vaivode* Prince of Orange and the Earl of Huntington against the Queen Mother in favour of the Queen [*sic*] of Navarre.

If your majesty accepts and desires that she be advanced and maintained, it is necessary to know at once your resolution upon the whole.

I refer myself to what I have said to you about it, and to my resolution which I will send to her by my first opportunity.

The King of Scotland, through the false information of the Master of Graye and the persuasion of Aran, partisans of the Queen of England, has lost almost all desire and hope of the said enterprise, which, nevertheless, he fears extremely may be executed without him and without his knowledge. The artifices which have been used to divert him from it and from entering into this matter, and to embark him in England are ; firstly, by making him to abhor the Pope, to apprehend the extreme ambition and insatiable desire of Spain for the enlargement of his empire, even to making him believe that Monsieur de Guise himself would

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1586. accommodate himself to a party in England for his recompense if he once finds himself injured; secondly, by making him believe that it is more than fifteen years since this suggestion was put forward by your majesty, and that hence it may easily be held that this enterprise cannot be done for his sake, but only for your deliverance and to despoil him of his realm, asserting moreover the difficulty and impossibility of the said enterprise as well on the part of the King of France, who would oppose himself to it, or would at least hinder Guise from meddling in it, as also that it is divulged to every one, Jesuits and others, that the Queen of England being now advertised she will provide against it by some means or other.

These are the same reasons that the King has put before me, and yet I know well that he does not wish utterly to renounce it, reserving to himself this string to his bow in case he cannot come to an agreement with England, being able to assure himself that he will not write to her his resolution touching the said enterprise until he has made an end of these affairs of England.

For the execution thereof whether you desire that soldiers be sent you with powder and provisions, or only money, and to what amount?

The like.

The fear and the apprehension which have been given to the King your son of the ambition and strength of Spain, and the insatiable avarice of the Earl of Aran and his wife have caused his majesty to resolve to take money instead of soldiers, telling me that he has enough of them in his kingdom provided he had money to pay them.

I certify that this is the true copy of part of a letter which is written by my hand deciphered by me by the commandment of the Queen my mistress.

1 October 1586. *Signed*: Pasquier.

1½ pp. *Indorsed*: "Copy of an article of the despatch of Fontenay, 25 November 1584. Touching the enterprise of England."

Oct. 2. 63. PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MARY.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 550.

"A breife plott for the course of proceedings against the Scottish Queen, out of a copy in my Lord Tresuror's hand."

1. To set down Ballard's dealing with Mendoza and Paget in France about the Saturday or Saturday seven-night after Easter last as it was, and his coming into England, at what time and to what end.

2. Then to set down the proof of Ballard's dealing with Babington, and what new plot was laid by them to take away her majesty's life, and a former plot laid at Rheims for that purpose to have been executed by Savage abovesaid.

3. Then the letter of the 25th June last, whereby the Scottish Queen desired to have her intelligence renewed with Babington, and to have her letters sent out of France and Scotland to be conveyed to her.

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4. Then to read the letter sent about the 6th July last by Babington to the Scottish Queen, and to maintain it by his own confession and subscription, and that it was sent to the Scottish Queen in that it was written in the cipher that was only between them, and that she received it, in that she made answer thereto in the same cipher, verified by Babington, Nau and Curll, and found with herself, as we take it.

5. Then to read her letter returned to Babington and to maintain it by the confession of Babington, Titchborne, Dunne and Ballard, and in that it was in the self-same cipher which was between the Scottish Queen and Babington, and was a direct answer point by point to what he had before written to her. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:—"Nota that the cipher be carryed with us."*]

This being opened and the matter thus far proved, then to see what answer she will make hereunto, and her answer being made to these proofs, then to reply with that on the other side [*as follows:—*]

First, to read the Scottish Queen's letter to Englefield, of the 9th October 1584, whereby she required that the execution of the great plot might go forward. [*Marginal note:—This would be subscribed by Curll.*] Then read Nau, to prove that great plot to be the invasion of this realm.

Then read her letter to Charles Paget of the 21st May last, whereby she required the re-establishing of her affairs on this side of the sea, and that there was no means to do it than to have the Spanish King set on England, and that there was no means to establish that King's affairs but to have this realm under a Prince his friend, and her letter then to Mendoza for that purpose. [*Marginal note:—The original is had.*]

Then read Charles Paget's letter thereupon to the Scottish Queen, of the 29th May last, advertising her what had been done with Ballard, and how Mendoza had directed that affair. [*Marginal note:—The points hereof are verified by Curll.*] Then fortify the letter by Babington, that she received it, by the note taken out by Nau and by the several letters of the 27th July last sent by her to Charles Paget, Mendoza, the Lord Paget, Englefield and Glasgow concerning that cause, whereof the originals were found with herself, for the most of them.

Then to set down the proof made by Nau and Curll of these several letters, and the manner how the Scottish Queen used to direct these letters, to be drawn first in French in her cabinet by Nau, then to be "Englished" by Curll and read to her again, and so to be put in ciphers by Curll.

Then that Babington received her letters, and together with Titchborne, Ballard, and Dunne, set down the particular contents of that letter before such time as they saw any copy of it, and after, Babington seeing the copy of it, verified the contents thereof by his subscription thereto, under his own hand, and that both Curll and Nau have done the like to the copies delivered to them. [*Marginal note:—Babington's confession at his arraignment.*]

3½ pp. Copy. Marginal notes in Burghley's hand. No indorsement.

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1586. 64. MONSIEUR BRULART TO [].

Oct. 2.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 547.

The King has resolved to send you this note, and to send you those which he wrote to the King of Scotland in favour of the Queen his mother, whom he cannot abandon in the affairs which present themselves without being blamed and doing great wrong to his reputation and bringing harm upon himself; it being very certain that the enemies of his said mother who try by all means to exclude her from ever being able to come to the succession of the realm of England, achieving their design will be able afterwards to do the like to him much more easily, of which he ought to think well as for his own person. St. Germain en Laye. 2 October 1586. *Signed*: Brulart.

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 3. 65. ATTORNEY-GENERAL POPHAM AND SOLICITOR-GENERAL EGERTON TO BURGHELY.

Lansd. 50,
fol. 63.

Having this morning conference with such of the judges as be at this present here, namely the lord chief baron, Sir Thomas Gawdy, Justice Wyndham, Justice Peryam and Justice Roades, and with Mr. Serjeant Gawdy touching the course of proceeding in the commission, we thought good amongst other things to understand their opinions by what name the Scottish Queen was to be called in the commission and record. And herein we find them all of the opinion that to give her directly and precisely the name of *Regina Scotorum*, either in the beginning or by a copulative as is set down in your lordship's last letters, cannot well be warranted by law, and therefore they hold it the surest way to name her *Maria filia et heres Jacobi quinti nuper Regis Scotie communiter vocata Regina Scotie et dotaria Francie*; whereof we presume to advertise your lordship, to the end such course may be taken therein as may be warranted by law and the importance of the case requireth.

And such councillors are all to be named in the commission as are councillors at the time of her majesty's signature.

We have also sent the commission, not certainly knowing there be any new councillors, with a space for such further addition after the Scottish Queen's name as upon this advertisement shall be thought requisite, and with a space also for the *teste* by one that writeth the nearest that we can get to the hand that the commission is written with. But if there be new councillors it must be new written.

The judges have required us to recommend their humble suit unto your lordship that their lodgings may be so sorted that they may be somewhat near together, to the end they may be the more ready for such conferences as is likely in the course of proceedings will often fall out to be requisite. *Signed*: Jo. Popham. Tho. Egerton.

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 4. 66. MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 183.

"I have imparted your honours' letters with the rest from my Lord Treasurer unto her majestie; who for the pointe of renewinge the commission alloweth of his lordships direction, though she

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thinke it a ceremonye nedeles in respect of addinge the names of Mr. Wolley and my self, which she sayeth is more then the wordes of the statute dothe exact: but because the judges think it so fytt she is content it passe so."

"For the style of the Scottish Quene her majestie is likewise pleased that thes wordes mencioned in my Lord Treasurers letter *comuniter vocata* or *appellata Regina Scottorum* be inserted in the sayde comission, if to his lordshippe your honour and her learned counsell it be founde expedient."

"For the parliament her highnes could verrie well allowe of the xxiiijth of this presente if it be not to shorte a daye in respect of this jorney of my lords, whose retorne she doubteth will hardlye be tyme inoughe; and therfore wisheth it were proroged to some fewe daies longer, if his lordship and your honour thinke yt convenient, to whose judgments she referreth yt. And is likewise pleased that for the ceremony of adjourninge thereof a commission be drawn and sent her, lyke to that whereof my Lord Treasurer remembreth a president anno i^o of her majestes reigne."

"All which when you shall sende unto me I will procure to be dispatched with all the speede I maye."

"Tirrell his letter was vearie pleasinge to her hignes, bothe for the style and affection of the author, of whome she conceaves well, and hath commaunded aue to signifye unto my Lord Treasurer and your honour that looke what course you shall thinke fytt to be taken with hym she shall vearie well allowe of."

"Lastlie for the particular letters and other thinges mencioned in my Lord Treasurer his letter as fytt to be remembred and carried downe with the rest of the instruccions and memorialles, her majestie wisslieth they shoulde not be forgotten." At the Court.

1 p. *Minute. Indorsed.*

Oct. 4. 67. MONSIEUR D'AISNEVAL TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I wrote to you lately how the King had repaired to Monseigneur at St. Germain en Laye, where he was to be the 6th or 7th of this month. I hope to go to see him soon: meanwhile I am betaking myself to my house of Sazeran, whither I was not willing to set forth without sending you news of myself, fearing that you may be much distressed to be so long without hearing from me. I will tell you, then, that I have just received at this moment letters from Monsieur de Chasteauneuf, who tells me that there is more talk than ever in England about this conspiracy. Moreover, that on the 23rd of September they condemned seven of the principal ones to death, among others Babington, and the next day eleven more. That the Queen of Scotland is strongly accused by them. That Nau and Curle are yet prisoners, who have confessed all, being also convicted by the letters that have been found. That they have strongly accused you, and that he had been told that the Queen of England had despatched with all speed to the King of Scotland to pray him to arrest you as a prisoner, which I do not think he will do, and wherein you ought always to protect and defend yourself by the authority of the King whose servant you

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are, and if you see that you have need thereof, betake yourself to the houses of some gentlemen of the country well affected to his majesty, until I have represented to him all that is happening in those parts and have let you know his intention thereupon; which will be, I promise you, as soon as it is possible to me, being infinitely vexed that he has not been pleased sooner to hear his affairs, which are advancing no more in any other matter which presents itself in these parts, his said majesty having retired to his ordinary devotions, when he is seen only by a very few persons. The Queen his mother is still at Chenonceau, whence she despatched to the King a few days ago the Sieur de Chemereaux, who had been to the King of Navarre, to whom she has since again despatched a gentleman. It is not yet known to what point they have come about their treaties; by the first opportunity I hope to write you more thereof; meantime I pray you to take care to maintain yourself in those parts. 4 Oct.

Monsieur de Chasteauneuf has written to me that since your man was arrested half way to Scotland and brought home again about a fortnight ago, he has made semblance from day to day of starting to come to France, albeit he does nothing in it, excusing himself on account of a passport which had been given him, and which he says cannot serve him because he is English. And thereupon he was seen on a certain morning with two Englishmen at the lodging of Archibald Duglas, and the said Sieur de Chasteauneuf knows for certain that your said man went upstairs to the room of the said Duglas to speak to him. Advise thereupon what you will have to do, and let me know the resolution that you come to, in order that if he should come hither I may know what I ought to do with him.

1½ pp. *French. Partly in cipher, deciphered. Indorsed.*

Oct. 4. **68. MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO BURGHLEY.**

C.P., vol. XX.

Has received two letters from their lordships addressed to Walsingham, and another to himself concerning Tyrrell, accompanied with one of Tyrrell's to him [Burghley]. Communicated all to her majesty, who is very well pleased that the commission should be reformed as he directs, by the advice of the judges. She thinks the words of the statute do not necessarily exact the adding of Mr. Wolley's name and his own. For the style to be given to the Scottish Queen, let *vocata* or *appellata Regina Scotorum*, mentioned in their lordships' letters, be inserted, if it is found material; also that the commission be drawn and sent to her [Elizabeth], for prorogation of the parliament, according to precedent, touched in his said letters.

The Queen of England could be content that the day be the 24th, if it be not too short for the return of the lords, which she doubts can hardly be so soon. Therefore she could wish it were stretched some few days longer. Notwithstanding, she remits it to their lordships' judgment.

The letter from Tyrell was very agreeable to her, both for the style and affection of the man, which she greatly commends, allowing him and Mr. Secretary to take what course with him they think fittest for her service.

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Has no other matter presently but to pray God to bless his lordship's journey with such happy issue as may be to His glory, the surety of her majesty and peace of the commonwealth. At the Court at Windsor.

1 p. *Copy. Indorsed: "Minute to My L. Treasurer."*

Oct. 5. 69. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XX.

Was very willing to have provided a chamber for him. Had taken order for it; but Sir Walter Mildmay gave him to understand that the chamber adjoining the Council Chamber shall serve for himself [Walsingham] and him [Mildmay], and that Mildmay would have it so. Mildmay has also made provision for Walsingham's diet in that chamber.

Has taken order for room for ten or twelve of his [Walsingham's] horses in the stable appointed for his own [Powlet's] use.

Cannot thank him enough for his favour and friendly proffer touching the traffic desired by the merchants of the west parts to be established in Jersey and Guernsey. Can say little therein without conference with merchants. Heartily prays that if this traffic be granted it may be less indifferent to both the isles, and then doubts not his neighbour Sir Thomas Leighton and himself shall agree very well.

He [Walsingham] will not be here as soon as he [Powlet] wishes him. Thinks every day three until he comes. Fotheringay. *Signed: A. Poulet.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 5. 70. MONSIEUR COURCELLES TO MONSIEUR CHATEAUNEUF.

C.P., vol. XX.

I wrote to you before that I had received those which it had pleased you to send me; to which I cannot make answer so promptly, as well by reason of having had no certain advice of that whereof you wrote to me, as also that the King of Scotland had not disclosed to any one what care he wished to have of the Queen his mother, the matter whereof concerning him more than any other it seems to me that it sufficed merely to let him know the danger wherewith she is threatened, in order that according to the duty and natural obligation which he owes her he might consider how to assist her with his favour in this so urgent necessity. Also that I thought that the Queen of England would not cause proceedings to be taken against her without first sending some one of her people to understand what would be his will and to have his consent therein. And that meanwhile I might well await what should be the intention of his majesty in order to conduct myself according to the same: yet resolving, since I had not the honour to receive anything from him and I saw the said Queen of Scotland in the greatest danger, to speak in her favour to the King her said son, whom I have not yet had occasion to see, and to do some office with him on behalf of her said majesty. And nevertheless to keep him advertised of what was happening. [*Here follows cipher.*] Wherein I assure myself that you will find much appearance, because I hope to write to you thereof by the first opportunity.

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The King of Scotland has caused an assembly to be made of some lords of his realm, wherein some edict has been passed against the Catholics, and specially against those who shall harbour Jesuits in their houses. A levy of 16,000 of this money has been granted him, which amounts to 20,000 of France, to purge again the frontiers of the thieves and robbers who pillage every one of them. If the marriage of the little Duke of Lenox with the daughter and sole heiress of my lord Hamilton continue, it is said that the wife of the laird of Johnston has written to the King that the Earl of Angus had resolved upon an attempt against him, as the only remedy to hinder the said marriage, which is not at all agreeable to him, and that to this effect, for greater proof of what there is in it, she has been sent for. Some hold that it is a suppositious thing; nevertheless time will make known the truth. I beg you, my lord, to excuse the vexatious letters which I wrote you lately, which were upon this, that Monsieur d'Auneval informed me that the Queen of England had spoken to him of me as the greatest rogue in the world, which I owe in part to the good offices of Monsieur de Mauvissière, who, as I was advertised a long time ago, had spoken of me in this fashion after I had left England, and in other terms than I deserved and expected of him, in order to render himself more agreeable to the said Queen of England, whom he knew bears me but little good will, and for that cause was not unwilling to hear evil spoken of me. I remain obliged to him. The said Queen of England might say what pleased her, and have such opinion of me as she would, but the said Sieur de Mauvissière, saving his correction, ought not to have delivered himself so freely without any occasion thereof given to him. I am ever awaiting news from his majesty, to whom I write now by the high seas.

4 pp. French. Partly in cipher not deciphered. Indorsed.

Oct. 5. 71. MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO BURGHELEY.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 185.

"I have acquainted her majestie with your lordships letters, which I receaved ymediatelic before dinner: who notwithstandinge all the reasons I could alleage unto her dothe deferre to signe both the one and other commission till she heare againe from you."

"For the daie to which the parliament is to be adjourned, her majestie thinketh best, both for the certaintie of the lords retourne and for the better consideringe of the course to be taken uppon their reports, that it were deferred to Mondaie the laste of this monethe, which is the neerest I can yet bringe her to, unles your lordships particuler advice to her doe helpe it."

"Her majestie takethe som exception to the disposinge of the wordes to be added to the greate commission, for where it is said, *tam per Mariam filiam et heredem Jacobi quinti nuper Scotorum Regis ac communiter vocatam Reginam Scotorum et dotariam Franciæ*, her highnes invertinge the order of the latter wordes and marshallinge them otherwise thinketh it more proper to saie, *tam per Mariam filiam et heredem Jacobi quinti nuper Scotorum Regis et dotariam Franciæ, communiter vocatam Reginam Scotorum*."

"To satisfie her highnes herein I alleaged the care and consideration used by your lordship to send it her in such forme as

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was requisite in lawe, the opinion of her judges, the speciall wordes of Mr. Attornies letter, that theie might in no wise be changed, the necessitie of expedicion in regard of the shortnes of the time, *etc.*: all to litle purpose till she heare further from your lordship, to whom I have therefore thought good to dispatche this messenger expresselie, humblie beseechinge your answere with as much speed as maie be.' At the Court at Windsor.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Copy. Indorsed.

Oct. 6.

72. WALSINGHAM TO [].

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 460.

I would have you seek out the letters which . . . subscribed by Curll, with the other letters that have been translated, and deliver them to Mr. Attorney before your coming hither, to the end he may gather and collect such things out of them as are fit to be added to those matters wherewith the Scottish Queen is to be charged. And so I commit you to God. Barnelms.

Signed: Fra: Walsyngham.

Postscript—I send you Paskyer's examinations taken by you. You may also if you so think good examine Nau upon some . . . you may devise.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Postscript in Walsingham's hand. No flyleaf or indorsement.

Oct. 6.

73. ELIZABETH TO MARY.

C. P., vol. XX.

Is given to understand, to her great and inestimable grief, that she, as one void of all remorse of conscience, pretends with great protestations not to be in any sort privy or assenting to any attempt either against her state or person. Finding by clear and evident proofs that the contrary will be verified and maintained against her, has found it expedient to send to her divers of the chief and most ancient noblemen, together with certain of the Privy Council and some of the principal judges, to charge her with privy and assent to that most horrible and unnatural attempt.

To the end she may have no just cause—living as she does within her protection and thereby subject to the laws of her realm and to such trial as shall be thought meet—to take exception to the manner of proceeding, has made special choice of these honourable persons to be used in this service, having for that purpose authorised them by commission under the great seal to proceed therein. Therefore she is advised and required to give credit and make answer to that which the said persons shall from time to time during their abode there object or deliver to her. Windsor Castle.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Indorsed: "Minute of her majestie's letter to the Scottish Queene. A. B."

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 459.

Harl. MSS.,
290, fol. 178.

Another copy of the same.

Oct. 6.

74. ELIZABETH TO SIR AMIAS POWLET.

C. P., vol. XX.

Forasmuch as heretofore the Queen his charge has taken exceptions to such ministers as have been sent to treat with her, for

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1586. that they came not accompanied with letters of credit directed to herself, has therefore thought meet, to the end she take no exception to the commissioners now sent, being persons of quality and honour, for lack of letters of credit directed from herself to her, to send the inclosed, which he shall deliver to her at such time as by him and the commissioners shall be thought meet.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy. Indorsed:* "Minute of a letter to Sr Amys Paulet."

Oct. **75. NAMES OF THE COMMISSIONERS.**

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Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Earl of Oxford, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Kent, Earl of Worcester, Lord Viscount Montague, Lord Zouche, Lord Gray, Lord Lumley, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, Sir Ralph Sadleir, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Mr. Doctor Dale, Mr. Doctor Ford, Mr. Barker.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Indorsed.*

Oct. 7. **76. [MONSIEUR FONTENAY] TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XX.

The uncertainty in which I have continually been as to your affairs at this court by reason of the irresolution of the King your son has made me defer writing to your majesty from day to day, from whom during the five months and more that I have been here I have received only two despatches, one of the last of July which was delivered to me by Mr. Farnierst the 18th of August; the other of the last of May which was brought to me from Farnierst by the young Maubray the 7th of October, which is four months after date, and yet it has not been quite useless to me, having extracted and communicated the greater part of it to the King. Moreover, except one single letter which Monsieur de Guise wrote to the King, neither his majesty nor Monsieur de Fentry nor I nor any other have received any letters from Kilgray or Honthington touching your affairs; and thus finding myself without any correspondence it has not been possible to me to advance your service as I would well have wished, having been constrained by this lack, in order to maintain my credit with the King and to countermine the malicious artifices of the Earl of Aran and Gray—who endeavour only, at the desire of the Queen of England, to sever him from you—to counterfeit a letter as having been written to me by your majesty dated the 25th of August, conformably to the state of your affairs, whereof a copy is here inclosed, begging your majesty to acknowledge it to the King your son, whom I infinitely moved against the dealings of Aran and Gray by the reading of that letter, which I did not do in order to abuse your cipher, which I would rather die than do, but to obviate an extreme necessity into which in my opinion your affairs would otherwise have fallen, and also seeing the length of time to which Aran and Gray enticed the King before making answer to me as he finally did: as also to obtain my leave to return thence, which, at the desire of the said Gray and Aran, I knew he would delay as long as he could, awaiting the issue of his negociation with the Queen of England, not wishing to

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[] do himself ill service unadvisedly with her and with your majesty, making account, as I knew, if the Queen of England came to an arrangement with him, to deliver to me a very cold despatch or peradventure none at all; otherwise, finding himself constrained to return to your majesty like the prodigal son, to despatch me very honourably and according to your desire. For this cause, in order to free your affairs from an event so doubtful, and perchance too unfortunate for himself, I proceeded so urgently by virtue of this letter and other reasons alleged by me that at last I had my despatch from him, such, however, as it pleased Aran and Gray, to wit, the copy of the reply which he wrote under Aran to each of my articles, which it was not in my power to obtain from him, alleging to me for his only answer, alleging to me [*sic*] in the presence of the said Arran, that just as I had neither declared nor treated anything with him by commission (under your hand) but only by virtue of the credential letters that you had written to him for me, that he would write of it to you [] which he did, having sent him into France at the beginning of this month for declaration [] and faithful demeanour towards you: in the matter of my negotiation referring himself to my credit, as your majesty had done, for the details of his answers and of all that had passed between us. I accepted the said letters of credit to serve me as a warrant for your majesty, but I refused the commission which he gave me to make known his answers to you, declaring to him that without his commandment I should not have failed to do this, not on his account, but to acquit myself of my charge; for the rest setting forth to him that your majesty would receive little consolation from this mode of proceeding, and that you indeed expected other treatment from him, with whom you had caused me to deal not as with a foreign prince but frankly as with her son whom she holds as her second self. For the rest, that he could not do less, since she, being a captive, sent to visit him by me, than he who was free to return the like, or at least to let her know his intentions by some one of his people or by me; otherwise your majesty would impute this strange mode of dealing to extreme scorn and irreverence on his part. Being moved by these reasons he began to set them before the said Aran and to defend them warmly against him; the other having referred it to the point of his greatness, whereof he knows that his majesty is extremely jealous, he draws him back to his side, making him persist in the first []; by reason whereof, addressing my speech to the said Aran, I could not help telling him before his master that one must not proceed with such discretion and circumspection between persons so closely joined as mother and son, and that that tended only to divide them, adding that the King his master would shortly know how pernicious was such advice. The said Aran, vexed and quite red with shame, smiling, as they say, with a laughter that was only of the lips, had nothing to answer me but that *sapienter est agendum et procedendum in omnibus etiam inter matrem et filium* [one must act and deal wisely in all things, even between mother and son]. We never talk together but in Latin, for he does not understand French. To which I replied that this maxim could have no place but between persons mistrustful and suspicious.

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so that if your majesty, who had never given occasion thereof to her son, perceived that this humour was gaining upon him, you would be obliged to bear yourself in like manner towards him, which could not happen without the ruin of both and the extreme contentment of the Queen of England. At last, the King having found himself two several times on my side, and then returned to that of Aran, I lost my suit without being able to obtain anything. It is a real farce between the Earl of Aran and myself, for now we are at war, now at peace, sometimes he pursues me secretly with fire and sword : with the King, sometimes, as at this time more than ever before, he makes overtures of friendship to me. Having once invited me to supper at his house, he gave me in the presence of many lords and gentlemen a jewel of diamonds worth about fifty or sixty crowns which he forced me to take, as a pledge, said he, of the friendship he was forming with me ; threatening me that if I did not take it he would become an enemy to me. Then afterwards, seeing that he could draw nothing from me, he returns to his first discontents. I sent him lately a skin of Spanish leather, which restored me to favour. Sometimes I do not fail to dine with him for a whole month together, when he does me all the honour in the world : then afterwards as I discover his tricks I refrain from paying court to him any more. In short Briguemault and other lords well affectioned to the service of your majesty die of laughter when I tell them the tale. Gray is also a very dangerous man, who is universally held to be a pensionary of England, having more than two years ago revealed to the Queen of England some of your majesty's secrets, seeking the increase of his fortune at the cost of your ruin and consequently that of the King his master. Three weeks after my arrival at Falkland I advertised your majesty thereof by my despatch of the 15th of August, and since by the two others of the 7th and 15th of September. In order to carry on his practices in England with the said Aran more easily, he has abused and still abuses the King your son, under pretext of the credit and of the intervention of your majesty, and of the credit that your majesty has given of your affairs while awaiting my coming hither : which is the greatest misfortune which could ever have befallen us. The Catholic religion, whereof he makes profession, has been the cause of the error that Guise and Glasgo have made in employing him so confidently in your service, whereof I think they will yet repent. He ferrets everywhere to discover those who carry your despatches in order to reveal them to the Queen of England as he did about Mr. Collingoust. (Mr. Fol. and his brother-in-law before departing hence told me that there was great fear that he had done the like about them. Mr. Rolston does not yet know how he stands.) The hatred that he bears to these poor men arises solely from this, that being informed by your majesty's wish of the confidence that you have in me, and of the honour I had to be here for your service, they no longer addressed themselves to him but to me, and also that they were enjoined so to do by fear. Wolth after [*] has been informed of the bankruptcy which the said Gray had caused to your majesty, Honthington and Kilgray, and to his fellow Jesuits ; whereof the said Wolth, having enquired of him, he confesses and avows it, alleging for all [*] that those who

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handled the affairs of your majesty mistrusted him, hiding the negociations from him, and holding him as a zero in cipher; complaining amongst others of Fentry and of me, but without comparison much more of Honthington and Kilgray, because they had sent to the said Fentry the money which was sent nither, although in spite of them he has not failed to obtain it, the King having trusted him more than others, for this reason that he had taken another course as he wished, to wit, declaring plainly to the said Wolth that he did not wish to have any more to do in France with the said Honthington and Kilgray nor with the Jesuits, renouncing all the intelligence which he had had with them until then, contenting himself thenceforward with serving the King his master. He disgusts the King infinitely with France, and takes away all hope on the part of Honthinton in order to turn him as he has done towards England. I hear that twelve or fifteen days ago he received in London the answer to the letters which he wrote to your majesty in August, whereof I am infinitely astonished, and chiefly because there was nothing in his packet for me, which I can with difficulty believe, and that your majesty has remained so long without writing to me if you have had any opportunity; or else that your letters have been taken, lost or concealed by those who ought not to have them; of which I beg your majesty to let me be advertised by your first, for that this lack keeps me in extreme perplexity in your affairs, and in the credit that is necessary to me for them with the King your son, who has been marvellously chilled towards me by seeing the little correspondence that he has had all this past summer on the part of Houthinton and Kilgray, and even of Mr. de Seton, who, as his majesty told me, notwithstanding the commandment that he gave him by many letters which he had, to send to him (which however I do not believe) the letters and articles of your association, has detained them and detains them still. For myself, I have yet to receive the first letter of the lord of Seton, be it that he awaits the pleasure of Glasgo, or that he is very idle as he always is [believed] to be and [so] content not to have returned the said letters and articles. The King taking no other excuse for the delay of your association, your majesty can see thereby that there remains to me nothing, in this ill order and advancement of your affairs, but an inexpressible despair, by the fault of those who beyond comparison can do therein, and by many reasons are bound to do, more than I. Signed: Owyn Hopton; Ed. Barker: Pasquier; Tho. Phelippes.

2 pp. *French.*

Oct. 7. 77. MONSIEUR D'AISNEVAL TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Having finished my affairs in London, I am come to this place, Rye, in order to cross to Dieppe; whence I do not wish to depart without advertising you of my good health. Nevertheless, to let you know how the matter of the Queen of Scotland progresses, which I have learnt more particularly since writing to you. Some days ago Sir Amias Poulet led forth the said lady the Queen to go a-hunting, when, having set forth with all her people, even to Nau and Courles her secretaries, Gorges the elder came to seek her, and

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1586. gave her to understand that he had charge from the Queen his mistress to take her to a house three leagues from Charteley named Tixsal, which belongs to Sir Edward Haston, and also to possess himself of the persons of Nau and Curle; which put her into such anger that she abused him roundly in words, and his mistress. She even wished her people to put themselves in defence. But Gorges being the stronger, Sir Amias Poulet led her whither he had charge, and Gorges led away her secretaries. In the meanwhile, a secretary of the council named Wade was at Chartley, who searched through all the papers of the said lady the Queen, possessed himself of them and caused them to be taken with the prisoners; and they boast that these are most secret and important. I do not know whether this is true, or whether it is in order to make profit thereof for some crafty design, whereof they are so great inventors; as on their behalf Master [] †] would tell me here a few days ago *that they had found the testament of the said lady, whereby she gave England and Scotland to the King of Spain; which is only, as you will well judge, in order to embitter against her the King of Scotland her son, with whom, I am well assured, you will know how to do the good offices wherof she has need,** ever softening that which might be too harsh, and putting before him what he ought to do on this occasion to preserve his honour before all foreign princes, to make them recognise the love that he bears to the Queen his mother; of whom having care, he will not be able to permit that her most affectionate servants be removed from her and put to grief for her service. You will be able to tell him also that the King will assist her with all his aid and favour, and will not abandon her in this need.

From the evil reports in these parts it may be anticipated that he may answer you that the matter being such as touches the life of the Queen of England he cannot meddle therein, and would no more favour those who had conspired against her than he knows she would do those who should have had the same design towards him.

Thereupon you will reply also that he should not lightly give credence to the reports of those who only desire the ruin of the Queen his mother, and [] of him that [] he will be willing to see clearly in this matter and will put no faith in the ill rumours that may come to his ears, he will *perhaps find an appearance that such a thing has been falsely supposed by those who for a long time past have been pursuing her, to the prejudice of the right which he has to England through the Queen his mother.** The which you may enlarge upon or shorten as you shall deem fitting, and as you shall find by the instructions of the King.

Meanwhile Monsieur de Chasteauneuf sent his secretary a few days ago to my Lord High Treasurer, by whom he wrote to him that having heard that Nau and Curle were prisoners he had desired to know the truth, and if it were so, to advertise them that they were servants of the King of France placed by his Majesty with the said lady for the affairs of her dower.

That being such, he promised him to advertise the Queen his sovereign and my lords of the council that they should have a care of them.

The said High Treasurer, without making other reply, addressed

† Blank in the MS.

* The words in italics are underlined in the MS.

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the said gentleman to Walsingham, who was there present, and delivered to him the letter of the said Sieur de Chasteauneuf, which he read, and afterwards said to him that the Queen of Scotland was a very bad woman, and her secretaries very wicked, and that the Queen his sovereign would do justice therein, and that they would do nothing in the matter without communicating it to the ambassador, and that he would find such wickednesses that he assured himself that neither he nor Madame de Chasteauneuf (whom he knew to love the Queen of Scotland) would wish to speak for her to the Queen his sovereign, who would yet send a gentleman to the King of France to give him knowledge of the matter.

It seems that Walsingham already wishes to divert those whom he knows ought to employ themselves for the said lady. But that will not restrain the said ambassador, who has not omitted nor will omit, any more than I shall do being at court, anything which may bring aid and help to the affairs of the said lady the Queen, of whom I have for this time no other news, except that when I left London one of her ladies, named Pierrepont, was to be brought thither prisoner. Many persons are in trouble on account of this matter; a good number are taken and the others are being pursued. This is all you will have from me at present.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Deciphered. Indorsed.*

Oct. 7. 78. ELIZABETH TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

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Whereas in the course of your proceeding at Fotheringay it has not yet been considered, to our remembrance, what form is to be kept by you and others of our commissioners sent thither in the first acquainting the Scottish Queen with our pleasure, and delivery of our letters—a matter, notwithstanding, fit to have been thought on—as whether to send some two or three of our nobility and Council unto her to that effect, or to commit the same only to the charge of our right trusty and well-beloved servant Sir Amyas Paulet, knight, in whose custody she presently remains. We have therefore thought good in these few lines to put you in mind thereof, and—in case any scruple arises therein—for the special trust we repose in your fidelities and wisdoms, expressly to authorise you to proceed and take such order in that behalf as to your best judgment shall be thought most agreeable to our honour and service.

And because it may also fall out that she may desire to have private conference with some few of you our commissioners, with whom she may haply offer to deal more frankly than before the whole number, wherein you may happen to make some difficulty without special warrant and direction from us, we do likewise herein will and authorise you, in case any such request be made unto you by her, and you find it so expedient, to make choice of 2, 3 or 4 besides yourselves, of our said nobility and Council there, to repair privately unto her to hear what she shall have to say and deliver unto you without prejudice, notwithstanding that commission and warrant we have already given for your public course and proceeding with her.

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And whereas also we are informed that many private men as well strangers as of our own subjects, amongst whom we hear are many ill-affected, are already gone down to the place of our meeting to observe and hearken after the doings there, forasmuch as under this cloak there may resort thither some bad and dangerous instruments, whose ill offices in such a time and place may redound to the hurt of our service, we think it also meet that it be well considered whether it shall be expedient to have the said proceeding against her so public that every man may hear, or that such only as be our commissioners and other our servants appointed to attend upon them be admitted thereunto, which we likewise recommend to your special considerations, as also whether in case she desires to hear her servants Nau, Curll and Parker personally to testify those things they have otherwise confessed against her, it shall be necessary to have them there, or to proceed otherwise without them. Which points we have thought meet to be remembered unto you.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Copy. Indorsed:* "Minute to my L. Treasurer and Mr. Walsingham from ye Q."

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 461.

Copy of the same.

Oct. **79. ELIZABETH TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XX.

Whereas the Scottish Queen may happen to desire some privy conference with some of the commissioners during their abode at Fotheringay, whereto they have not been as yet authorised by any special direction, hereby signifies that in case any such request be made to them, that they with 2, 3 or 4 others of the Council there shall resort to her to hear what she has to say and deliver to them, and if they find cause to advertise her accordingly, these letters shall be sufficient warrant and discharge to them and the rest of the Council.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy. Indorsed.*

Harl. MSS.,
290, fol. 179.

Copy of the same.

Oct. 8. **80. PASQUIER'S CONFESSION.**

C.P., vol. XX.

I, the undersigned, Jerome Pasquier, master of the wardrobe of the Queen of Scotland, dowager of France, and at present prisoner in the Tower of London, being commanded by my lords of the council of the Queen of England to declare my knowledge of the things whereof I have been interrogated touching the letters by me written being in the service of the said Queen of Scotland my mistress, on my conscience and before God do confess as follows.

Firstly, that in truth I have ciphered and deciphered many letters by the commandment of the said Queen my mistress, and particularly some written by her to the archbishop of Glasgo her ambassador ordinary in France and others that she had received in cipher from him: and especially to have put into cipher a letter of the 27th of July whereof the minute has been shown me written by the hand of Monsieur Nau in the name of the said Queen my mistress to the said archbishop of Glasgo, by the express

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1586. commandment of the said Queen my mistress, as also a postscript in favour of Morgan which she delivered to me written by her hand, as I have certified under my hand.

I confess also to have deciphered many other letters written by Monsieur de Mauvissière and Chasteauneuf, ambassadors of France, to the said Queen of Scotland my mistress concerning her affairs at the court of England; and some others from Monsieur de Guise about two years ago in recommendation of a gentleman, and one other from the Prince of Parma, in Spanish, in demonstration of goodwill towards her.

I confess also to have written to Monsieur de Fontenay being in Scotland, and deciphered others which he wrote to the said Queen my mistress, and especially a very long letter which has been set before me written by my hand, touching his negociation with the King of Scotland, containing many articles, and amongst others these.

Deliberation of the *Nayvode* Prince of Orange and the Earl of Honthinton against the Queen-mother in favour of the King of Navarre, which the said lords of the council have taken to be a deliberation made by the King of Spain, the pope and the Duke of Guise against the Queen of England in favour of the Queen of Scotland, as the sequence of the discourse seems to demonstrate. And moreover the proposition made to the King of Scotland by the said *Sieur de Fontenay*, with the reply of the King, and that which the said *Fontenay* discourses about it; the whole as it is written in a paper apart signed by my hand.

As to the enterprise proposed, I protest that I do not know when, how nor by whom it was first proposed, and have never been acquainted with it but in general, under the name of the enterprise. True it is, I understood by the letters of the said lord de Glasgow that the pope and the King of Spain were the contributors to it, and that Monsieur de Guise was to be the leader of it, in case the most Christian King would consent thereto. And as regards the execution, that it had at first been delayed by the change befallen in Scotland through the death of the Duke of Lennox, then by the recovery of the islands of the Azores, by the irresolution of the said *Sieur de Guise*, by the doubt they were in whether the King of France would oppose it, by the treaty for the liberty of the said Queen of Scotland; in consideration whereof she bade the said archbishop do as much as should be in him to stop all practices, not only such as might be prejudicial but even disagreeable to the Queen of England of every kind; in accordance with which command all was surceased, and upon the difficulty that the last pope made about contributing more than one fourth of that which should be therein employed.

And this is all that I remember in general.

Touching the rest of the content of the said letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow, it being so long since I wrote them I do not well remember about them, nevertheless I will endeavour to do so with time for the contentment and satisfaction of my lords. The Tower of London. 8 October 1586. *Signed*: Pasquier.

2½ pp. *French*. *Indorsed*: "7 Octob. 1586."

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Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 189.**81. MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO BURGHELEY.**

“ Her majestie dowtinge the Scottish Quene maye desire to have som private conference with your lordship and som others of her Counsaill now commissioners there, whereto it seemes you have not bin authorised by any especiall direction from her, hathe caused the letter here inclosed to be sent you for your allowaunce in that behalf, directed to your lordship and Mr. Secretarye oulie, to whose wisdoms she referreth it to make choice of the rest to be joyned in that particuler service with you; and withall hathe commaunded me to signifie unto your lordship that she thinketh theise other points fitte to be well considered of by your judgements there.”

“ Firste whether it be expediente to send at the firste some 2 or 3 of her said Counsaill to signifie to the Scottish Quene her highnes pleasure for your proceedinge with her, and deliver her letters, or to committe it onlie to Sir Amys Paulet, in whose custodye she remaineth.”

“ 2. Whether, in case she desire her servants Nau, Curle and Packer personallie to testifie those thinges theie have here confessed againste her, your lordships shall thinke it necessarie to have them present, thoughte in her own opinion it seeme a matter nedeles.”

“ 3. Bicause her highnes is given to understande that manie private men are gon towards Fotheringham, to observe the course of your proceedinges there, amongst which are thought to be som badd and daungerous instruments, whose ill offices in such a time and place maie yeelde som prejudice to her service: whether your lordships in respecte thereof shall thinke it better to have it so publicque as everie man maie heare, or that such onlie be admitted as be commissioners, with suche other of her servants, *etc.*, as be appointed to attend upon them.”

“ All which she referreth to the good consideration of your lordship and Mr. Secretary, to be used as you shall thinke moste fitt and agreable with her honour and service: which is all I have to signifie unto your lordship by her majestes commaundement in this behalf.”

“ The privie sealle for the 1000*li.* which I had order to imploye as your lordship knoweth, I doe herewith send you, whom it maie please upon receipte thereof to retorne some order by this bearer to Mr. Peters to see it paid to suche one as I shall appointe to receive the same.”

“ Digby hath bin examined by my Lords Admirall and Chamberlaine, and confrunted with his accuser, whose report he confesseth true in the pointe of his reconcilement and conversacion with Morgan, Charles Paget, *etc.*: but of any intended attempt her majeste [confesseth*] nothinge. He is nowe by order from my lords committed to the Tower to abide his further triall.”

“ Besides the advise from my lord ambassador in France which your lordship may receive by a tickett in one of his letters herewith sent, I have this afternoone received som like advertisement by a Dutch man newlie com from Parris famyliar with the Quene mother her jeweller, who adviseth that her majestie doe beware of

* Crossed out in the MS.

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"Your lordship maie in my poore judgement—but under your honorable correction—doe a necessary deede, to perswade her highnes to be more circumspect of her person, and spare to shewe her self publicquellie, then she is, till the brunt of the busines now in hand be well overblown; which I dowbte not will prevaille more with her comminge from your lordship then from anie other, for the opinion she holdeth of you."

"What happie success Sir Richard Bingham hath had against the Scotts in Irelande your lordship maie perceave by the letters thence which herewith I send you."

"The French ambassador hath written to her majestie since your departure, of whose letter I send your lordship the double onlie least she shold in the meane time call for the originall. She hathe bin muche moved at his presumption, for so she termeth it, and gave my Lord Chamberlaine and me order to deliver her answere to his secretary verbally, in substance to this effect."

"Firste to knowe whether he had any expresse commaundement from the King his master to deale with her in theise termes or no: if not—which she verelie beleaved—she cold not but marvaile that a man of his place wolde so farre forthe breake the wise mans rule which forbiddeth straungers to be so curious in *aliena republica* as to take uppon him the schoolinge of her majestie and her Counsaile in an action which did neerelie and properlie concerne her and her state. That to determin so definitivelie as he had don of the Scottish Quene's sovraintie as subjecte to the judgement of none other then God alone, and consequentye not accomptable or answerable to the nationall lawes of her majestes realme, was more than appertained unto him, who makeinge som profession of the lawes might remember that tymes, places and actions are to be distinguished."

"That he colde not be ignorante—howsoever the Scottish Quene whilst she lived in her own estate was in his opinion a souveraigne—that here she can make no such chalenge, livinge under the protection of another prince, and where no marke of souveraintie belongeth unto her, and where also offendinge against the lawes under which she is protected she standeth subjecte to be tried by them."

"That for the pointe of counsaile which he desireth may be permitted unto her, her majestie—that in all her proceedings hath had care to doe justice—intendeth none otherwise to proceede now againste her then by justice maie be warranted. For howsoever he mistake the lawes whereof he pretendeth som knowledge, her majestie is not ignorant that the same lawe doth not necessarellye exacte anie such thinge, where the question is simplie *de facto* and so cleare as this against her, though in other cases it may be permitted: besides that th' offence beinge committed within her realme by one—thoughe borne a prince—livinge under her protection, cannot be subject to other triall then such as by the lawes of her said realme in such cases is provided."

"Finallie her majestie wished him, unles he had verie especiall

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warrante from the King his master, to be hereafter better advised then to presume to direct her howe to governe, who thankes be to God standeth in no neede of his counsaill, or otherwise to entermidle anie further in those thinges which do no waie appertaine unto him."

"This in som was the answeare delivered him from my Lord Chamberlaine by her majesties speciall commaundement, which it maie please your lordship to communicate with Mr. Secretary, to whom for haste sake I have not particulerlie written her of."

"And so beinge speciallie commaunded by her majestie to signifie to you both howe greatelie she doth longe to heare howe her spirite and Moore doe finde themselves after so fowle and wearisom a jorny, I doe heere with remembraunce of my dewtie most humblye and in haste take my leave."—At the court at Windsor.

Postscript.—"Her majestie is verie desirous your lordship shold lett my Lord of Shrewsbury and my Lord of Warwick understand that she is no les desyres [*sic*] to heare howe theie have passed their longe and weary jornie."

3 pp. Draft. Indorsed.

Oct. 10. 82. EARL OF BOTHWELL TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

"I have resavit your letter quherby I perseve hir majestie to have takin ivill opinion of me throuch sinistrur information of ane gentill man Boenien, quharof I mervell, seing the great gude will I have schauin so far as lay in my possibilitie to scho my self as on most adictit to hir majestie, aluayis I dout nocht hir majestie, havin takin tryel of my lord governour of Beruik and Capiten Cari, sal find no such thing in me, nather so great temerarie in neglecting my commissioun. The spechis var theis, 'my lord governour trenli I think his majestie hath nocht doune wel in directing me commissioner for dayverss respectis and speciali for concluding of this lig of frindschip, considering the gret scheith I have resavit be you of England, be slachter of thre hunderith gentil men of my blud in on day, and be burning on of my maist speciell housis: and last, quhik I account most of all, the evicting of this toun out of our handis and be reserving the samming so long, quhilk justli apertineth to me onder his majestie, the quhilk by grace of God I houp to injoy sum day.'

"He ansurith 'Quhou so.' 'Be this minis—I dout nocht hir majestie having considerit the gret guid wil, favour and humanitie his majestie heith schauin hir hines, be otrying quhat sumever hir majestie could justlie requayr, sal nou dclair his majestie secound persoune and sal rander to him quhat sumever heith bin evicted from his predicessurss, at quhat tyme I houp his majestie sal think me worthie of replasing in my former estat be wsing the self sam office, quhik presently ye bruk.' His ansur was, 'I houp niver so.' Theis are the self sam spechis spoken be me in Beruik, and give hir majestie may ever control this, in on wourd I am maist willing to enter myself—as I dout noch his majestie will permit me—in the tour of Loundoune, and ther to be wsit as hir auin subject. And give that no wther prove kan be had save onlie the reporter, I wil crave no other grace of hir majestie bot that the reporter, quhat

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sumever he be—quhome I dar avou to be no gentil man—be confrontit wit me, at quhat tyme I houp to cause hir majestie and the hol world se quhou traturasi I am wsit, and causs him maist schenfulli denay the samming.

“ So I wil besik your lordship as he quhoum I think my self meist addictit onto for dyveris respectis, and in special for making me forsein of this last meist monifest lie, and defending of my maist honest causs, that your lordship wauld do quhat layis in you to hest my trayel, and I sal adres my self to be rady at your nixt advertisment to cum to Loundoun.

“ I man also, bourding your lordship, to ratifi my former spechis haldin to your lordship in Crichtoun, the quhilk is, I avou so long as it is my princis vil and plesur to mentin, be doing quhat sumever service layis in my pour possibiliti to hir majestie.” Kelso.
Signed: “ Your lordship’s maist loving sone, Bothwell.”

2½ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Oct. 10. **83.** LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO WALSHINGHAM.

Had hoped that he had seen sufficient proof of his true dealing to have given no credit to the reports in circulation that he had altered his religion and was ill affected towards the Queen. If he [Walsingham] had suspended his judgment until he had apprised him [Hamilton] of the reports, and not repeated them to others, it would have been better.

Can answer nothing to what the Archbishop of Glasgow has reported from France of him to the King’s mother until he hears from him the Archbishop.

Does not feel called upon to answer the aspersions cast on his honour by Mr. Paget, with whom he is scarcely acquainted, and protests that wherever he has been, he has spoken only of the Queen’s liberality to him.

If any man of his rank in England will accuse him of treachery, either by his writing or actions, he will either agree with him or compel him to deny the allegations. Craves pardon if his letter appears sharp, but he is grieved to think that he is accused in any way of inconstancy in religion, or ingratitude towards those from whom he has received kindness. Niddrie Castle. *Signed*: Claud Hamilton.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 10. **84.** LAIRD OF JOHNSTONE TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

My master the Earl of Cranstoun has shown me your letter, in which you appear “ not unminensfull of my affairs.” I had no opportunity when Master Richart was here to give him any letters. It has pleased his majesty to accept my “ purgationis of foreknawin of this taill of the Erle of Angus, and am now bot onlie burdeint with productionn of hir self for tryell heirol, quhilk I will also refuse in respect I can nocht honestlie mell me in that mater, the anc being my brother, and the uther my wyff.”

I have thought good to put you in remembrance of my affairs, since the King has directed his missive to you, “ quharinto he

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1586. referis the particular to my informatioun be letter. The caus quharby he tuichit not everie speciall point was, becaus the wryter myght perchance schaw it to the Secretary and impd my maters inderectie. Nevertheless the particulars are this. Thair war takeris of me Hudsonns Andro and Willie of the Rostreis, Richart of Meidhope his brethren and fouris before mentioned war at all the skeythis and domages that I resavit, being Englishmen. The particular housis I remembrit your lordship of ar the Breid Kirk, the Nuke, Blakethous; and Edwart of Kirkpatrick's hous, theis pertening to Bell and Cairleill. That last hous standis on my heritage and is Ervin that possesses the same."

Touching the Maxwell affairs, he has "listed" one hundred footmen and fifty horsemen and, I am informed, is mindful to list more. "He hes thrie Jesuistes with him and ane Englishman that is fled for the last conspiracie. Thair names I sall not fell to derect thame to yow with ane letter quhilk I resavit frome the Counsell of England, promesing me guidwill in case I ever nedit. My lord of Angus has acceptit the loueteintrie and is to list ane hundryt futmen and as menie horsmen. My lord of Arran is stayit frome his going to France and is to put in commissiounis to Maconill for the relief of Macleyn. I think his day sal be expyrit again his returning, quhilk wil be neir Yuill quhen the wether will clois the seis. Their is ane new conventioun apointit to huld at Stiereling the 25 of this instant.

"Also it may ples your lordship to obtien that hir majestie of England may wreit amangis the rest of hir drectionis to my lord Scrope in favoris of me and Edwart Ervin of the Bonsha, in case we be constreint to seik releif thair.

"Your brother is to cast the haill teindis of Quhittinghame parochin that ar led be ane command gevin frome his majestie to assiste ane officier in this doing, and to this effect hes warnit his freinds again th 12 of this instant. I pray your lordship remember on Johane Gray, to mend the blind." Morriston. *Signed*: Johnestone.

1½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 11. **85.** MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSHINGHAM.

Has received his letter but is not so evilly advised not to consider how much he is impeached at this time. Informs him that there has been a convention of the nobility. Of those who were before about the King there were Huntly, Montroiss, Aurand, Lord of Dun., in the Earl of Craufurd's house. It causès rumours to arise, though in the end they turn to nothing. Will acquaint him how matters turn out.

The King is very naturally desirous to save his mother's life, but any other construction placed upon his actions wrongs him. Sundry persons have tried indirectly to divert the King from his present course. He [the King] is to send an answer to her majesty on his coming to his [Gray's] house, which shall be the "nixt morow." Dunfermline. *Signed*: Master of Gray.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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86. A MEMORIAL FOR MR. SECRETARY DAVISON.

[Oct.]

1. To communicate to her majesty Lord Bothwell's letters, showing himself to be favourably inclined to her. A letter of acknowledgment from her to Bothwell would be advisable.

2. The requests in the Laird of Johnston's letter for recommendation to Lord Scrope to be performed, and the laird to be advised of her majesty's care for his welfare. He [Johnston] might be used as a good instrument for bridling Maxwell, especially as his brother-in-law the Earl of Angus is lieutenant of the Borders.

3. The Master of Gray's letter shows an increase of his discontent. It would be dangerous to lose so profitable an instrument at this time, when the conservation of Scotland is so important.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

[Oct. 12.]
C.P., vol. XX.

87. MARY'S FIRST ANSWER.

Upon the repair of Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Powlet and Edward Barker unto the Scottish Queen, and the delivery of her majesty's letters, the said Scottish Queen read the same, and thereupon said she was very sorry that the Queen her good sister was so evil informed of her as that, after so many offers made on her behalf for any assurances to be given to her majesty by her and her friends, she found she was neglected; and that though she had forewarned things dangerous to her majesty and the State, she was not believed therein, but condemned; which grieved her much, she being her majesty's nearest kinswoman, saying that the association made here, and the Act thereupon passed in parliament, gave her sufficient understanding what was intended against her.

She added that she saw well whatsoever danger should happen to her majesty either through the procurement of foreign Princes, the discontentment of any private persons, or for matter of religion, it should all be laid upon her, for she had many enemies as she said about her majesty, and after some other discourses to the like effect and a recital of her long endured captivity and of some supposed unkindnesses offered to her, and namely this, that a league had been made between her majesty and the King her son without her consent or privity, for answer to her majesty's letter she said she found it very strange that her majesty wrote in such sort, for it was in nature of a commandment, and that she should answer as a subject. But for her part, she said she was born a Queen, and that she would not prejudice her rank and state, nor the blood whereof she was descended, nor her son, who was to follow her, nor would give so prejudicial a precedent to foreign Princes as to come to answer according to the effect of those letters. For her heart was great, she said, and could not yield to any affliction. But she referred herself touching such matters to the protestation which she had heretofore made to the now Lord Chancellor, the Lord de la Warr and others, whereunto she will stand, as she says, and thereof desires a sight; adding further for her excuse that she is ignorant of the laws and statutes of this realm, that she is destitute of counsel,

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and knows not who be her competent peers, that her papers are taken from her, and that nobody dares or will speak in her behalf.

After all this she protested that she was innocent and had not procured or encouraged any hurt against her majesty, and that she was not to be charged but by her word or writing, saying she was sure that neither the one nor the other could be showed against her, confessing, notwithstanding, that after so many offers made by herself, and not accepted by her majesty, she remitted herself and her cause to foreign Princes.

1½ pp. *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 463.

Copy of the same.

“ Upon the repair of Sir W. Mildmay and Sir A. Paulet, and Edward Barker to the Scottish Queen, and the delivery of her majesty's letters, the Scottis Queen read.”

Ib., fol. 554.

Another copy of the same.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 182.

Another copy of the same.

Oct. 12. **88. MARY'S SECOND ANSWER.**

C.P., vol. XX.

Upon the repair of Sir Amias Powlet and Edward Barker to the Scottish Queen in the afternoon of the said day, declaration was made to her by Sir Amias Powlet that they were sent from the commissioners to impart and show to her the answers made by her in the forenoon to her majesty's letter in such form as they were then conceived by Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Amias Powlet and Edward Barker, to the end that, if anything were misconceived therein, she should correct and amend the same at her good pleasure, and also to know whether she would continue and maintain those her former answers as they are set down.

For answer thereof the said Scottish Queen desired that the same answers might be read to her, that she might consider of them effectually. Thereupon the same were presently read to her distinctly; which being done, she said that the same were very justly and truly conceived according to her meaning, and were such as she was to maintain. Only she said that in the morning she had forgotten to make her particular answer to one point of her majesty's letter, namely, to what her majesty wrote, viz., that because she had enjoyed and was under the protection of her laws, therefore she was also subject to, and to be tried by them.

For answer thereunto she now says that she came into this realm for succour, and had ever since her coming been restrained as a prisoner, by means whereof she enjoyed no protection of the laws of this land, nor any benefit thereof, neither has it been lawful for her, as she says, to take notice of our laws from any man. And this she desires to be added to her former answers.

1 p. *Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 465.

Copy of the same.

“ Upon repair of Sir A. Paulet and Edward Barker to the
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1586. Scottish Queen in the afternoon of the said day. . . . And
this she desires to be added to her former answer."

Ib., fol. 555b. Another copy of the same.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 182. Another copy of the same.

Oct. 12. **89. ELIZABETH TO BURGHLEY.**

C.P., vol. XX.

Finds by his letters received this evening that the Scottish Queen absolutely refuses to submit herself to trial, or make any answer to such things as she is there charged with by him and the commissioners. Notwithstanding he is determined to proceed to sentence against her according to the commission given to them in that behalf, has thought good hereby to let him know that, albeit the said Queen shall be found by verdict guilty of the crimes where-with she stands charged and accordingly they might proceed to the sentence against her, it were meet to forbear the pronouncing thereof until such time as he shall make his personal return to her [Elizabeth] and report their proceedings and opinions in that behalf. Otherwise, if it be found to prejudice their principal commission or hinder her service, they shall advertise her accordingly, and abide there her further answer.

These letters shall be to him and the rest of the said commissioners their sufficient warrant and discharge.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 467.

Copy of the same.

Oct. 12. **90. LORD ROBERT STEWART, EARL OF ORKNEY, TO MONSIEUR
DU PRÉ, SERVITOR OF THE KING OF FRANCE.**

Notwithstanding that I have never had much acquaintance with you, nevertheless by the report of this my faithful servant, I esteem myself greatly beholden to you for the affection and goodwill that you have shown him for love of me. And forasmuch as for the present I cannot give you thanks in person, I humbly pray you to accept them by this my letter until a better opportunity present itself. I have declared to this bearer my intention touching some affairs which I have with your master the King of France. And therein I very affectionately desire your favour and aid, assuring you that I shall be always ready to render the like to you according to my power in whatever behalf it shall please you to employ me. From your [*sic*] house of Kirknald in Orkney. 2 Oct. 1586. *Signed: Orkney.*

1 p. *French. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 13. **91. MARY'S THIRD ANSWER.**

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 194.

" Repayre beinge made unto the Scottishe Queene accordinge to th' order and choice of this day, the substance of her majestes commission, together with the insufficiency of the objections mentioned in the Scottishe Queenes former awnswers, were signified unto her by the Lord Chancellour and the Lord Threasurer, who in veary lardge and ample sorte declared unto her

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1586. that neither her pretended captivity nor her claime of priviledge of beinge borne a soveraigne prince cold exempte her from aunsweringe in this realme, where the Queenes majestie is the soveraigne, to a cryme of that nature wherwith she is to be charged; and therfore requyred to knowe her resolute aunswer in this poynte, whether she mente to continewe in her former refusell of appearinge before her majestes commissioners to aunswer the matter or no."

"Addinge withall that thoughe uppon her former insufficient objections theie might justly proceede to the execucion of their commission without her presence or any further notice given her, yet of abundancy in honor, and spetially uppon knowledge of the Queenes majestes good disposicion to justice, they were com to requier her to alter her aunswer, and to heare what matter shold be produced and proved against her: and to resolve her that in this maner of proceedinge no course was offered unto her or intended against her but suche as was maintainable by the lawes of this realme, and agreable to the justice used in all other forreine contryes."

"They had there presente the choice and principall men of knowledge and learninge within this realme, and suche as were persons sworne to do justice either for the common lawes of this lande or for the civill or canon lawes professed in other kingedomes, ready to resolve her in any poynte concerninge this cause wherof she should doubte; and therfore they instantly required to have her answer in better sorte then as before, and gave her to understande that in case she sold nowe refuse and persist in denyall to make aunswer, the commissioners were then by there duties and in course of justice to proceade to th'examinacion of the cause without further intimation to her."

"Wheruppon the sayd Scottishe Quene, after repeticion of her former objections and unkindenesses specified in her former aunswers, and sondry other discourses, sayd that she was no subjecte, and will rather dye then make her selfe one, wherby to shewe her selfe unworthie of the rancke she holdethe; and therfore in regarde of the prejudice which forreyne prynces by this examPELL might receive, and the blame which they wold impute unto her, she will not answer, as she saiethe, but under protestacion of not subjectinge herselfe."

"If they will take her worde she will affirme and say before them that she never mente evil to the Quene n[or] state of Englande, and she saiethe that she is not to be proceded against, for that she is no crymynall; addinge that if she shold once submyt her self to the aunsweringe of this presente matter as subjecte to the lawes of this lande, she might then be drawen within the danger of many other lawes and statutes of this realme, and namely for matter of religion, and therfore she insiethe uppon her former protestacion mentioned in her other answers."

"And yet in the ende she sayde that she can be contente to answer any thing in a free parlamente, but as for this course of proceedinge against one of her qualety she thinkethe it veary strange, and saiethe she knowethe not what obligations or promises som of the commissioners have made before their comminge

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thither against her, and thincketh that all this course is but formall, for that as she saiethe and thinckethe she is already condemned by those that shold trye her: notwithstandinge she appealethe to the commissioners, desiringe them to looke into theire consciences in respect of God, and unto theire honours in regarde of the worlde; for Englande is not all the worlde, as she saiethe."

"And then, breakinge oute into a newe discourse of her evill entreaty heere and her greate good deservinge towarde her majestie and this state, she was put in mynde by the Lord Threasurer, who sayd he wold not speake herin to her as a commissioner, but as a counsellour acquainte with the affaires of the manifoulde favours which she has received from her majestie at sondry times, at her first entry into Englande, and afterwarde of favours shewed to her majesty in punishinge of certen persons for suspicion of disfavoure to her for her tytle of succession, and in staienge of the proceedinge of the three estates in parlyamente in condemnacion of her for her practises by the mariage sought with the Duke of Norfolke, for the procuringe of the rebellyon and invadinge of the realme, and for many other particular argumentes of the Quenes majestes favours to her."

"To all which she aunswered that she dyd not accepte them for any favours."

"And so in the ende she was required againe as before to bethinke herselfe better what aunswer she wold make, with offer of the commissioners names and the substance of the commission to be delyvered unto her, as intended by her majesty for a spetiall favour to induce her to thincke and see that no extraordinary course of wrestinge justice was intended against her."

"Wheruppon the sayd Scottishe Quene desyred to have the commissioners names delyvered unto her and the principall effect of the commission, that she might consyder theruppon, and then she wold give her determynat answer in the afternoone."

2½ pp. Copy. Indorsed.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 475.

Another copy of the same.

Oct. 13. **92. ORDER FOR THE PROCEEDING OF THE COMMISSIONERS IN MARY'S CAUSE.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 582.

To be certified by Mr. Powlet of the Queen of Scots' "affirmance" of her answer. If she shall persist by allegation of her privilege of her dignity as a Queen not subject to be charged to answer before the commissioners, then to proceed as follows:—

That there be chosen three lords of the Privy Council, and three others not lords of the Privy Council. That likewise there be named three earls and three barons, not of the Privy Council. That likewise there be named two of the judges. [Total] 14. [In the margin:—Two of the inferiors of the Privy Council to name these three first, two of the Privy lords to name the other three lords, two of the elder barons to name the three earls, two of the Privy earls to name the three barons.] That all these, after a general consideration of the points of her answer which principally are two appertaining to this matter, may repair to the Scottish

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Queen this afternoon :—(1) Her privilege as a Queen not to be subject to the law. (2) Request to have counsel.

The resolutions of the judges and of the doctors of the civil law to be reported to her, with a summary of the reasons thereof, which one of the judges and one of the two doctors may briefly repeat before the Queen. Likewise to tell her the form of the commission, the number and names of the commissioners here present, and their desire to have the cause heard before herself, with an “affirmance” of their determination to hear the cause with all uprightness, without favour and malice. If she will not assent to be charged by the Queen’s learned counsel and to answer to the matters of her own fact, then to let her understand that the commissioners both must and will hear and examine the matters wherewith she may be charged, and so without other arguments to depart from her, and in the Great Chamber to proceed to the public hearing this present day or to-morrow in the afternoon.

After the learned counsel shall have set forth their evidence and made clear any doubts to be moved by any of the commissioners, before the commissioners shall declare their opinions for their sentence and judgment, the aforementioned 14 commissioners adding to them two other lords of the Council, two not lords of the Council, two other earls, two barons and one judge, being in the whole 23, may repair to her and in some brief sort declare what they have heard alleged against her, and the manner of the proofs thereof, leaving it to herself to give answers thereto as it shall please her.

And if she shall answer in any sort to disprove the matters, then the Queen’s learned counsel to be ready to reply. But if she will not, then the commissioners to repair to their public place and the learned counsel to require the commissioners to give their sentence according to the tenor of their commission. And so the commissioners severally and verbally to deliver their sentence, beginning at the lowest, in order.

Note. If she shall at any time use speeches not pertinent to the case in question to move compassion of her state and of her other actions, or of the Queen’s majesty’s actions towards her or her son the King, then such of the Privy Council as are acquainted how to answer the same to use such speeches as shall be convenient in defence of the Queen’s majesty, and in showing the Scottish Queen’s misdemeanours, and that such as shall so speak may protest to do the same not as a commissioner nor as a judge of this present cause.

2 pp. *In Burghley’s hand. No indorsement.*

Oct. 15. **93.** WALSINGHAM TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 543.

My very good lord, the care had that this bearer might repair with speed from me to visit Sir Philip Sidney, whose mishap has been no small cause of grief to me, would not permit me to write at large as I would, and as I know your lordship greatly desires, touching our proceeding here with the Queen of Scots. She has been publicly charged not only to have been privy and assenting to the murder of her majesty, but also an encourager of those that should have been executioners. The matter was so

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sufficiently proved, especially by the testimony of her two secretaries under their hands and delivered upon their oaths, that she had no other defence but a plain denial, so as in the opinion of her best friends that were appointed commissioners she is held guilty.

We had proceeded presently to sentence but that we have a secret countermand and were forced under some other colour to adjourn our meeting until the 25th of this month, at Westminster.

I see this wicked creature ordained of God to punish us for our sins and unthankfulness, for her majesty has no power to proceed against her as her own safety requires. You shall by the next receive the whole manner of our proceeding set down by Mr. Barker, your lordship's servant, who supplied the place of "regyster" here greatly to her commendation. And so I most humbly take my leave. At Fotheringay. *Signed: Fra. Walsyngham.*

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed.*

Oct. 15. 94. BURGHLEY TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 576.

Mr. Secretary, yesternight upon receipt of your letter dated on Thursday I wrote what was thought would be this day's work. This Queen of the castle was content to appear again before us in public to be heard, but in truth not to be heard for her defence, for she could say nothing but negatively that the points of the letters that concerned the practice against the Queen's own person were never written by her or with her knowledge. The rest, for invasion for escaping by force, she said she would neither deny nor affirm, but her intention was to move pity by long artificial speeches to lay all blame upon the Queen's majesty, or rather upon the Council that all the troubles past ensued, avowing her reasonable offers and our refusals. And in these her speeches I so encountered her with reasons out of my knowledge and experience that she had not that advantage she looked for, as I am assured the auditory found her case not pitiable, her allegations untrue.

By this means great debate fell yesternight very long, and remained to-day with great estimating. But we had great reason to prove our session, which is "vene" till the 25th, and so we of the Council will be at the Court the 22nd instant.

And we find all parties here in commission fully satisfied, as by her majesty's order, judgment will be given at our next meeting. But the record will not be perfected in five or six days, and that was one cause why if we should have proceeded to judgment we should have tarried five or six days more. And surely the country could not bear it, by the waste of bread especially, our company there and within six miles, being above 200 horsemen. But by reason of her majesty's letter we of her Council, that is, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Vice-chancellor, Mr. Secretary and myself only procured this prorogation for the other two causes.

And so, knowing that by my lord of Cumberland, her majesty shall, sooner than this letter can come, understand the course of the proceeding, I will end. At Burghley. *Signed: W. Burghley.*

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth,
1586.

95. MR. JOHN COLVILE TO WALSINGHAM.

Oct. 18.

Professes earnest affection to his service. Has written three or four letters to him since he has been received in his sovereign's favour, but they have remained unanswered. Begs to hear at his leisure of his good estate and welfare. If he had met Mr. Hudson before his departure he would have communicated to him such things as he could not have imparted to any other. Stirling. *Signed: Jo. Colvile.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Oct. 18.

96. JAMES VI. TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 33.

"Richt trusty and weilbelovit, we greit zow hartly weill. This bearer, our distressed subject, returnyng in thay pairtis for prosecutioun of that redres and justice quhilk be our dearest susteris lait ambasadour was promised to ws quhen in his presence this mater was maist lamentable exclamit upoun be pur anis quhome it twichit, we have accordit to him this present to requeist zow richt affectueuslie that respecting how that spoyle was committed sen the conclusioun of the lait treaty, and that the said complenar, following zour counsale and directioun, hes socht out and deprehendis a great pairt of his guidis in the possessioun of ane responsall persoun of South Hamptoun, aganis quhome he hes verifeit thair of before zour Admiraltie, ze will now be the meane to sie him fullie reparit of his losse ather be the ressettar foresaid or be sic uther meanis as may be sparit to him for his reasonable redres and satisfacioun. Quhilk for the personis awne honestie and the importance it careis with it to his tred, we recomende to zour lyke furtherance as utheris our requeistes have found in siclyke caces heirtofor. Praying zow very earnistlie to let him finde it in effect with all possible expeditioun, unconstrayned with further losse of tyme and charges to returne agane to ws with newe complaint and exclamatioun; quhairin ze sall asseuredlie do ane gude office to the continewance of the amitie, and to ws acceptable and gude pleasyur." "Dunfermling." *Signed: "Youre loving and assurit freinde James R."*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 20.

97. JAMES VI. TO WALSINGHAM.

"Richt trustie freind, having directed the bearare heirop, my familiare and trustie servitoure, unto the Quene your soveraigne for matteris greatly importing my honoure and well, I thocht goode by these feu lynis to desire you as ane quhomin I have a speciall trust, that by youre best advyce to him, and furtherance at the Quenes handis, ye may procure suche a lovinge ansoure unto him and godspedied dispatche as I look for at hir handis, by your mediation." Stirling. *Signed: James R.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed, "From the King of Scottes by Mr. Keith."*

Elizabeth.
1586.

98. MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSINGHAM.

Oct. 21.

I wrote in my last letter that his majesty was to write answer of her majesty's, from my home, as he has done. With the letter he has thought meet to direct the bearer William Keith, instructed in his majesty's mind, chiefly on two points.

First, to procure instantly for his mother's life, or that otherwise the Queen use her as she think expedient. The other point is that his title "be not prejudgit," as was promised to me, and by her majesty's own hand, at this parliament.

I solicit in the latter the more earnestly, since it was the only benefit I reported from my negotiation. I will write again shortly by William Keith. Dunfermline. *Signed*: Master of Gray.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 21. **99. MARY SETON TO MONSIEUR COURCELLES.**

C.P., vol. XX.

If I had not of old proof of the sufficiency of your courtesy I would willingly complain that you have not been as liberal with it to me as in the past, at the time of your going to Scotland, which I only knew yesterday when one wrote to me from Paris of the return to that realm of the son of Monsieur de Pinart, and that he had left you in those parts: which makes me write you this note to recall myself to your good favour, and to tell you that although it is nearly twenty years since I left Scotland, and since that time it has pleased God to take the better part of the kinsmen, friends and acquaintance which I had there, nevertheless I presume that I am not yet denuded thereof that there is not one who, knowing the obligation that I have to you, would not employ himself heartily to requite it if it please you to take the trouble to speak a word to them of it. I must say [farewell] to you, and excuse myself from making longer speech to you, because the opportunity of sending the present has presented itself to me in haste, which will make me finish, not without adding to you yet this word, that I am in extreme pain and grief at the news which is being told here of fresh trouble befallen the Queen my mistress. I am not allowed leisure to tell you more thereof. Rains. 21 October. *Signed*: Marie de Seton.

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 22. **100. BURGHLEY TO SHREWSBURY.**

Lansd. 982,
fol. 72.

I was stricken with grief when your servant Mr. Beson brought your letter, signifying your stay at Stilton by occasion of your pain. And her majesty telling me it grieved her you should be absent on Tuesday, I answered you had writ to me that I should declare your opinion for the cause heard at Fotheringay to be agreeable to mine. Nevertheless she was sorry for your absence, for fear of sinister interpretation. I answered that it was God's visitation with sickness, and I had authority to answer for you, so I hoped there should be no harm to the cause. If you can be here on Tuesday afternoon I shall be glad; if not, pray write to me, that whereas upon conference with me we both thought the Scottish Queen had not cleared herself of the charge of compassing the

Elizabeth.

1586. Queen's death, your lordship would if present deliver the sentence so to be. And therefore in your absence you authorize me to deliver your opinion against her. Windsor. 22 Oct. 1586.

$1\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Copy.*

Oct. 22. **101. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XX.

Sends inclosed herein the copy of the articles "postilled" by him, together with the names of the Scottish retinue at Chartley.

By direction from him and Burghley, sent two servants to Chartley to bring Mr. Melvin, Bastian's daughter, and Mr Melvin's servant, the charges in the journey for the whole company's coming and going amounting to the sum of 55s. or thereabouts. It seems reasonable the Scottish Queen should bear the charge hereof, because it was done for her service and contentment. Prays his direction therein.

Prays to hear whether he is expected to see his charge often. Does not desire to do so, so does not see that any good can come of it so long as he stands assured that she is forthcoming. Prays God may send him a good journey to the Court and prosper all his doings to his glory. Wishes the like to Mr. Vice-chamberlain. Fotheringay. *Signed: A. Paulet.*

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct 24. **102. MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSINGHAM.**

The bearer, his servant James Hudson, who is returning to England with his acquaintance Mr. Keith by the King's command has acted very honestly and wisely while in Scotland, for which he commends him, and has imparted to him certain things which he [Walsingham] will learn from him more particularly. Dunfermline. *Signed: Master of Gray.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 24. **103. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XX.

Took occasion yesterday afternoon, with Mr. Stallenge, to visit this Queen, who has been troubled these two days last with a defluxion in one of her shoulders, intending to take physic this next morrow. Sees no change in her from her former quietness and security certified in his last letters, being careful to have her chambers put in good order, desirous to have divers things provided for her own necessary use, expecting to have her money shortly rendered to her, taking pleasure in trifling toys, and in the whole course of her speech free from grief of mind in outward appearance.

Tarried with her an hour and a half at least. Did so purposely to feel her disposition and moving no new matter himself, suffered her to go from matter to matter at her pleasure. She had long speech of the Countess of Shrewsbury, Lord Abergavenny, and some other things not worthy of advertisement.

Falling into talk of the late assembly here, and having glanced at Lord Zouche for his speech in her chamber, and also at Lord

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Morley for some things delivered to the Lords sitting next to him, which, she said she overheard and told him of in the open assembly, she was curious to be informed of the names of such a one sitting in such a place, and of others sitting in other places, saying that one had said little, another somewhat more, and others very much.

Told her that I might easily perceive by her hard "conceit" of the lords which she had named already that she was much inclined to think ill of all those that spoke, therefore would forbear to name any man to her, praying her to conceive honourably of the whole assembly, and to think that those who spoke and the rest who were silent were of one consent and mind to hear her cause with all "indifferency."

She added that the histories made mention that this realm was used to blood.

Answered that if she would peruse the chronicles of Scotland, France, Spain and Italy she should find that this realm was far behind any other Christian nation in shedding of blood, although the same was often very necessary where dangerous offences arose. She was not willing to wade further in this matter, and it was easy to see that she had no meaning in this speech to reach to her own cause, but uttered it by way of discourse after her wonted manner.

Is, as he may see, bold to trouble him with trifles, willing to be blamed rather for lack of good matter than for want of diligence. Fotheringay. *Signed: A. Poulet.*

First postscript.—The inclosed note being found among Nau's things, and his [Walsingham's] name being mentioned thereon, thought good to send it to him.

Second postscript.—It seems by all circumstances that this Queen has no intelligence of the prorogation of the late assembly, and that she is utterly void of all fear of harm.

1½ pp. *Second postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 24. **104.** MASTER OF GRAY TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

His majesty sends this gentleman William Keith, as one whom he trusts. Although in part his commission is ruinous, yet since it touches the King's honour before the world, you must help him, and not only help him, but deal earnestly in it yourself as I wrote to you. The rather for my cause, for albeit there was a little dryness when you were here, I loved him and now am satisfied with him in every respect. "You vil persave at yir tym his cariage towardis me or he vil use him self verie lovily. Learne bothe by your self and uthers quhat langage he keipis of me, seing I trust him. Better it is to have ye auld knoin than the new unknowin."

His commission is in two respects; the one to procure the safety of our sovereign's mother the Queen, and the other that, according to the promise given by her majesty both to me and the King, his [the King's] title should not be prejudged.

Some assurances he has, to give to the Councillors, anent the Jesuits, for it appears by their letter to your lordship that they distrust his majesty on that point. Remove that scruple from them, I pray you, as he means well, though he is sometimes

Elizabeth.

1586. negligent, till necessity move him. This is not to be attributed to natural evil, but to the imperfection of his years.

Evil affected men both to the fashion of the present course and also to you and to me are busy with his majesty to "preuve him, ether had forder assurance of that, or than not to leive altogether to hir alledging that the litler effect that follouethe vordis can not serve his tourne, and thairfor givéis him advyse ether to have more effect or than to provyd for the vorst."

I know no course so good as the English course, but I see them "not deall so frankly with you as good and honest mening craveis, and thairfor geve him hir advyse frely, either to know more particularly thair mening, or than to provyd for the vorst."

Your brother's son, young Whittingham, desired to make this voyage and caused the Secretary to deal with the King in it, but I stayed it. Dunfermline. *Signed*: Master of Gray.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[Oct. 25]. 105. THE PLACE WHERE MARY WAS TRIED.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 635.

"The upper end of the gret chambre at Fordynghay Castle."

[*Drawing of the chamber.*]

[*Written at the side*]"Return this paper with the mesur of the length and bredth thro."

23 yardes

7 yardes

69 foot.

21 foot.

[*Written beneath in another hand*]"This wilbe most convenientlye in the greate chambre, the lengthe wherof is in all 23 yerdes with the windowe. Wherof there may be for the neither part beneth the barre 7 yerdes, and the rest for the upper parte. The breadeth of the chambre is 7 yerdes. There is another chambre for the lórdes to dyne in, the lengthe is 14 yerdes, the breadeth 7 yerdes, the deppeth 3 yerdes."

1 p. *The first part and sketeh in Burghley's hand. Also indorsed by him*: "The mesur of ye gret chamber."

Photograph in Dack's "Trial and Execution of Mary Queen of Scots."

Oct. 25. 106. INTENTION OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR HEARING MARY'S CAUSE.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 578.

At the Star Chamber.

Whereas by force of an act of the parliament held at Westminster 27 Elizabeth, entitled "an act for provision to be made for the surety of the Queen's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace," and by a commission by virtue of the same act hereupon made, bearing date 6th October 28 Elizabeth, we, the lords of the parliament and others of her majesty's Privy Council and judges of the realm now living, whose names are by ourselves subscribed, together with the names of others added thereto, who are now deceased, after full and due

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1586.

examination had and made of sundry matters contained in the said commission and good deliberation thereupon taken, on the 25th October in the 28th year aforesaid, upon very direct and manifest proofs and confessions gave our sentence and judgment with one full consent and accord, no one gainsaying the same, that after the first day of June 27 Elizabeth and before the date of the said commission divers things were compassed and imagined within this realm of England by Anthony Babington and others with the privity of Mary, late Queen of Scots, pretending title to the Crown of this realm of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our sovereign Lady the Queen; and likewise that after the said day of June and before the date of the said commission the said Mary, pretending title to the Crown of this realm of England, had compassed and imagined within this realm of England divers things tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our said sovereign Lady the Queen against the form of the statute specified in the said commission; and George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, who assembled together and were present with the commissioners underwritten at the Castle of Fotheringhay, and heard all things which were showed, alleged and proved on behalf of our said sovereign at Fotheringhay aforesaid against the said Mary, and also those things which then and there were answered on behalf of the said Mary, and who by reason of the sickness and infirmity of their bodies could not be present at the Star Chamber at Westminster the said 25th October, by their several letters severally subscribed with the proper hands of the same George and Ambrose, and sealed with their seals, and openly brought forth, showed, and read to the same commissioners, gave and declared their sentence and judgment severally for their part to the effect of the sentence and judgment aforesaid, and in all things agreeable to the same.

In which our sentence and judgment, we the lords and others of her majesty's said Privy Council whose names are underwritten do manifest and declare that we had no intention in any wise to prejudice the noble Prince James the Sixth, now King of Scots, in anything that might touch and concern him in house or blood, but to leave him in such and the same state as he should or might have been if the same sentence and judgment had not been had or given, and in no other.

And we the judges, being judges of the laws of this realm, whose names are subscribed also signify and declare that by the laws of this realm of England the said King of Scots does not stand in any wise prejudiced by the same sentence and judgment, but stands therein in such and the like case and condition, and no other, as if the same sentence and judgment had never been had or given. And for a more ample testimony concurring with this our writing we notify that, whereas divers others who were joined in commission with us, whose names are also in the latter end of this writing specified, being dead since the said sentence was given, both by their open voluntary speeches and subscription of their hands agreed with us in our sentence, we also verily think that they all and every of them agreed with us in the same

Elizabeth.

1586. intention not in any wise to prejudice the state and condition of the King of Scots. In witness whereof we whose names are under-written, by the warrant and commandment of our said most gracious sovereign lady the Queen's majesty, have hereunto subscribed our names. Given the day, *etc.*

$4\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Copy.*

Oct. 25. **107. JAMES VI. TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

Having good experience of his honest disposition for the furtherance of the amity between himself and the Queen, his sovereign, expresses the pleasure he feels in his promotion to the rank and service he now occupies.

Is assured that he will serve a good and "inward" minister, specially at this time and in this weighty matter he has now in hand, tending so "heichtie" to Scotland's honour.

Prays him to further the errand of the bearer of his letter to the Queen, and obtain for him a favourable answer. Stirling Castle. *Signed: James R.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 26. **108. BURGHLEY TO SHREWSBURY.**

Lansd. 982,
fol. 72b.

Yesterday in the Star Chamber, where all the commissioners were assembled except your lordship and my lord of Warwick, and had pronounced their sentence all in one manner, to charge the Queen of Scots with privity of the conspiracy, and with compassing things tending to the destruction of her majesty's person, my lord Chancellor and I, by reading your letter, declared your sentence "conform" to that of the rest. It was ordered that on Monday next the process with the sentence be written in form of a record, to which we all should put our seals. To-morrow parliament shall be prorogued till Saturday. Westminster. 26 Oct. 1586.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Copy.*

Oct. 26. **109. WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS PHELIPPES.**

C.P., vol. XX.

Sends here inclosed these two things which should have been subscribed by the Lord Treasurer. Had not time to do it at his being at Court, therefore prays him to repair to him and get his hand to the same. Barn Elms. *Signed: Fra: Walsyngham.*

Postscript—Was told to-day by her majesty that he [Phelippes] was greatly beholden to the Lord Treasurer for his good report to her of him.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 27. **110. BURGHLEY TO SHREWSBURY.**

Lansd. 982,
fol. 72b.

Since my letter writ yesternight, I understand from the lawyers that your letter read by us in the Star Chamber, though sufficient in matter, was not in the requisite form. I send the true copy of the said form, and remit to your consideration to cause the

Elizabeth.

1586. letter to be writ to the lord Chancellor and me as the former was, and of the same date.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Copy.*

Oct. 28. **111. SHREWSBURY TO BURGHEY.**

Lansd. 982,
fol. 73.

I have received your letter and thank you for your pains. If on Monday next the sentenee shall proceed according to the order, I pray you subscribe my name thereunto; for the sealing I send you my seal here inclosed.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

Oct. 30. **112. WALSINGHAM TO [MR. PHELIPPES].**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 614.

I desire greatly to see what the inclosed contains, from which I hope we shall see what was concluded at the late assembly at the Earl Crawford's. Barn Elms. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. No address. Written above, in a clerk's hand, "Babington's treasons."*

Oct. 30. **113. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XX.

Sir, although I have no matter worthy of you, yet finding a convenient messenger without troubling the post, I thought good to advertise you that this Queen has taken physic this week three times, and by occasion thereof, according to her wonted manner, has been sick, so that she has not come out of her bed these five or six days, and there remains as yet.

Your letters of the 26th have comforted me greatly, and I thank you for them as for an especial favour, praying you to do the like as you shall proceed further. And so I commit you to the mercy of the Highest. Fotheringay. *Signed:* A. Poulet.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 31. **114. [] TO [WALSINGHAM].**

C.P., vol. XX.

Has spoken this day with Everard Digby, who was in trouble of late about the matter of his cousin, John Digby. It were too tedious to declare the whole circumstance of his talk, which contained a large discourse of his sufficient answers to his [Walsingham's] objections, and a report of his service under the Prince of Parma, whom he honours in the highest degree.

Was with Anthony Forteseue on the 28th instant at Mr. Monpersone's house in Clerkenwell. Was met there by Greene, the priest, who is mistress Monpersone's ghostly father. Their speeches tended to the wrongs the Scottish Queen daily endures, for whom the Catholics continually pray. Perceives the French ambassador labours wonderfully for her preservation, and uses means to send daily messengers into France about her affairs. The Guise has sworn that if she die her death shall not be left unavenged to the full.

Hears a famous report of a "beastly" fellow called Bawde, dwelling in Hogsdone. The Papists extol him to the heavens for

Elizabeth.

1586. his wisdom and cunning carrying of himself. Pity it were that his wings should be unclipped, lest in flying abroad he do more harm than may be easily seen into.

This faction fears that recusancy will no longer be finable, but felony, and that it shall be death, *ipso facto*, for any Jesuit or seminary to be found within this realm. Prays both may so fall out as they may rather feel than fear.

Should he think good to employ him in Scotland, is assured by God's grace to pass thither without suspicion and to remain there to effectual purpose.

This town and time is very chargeable, therefore beseeches to be bestowed elsewhere.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Copy. Indorsed: "ult. Oct. 1586."

[Oct.] 115. AMBASSADORS PRACTISING AGAINST THE STATE.

C.P., vol. XX.

"The opinion of the civilians what may be done with an ambassador if he prove a practizer against the State."

When it appeared that the Bishop of Ross had been the whole contriver of the conspiracy against our State it was deliberated what to do with him, because he was an ambassador. Hereupon divers civilians were called of whom these questions were asked:—

1. Whether an ambassador who raises rebellion against that Prince to whom he is an ambassador may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador, and is not liable to punishment. They answered that such an ambassador had forfeited the privilege of an ambassador, and is liable to punishment.

2. Whether the minister or procurator of a Prince who is deposed from his public authority and in whose place another is inaugurated, may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador.

They answered, if such a Prince has been lawfully deposed his procurator cannot challenge the privileges of an ambassador, forasmuch as none but absolute Princes and such as have the prerogatives of majesty can constitute ambassadors.

3. Whether a Prince who has come into another Prince's kingdom and is kept under custody, may have his procurator, and whether he may be held for an ambassador.

They answered, if such a Prince has not forfeited his principality he may have a procurator, but whether that procurator may be reputed for an ambassador, that depends upon the authority of his delegation.

4. Whether, if a Prince denounce to such a procurator and Prince under custody that the said procurator shall from thenceforth be no longer held for an ambassador, the said procurator may by law challenge the privileges of an ambassador.

They answered that the Prince may prohibit the ambassador that he enter not into his kingdom, and may command him to depart out of his kingdom if he contain not himself within the bounds prescribed to an ambassador, yet in the meantime he may enjoy the privileges of an ambassador according to the authority delegated to him.

According to these answers of the learned lawyers, Ross being called back from the Isle of Ely and sharply rebuked, it was

Elizabeth.

1586. denounced to him by the Council that he should no longer be acknowledged for an ambassador, but severely punished as one that had deserved it.

He answered that he was an ambassador of an absolute Queen and of one that was unjustly deposed, and had, according to his duty, carefully sought the delivery of his Princess and the safety of both kingdoms; that he came into England with most ample authority of an ambassador, and that upon public "warranties" or safe conduct, which he had exhibited, and that the sacred privileges of ambassadors are by no means to be violated.

Burghley most gravely showed him that neither the privileges of an embassy nor letters of public "warranties" can protect ambassadors who offend against the public majesty, but they are liable to penal actions. Otherwise lewd ambassadors might assail the life of Princes without punishment. He to the contrary obstinately maintained that the privileges of ambassadors have never been violated—to use his own words—*via juris*, that is, by way of right, but *via facti*, that is, by way of fact, and pleasantly wished them that he might be no sharper dealt withal than were the English ambassadors in France, and Randolph and Tamworth in Scotland, who had raised rebellions and openly fostered them. And yet they endured no heavier matter but that they were commanded to depart within certain days prefixed. (Camden's Elizabeth, anno 1571, pp. 141, 142, English edition 1635, and Baker in *Vita Elizabethæ*, p. 368, edition 1660, and Archbishop Spotswood's History of Scotland, Lib. 5, p. 261.)

Hil. 13 Elizabeth, in the Bishop of Ross's case the question being *an legatus qui rebellionem contra principem ad quem legati privilegiis gaudeat et non ut hostis pœnis subjaecat*. And it was resolved that he had lost the privileges of an ambassador and was subject to punishment. (Co. 4. Just. f. 152.)

2½ pp. Indorsed: "The civilians Masters Lewis, Dale, Drury, Aubrey, and Jones deliver their opinions what may be done with an ambassador if he prove a practiser against the State where he resideth."

Oct.

116. JUSTICE OF PROCEEDING AGAINST MARY.

C.P., vol. XX.

"Resons owt of the civil lawe to prove that it standeth with justis to prosede criminally against the Q. of Scottes."

Objection. If it be objected in respect of her person that she is an anointed Queen and an absolute princess, and therefore not subject to the jurisdiction of her majesty, *par in parem non habet imperium*—

Answer. It may be doubted whether she is a Queen, because she stands deposed by the three states of Scotland, and she has willingly left all her right and interest in the same realm to her son. A King deposed is not after to be taken for a King. [Tho: Gramat: dec. 65.] Therefore Frederick King of Naples being deposed by the King of Spain was afterward judged for no King by sentence.

If she were Queen of Scots and in possession of her kingdom, yet it may be doubted whether in that case she were not inferior to the Crown of England, for the Kings of Scotland have been feudatories

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and done homage to the Crown of England, and the principal maintainers of her title affirm that she was born and yet is under the sovereignty of the Crown of England.

Suppose she is a Queen, and an absolute Queen, yet this sovereignty has a necessary relation to her own subjects, and such actions as are committed within her own dominions. Every Prince without his own territory is no more than a private person *v. de hereditibus instituendis* l.3.

Again *ratione delicti*, every person is subject to the jurisdiction of the place where he offends. *Ibi causa agatur ubi crimen admittitur*. Neither does the dignity of the person alter this case for *reatus omnem honorem excludit* [*ubi de etimi: agi l. qua in provincia.*] An archbishop may be punished by a bishop, and the emperor by another prince, *ratione delicti ubicumque quis iurisdictionem non habet ibi delinquens puniri potest*.

Moreover if an ambassador be subject to the jurisdiction of a place where he is resident, much more the Prince himself. For ambassadors do not only *sustinere personam principis sui*, and is *iure gentium sacrosanctus et inviolabilis*, but also his embassy is presumed indifferently beneficial to both Princes, and he is to be regarded *propter publicam fidem*, where the Prince comes only for his own benefit and protection. Therefore ambassadors have been used with courtesy where their Princes have been taken and used like enemies.

Again, what reason were it that her majesty should have more regard to the dignity of the Scottish Queen in not punishing her than she takes regard of her majesty's dignity, not leaving further respect to attempt any mischief against her. In this case she may say as Crassus said to Philippe, *quando ego tibi senator et consularis non sum tu mihi etiam consul non es*. And besides *frustra quis privilegium quod violavit apud eum profert in quem privilegio est abusus*.

Lastly, if the Scottish Queen were not subject to the jurisdiction of her majesty the condition of a Prince in his own kingdom were most miserable, for every private man, for want of a judge, may revenge his own injuries, but the Prince having no superior could have no remedy for any injury, and being by law of nations bound to receive distressed Princes into protection should have by the same law no means to protect themselves against their conspiracies. *Quilibet princeps ultor est sue iniurie, licet illate a non subdito. Eodem iure defendimur cui subiicimur*.

If it be objected that the offence wherewith she is charged is not *delictum consummatum*, and therefore not punishable by death in her person, *iure gentium*, to which law only she submits herself:—

Answer. It may be said in respect of her allegiance to the Crown of England her actions are rather to be measured according to the positive laws of the said realm than by the law of nations. By these laws her actions are treason. Again, aliens and strangers are not exempt from the force and penalties of the laws which are enacted and published where they remain. Pompeius Atticus, a principal man of Rome, lived under the obedience of the laws of Athens where he made his abode. *Si advene quid faciunt in loco ubi versantur quod ipsis librum sit videntur quasi consentire in statuta*.

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How can the Scottish Queen justly pretend ignorance or except against the severity of laws which in this case are agreeable both to the civil law of the Romans and the custom of her own country? *Patere legem quam ipse tuleris.*

Again, howsoever the privilege of the person may alter the nature and quality of the offence in other cases, in the matter of treason, and the manner of proceeding therein, there is no privilege of any person to be respected [*ad leg: sal: laese majeste*, l. 4]. Seeing she has divers times conspired, her offence in that respect is the more heinous and the more severely to be punished *nam geminatio delicti aggravat delictum. Delictum frequens augit penam* [*de paenis*. l. 288. *solent.*]

The nature of treason and conspiracy is such that the punishment thereof is not tied to any law, *cetera facta habent suas leges, sua iura, suas actiones; in his autem utilitas mectus et occasio lex est. Publica necessitas* or *populi salus* may often times overrule or dispense with human and divine laws, *nulla lex potest esse sanctior quam reipublice salus*. But the punishment of the Scottish Queen's offence is forced upon evident necessity of the common weal.

The law of nations is nothing else but *sana ratio* and *naturales rationes pro legibus amplectende sunt*. But what is more reasonable than this, *ut omnes patiantur sibi quod factum velint quod in alios ipsi egerunt factumque esse voluerunt*, or what more absurd than that the Prince should stay from taking away the conspirator till the conspirator take away the Prince, or that the law should not account in that case *voluntatem pro facto*, where *post factum* there should be neither law nor magistrate remaining?

Mithridates put to death Attilius, a senator of Rome, because he had but a purpose to kill him. Albinus did the like with the messengers of Severus the Emperor, understanding that under pretence of delivering letters, they had a secret commandment to kill him. Ptolemy of Egypt put Cleomenes the King of the Lacedemonians to death for conspiracy only against his son.

Certain other civil reasons, that is stands not only with justice but with her majesty's honour and safety to proceed criminally against her.

A confederate being in the country of his confederate for a crime committed is there to be punished [*de capt. et post limen revers: verba legis. Ac si sunt apud nos rei ex civitatibus confederatis in eos damnatis* [*sic*] *animaduertimus*]. Therefore although the Scottish Queen were a confederate, yet she is to be used in like sort as a subject. There is no person of whatsoever degree he be but is there to be tried where the crime was committed, without exception of privilege [*ubi de crimi: agi oportet verba legis. Qua pro provincia quis deliquit aut in qua pecuniarum aut criminum reus sit, ibi iudicari debet, et hoc ius perpetuum sit*]. But the Scottish Queen has offended here.

Every person is to be condemned and adjudged equally *in crimine laese majestatis. Verba legis:—in crimine laese majestatis equa est omnium conditio* [*ad leg: Jul: laese majestatis*, l. 4]. But she has "fals" in *crimen laese majestatis*, ergo.

A King in all other King's territories may commit treason as

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another private person. *Corretus de potestate regia; verba, quero utrum rex non habens iustum titulum regni incidat in crimen laese majestatis. Respondeo quod sic secundum Barthol. in leg. lex xij tabularum et in leg. primam. De crim: laese majestatis. But the Scottish Queen has offended here in England.*

A King passing through another King's realm, or there resident is but a private person. *Barthol. v. lib: de dignitatibus, verba:—Sed tamen dubitatur si rex vel baro transit per alias partes extra regnum suum utrum possit creare milites, et videtur quod non quia ibi privatus homo est. Vide, de prefect: urbis; de officio praesidii; praeces in homines sue provincie imperium habet, et hoc verum est in provincia. Nam si excesserit privatus est. Lupus in allegatione, vide, coll: penult.; verba:—Quilibet rex extra territorium suum censetur ad instar privati. But the Queen of Scotland being here in England is out of her territory. Ergo, to be punished as a private person.*

Every person, of whatsoever condition he be, either superior or equal, submitting himself to the jurisdiction of another, is to be judged by him to whom he submits himself. *Li. est receptum. De iudiciis, verba. Est receptum, coque iure utimur ut si quis major vel equalis subiiciatur iurisdictioni alterius possit ei et adversus cum ius uti. But the Queen of Scots, although she were a Queen, and thereby equal, by committing heinous treason, has submitted herself to the Queen's jurisdiction.*

Paul de Castro in dict. l. *Est receptum: Verba etiam maior vel equalis potest se subiicere iurisdictioni ordinariae alterius iudicii minoris vel paris tacite. Si iudex unius territorii delinquat vel contrahat in territorium alterius iudicis vel minoris vel paris. Quia ratione delicti vel contractus sortitur ibi forum.*

Rota decisione de iudiciis. Me qui delinquit et ille qui delinquit et per delictum amisit merum imperium et sic factus est alius privatus et sic suus combaro potest eum punire, quilibet in suo territorio est maior.

But the Queen of Scots, having committed high treason within this realm, has by construction of law committed herself to this jurisdiction, and therefore to be punished as any other private person. And although it be said *non subditus non potest committere crimen laese majestatis*, yet that saying is to be taken when the crime is to be committed out of the realm, but if it be committed within the jurisdiction then they are to be punished. *Papa in Clementina de sententia et re iudicata. Albeit the Pope reversed the same sentence, yet he says that if the party had been within the jurisdiction of the superior at the time of the crime committed, and judgment, the party had been justly condemned. Verba Pape:—Quod si rex infra districtum imperialem fuisset inventus, potuis set contra eum sententiam dici, etc.*

Here the Pope declares plainly that she, offending here, may be justly punished here in *pœna capitis*.

Item, a King deposed is not afterwards to be taken for a King. Tho. Grammat.; decision 65. The Scottish Queen is deprived.

The benefit or privilege of safe-conduct is lost when any crime is committed after the safe-conduct granted. *Angel: de maleficiis in verbo publica fama, etc. The Queen of Scots has committed against the safe-conduct since her coming into the realm.*

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The will and mind of treason is punished equally as the act. The Scottish Queen has not only had the affection, but has notoriously proceeded to action. It is no new thing for Kings and Queens to be adjudged for treason, for He. 7, the Emperor, gave a solemn judgment of death at Pisa A.D. 1311, against Robert, King of Sicily. Diotarus was likewise condemned by Julius Caesar, and Joan, Queen of Naples, for murdering her husband and hanging out of a window. Punishments ought to be equal to the offences committed, but death is the penalty appointed for treasons, *ergo*.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Indorsed*.

[Oct.] 117. TREATIES WITH MARY.

C.P., vol. XX.

Protestation.

If she allege that at the meeting of the commissioners at York, and after at London, for the compounding of matters between her and her subjects after her coming into England, the Scottish commissioners used a protestation not to prejudice her or her heirs touching the claim of superiority pretended by England, which was then yielded unto on the English side, it may be answered that that was of things done in Scotland without her majesty's dominions, but now the case is altered, being for things committed within her majesty's dominions. And so in the one the protestation might be admitted, but there is no reason in the other now.

That treaties begun with her since her coming into England have not taken place through her own default or of her commissioners.

At her first coming into England she was well received and treated at Carlisle, great liberty granted to the Bishop of Ross, and he suffered to publish a book for the defence of the Scottish Queen's title.

1. The treaty first begun at York was adjourned to London upon suspicion of indirect dealing, and then it is thought that the Duke of Norfolk was first dealt with by Lethington [Liddington]. Besides, Buchanan in his history writes that there was a practice to have killed the Earl Murray.

The same treaty of London took not place for that the Scottish Queen's commissioners answered that they had no commission to answer to the accusations of the adverse party, but only to deal for her restitution and a reconciliation. And further thereupon he said the said commissioners had an especial commission from her to discharge the said treaty, which commission they showed. And not long after Lord Boyd and the Bishop of Ross were stayed at Burton on Trent upon information that they had a practice to convey the said Queen away.

2. In May 1569, upon articles exhibited to her majesty, a new treaty began. But whilst this was pretended, Cavendish was sent to the Scottish Queen with letters and costly tokens from the Duke of Norfolk and others about a marriage, the Queen not privy thereunto, and Lord Boyd sent to London to answer the same. And yet was it communicated to the nobility in the north, to the French King and the King of Spain, who wished the Duke to embrace the Catholic religion.

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The said duke also gave the Bishop of Ross his counsel and advice in all his proceedings, which he was expressly commanded by the Queen his mistress to follow, which was contrary to his oath of a councillor.

Leonard Dacres came to the Scottish Queen at Wingfield in the Earl of Northumberland's name to offer his service, and that by means that the said Leonard should prepare he would set her at liberty and convey her into Scotland, whereof the said Queen advertised the Duke, who misliked thereof. And so it took not place.

Hereupon the said Duke was committed, and the said Queen brought to Tutbury, and so that treaty no further proceeded in. And afterwards she was brought to Coventry. And hereupon ensued the rebellion in the north. England invaded by the Earl of Westmoreland and other rebels retired into Scotland, and relieved by the Scottish Queen's party.

3. New articles of a treaty offered by the French ambassador and the Bishop of Ross, 20th May, 1570.

At the very same time Sir George Bartley of Gartley sent to the French King, John Hamilton to the Duke of Alva, Henry Keere to the Pope, who advised her to agree.

The Duke of Norfolk removed to his own house. The Lord Treasurer and Sir Walter Mildmay sent to Chatsworth [Chattesford], and certain articles propounded on her majesty's behalf, whereunto she answered.

Whereas one of the articles offered by the French ambassador and Bishop of Ross was that the English fugitives should be rendered or kept until the end of the treaty, or else sent away, they retired into Flanders, and the Bishop of Ross procured for them 12000 crowns, besides other favour.

The articles propounded on her majesty's behalf sent to the Duke of Alva, the King of Spain, and the Pope to have their advice.

To this treaty came the Earl Morton, Abbot of Dunfermline, and Mr. James Magill in February 1570. On the other side the Bishop of Galloway, Lord Levingston and the Bishop of Ross.

The Earl Morton had not any commission to treat of anything that might prejudice the King's title or authority, and therefore would not take upon him to treat of the points then propounded, and therefore desired to return into Scotland to hold a parliament for obtaining of a larger commission.

The Bishop of Ross, misliking it [the treaty], used sharp speeches to the Council of England. Upon advertisements out of Scotland, the Scottish Queen returns answer that she could not agree to any further delay. Hereupon ensued the sending of Ridolphi with instructions devised by the Scottish Queen for foreign force, marriage with the Duke, setting up of both religions, and forcing her majesty to assent thereunto, as appears in the other book of the Bishop of Ross found in Lord Henry Howard's study, and avouched by him to have been sent to him from the said Bishop.

4. The last treaty, when Sir Walter Mildmay was sent thither, was suspended, partly by reason that her majesty could get no direct answer out of Scotland of the King's liking of this treaty, and partly for that at the same time advertisement was given that her

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1586. cousins of Guise had some enterprise in hand against England, which appeared manifestly upon the apprehension of Throgmorton. Afterwards, Robert Beale being sent to her to promise the return of the said Sir Walter to proceed in the treaty, in case she would discover her knowledge of the said enterprise whereby her majesty should perceive that she dealt plainly and directly with her highness, her answer was that she was not a doer in any such thing herself, and that she was not bound to disclose beforehand what she understood from others, unless it would please her majesty to conclude with her in the rest of the articles. And so no more was done for that time.

The treaty with Nau.

Since has ensued the conspiracy with Babington. Let their letters be looked unto, whether they come within the compass of this time of treaty.

3 pp. *Indorsed by Walsingham*: "A note of sundrye treatyes w^t the Scot. Q."

Pencil notes on the back, also in Walsingham's hand.

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 552.

Another copy of the same.

[Oct.] 118. COMMISSION FOR TRYING MARY.

Cott. Calig.,
B. VIII.,
fol. 335.

Domina regina mandavit reverendissimo in Christo patri Johanni Cantuariensi archiepiscopo totius Anglie primati et Metropolitano et uni etc.

3 pp. *Copy.*

Translation of the same. (*Printed, Cobbett, State Trials, vol i., p. 1166.*)

[Oct.] 119. REASONS IN FAVOUR OF MARY.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 674.

"Reasonnes for the Queene of Scottes taken out of the French memoryes."

1. She is mistress and absolute Queen of her realm of Scotland with the like power and authority that the Queen of England has in her dominions. She is not any inferior subject nor to be brought into justice there, because she cannot have any competent judge for her trial.

2. She cannot be deprived of her realm by the States of Scotland, because absolute Princes ought not to be accountable for their actions to any other than to God only.

3. To hurt or injure any ambassador of any King is *contra jus gentium*, because they represent the person of their masters. Therefore by great reasons whosoever offers violence to the person of a Prince offends much more.

4. She came into England for refuge, and therefore it is an act against humanity and beseeming a Prince to put her to death, and also, since the Queen of England has kept her so long, she should remember her promise for the safety of her life.

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5. She is no prisoner by justice nor taken by war, and therefore cannot be blamed if she seek her deliverance by all the means she can.

6. The King of Scotland her son and all Christian Princes by assisting him ought to undertake a just war against the Queen of England to restore her and assure her estate.

“An answer to the French memories.”

The sovereignty of Kings only takes place in their own dominions. In the dominions of an absolute Prince every man whosoever, although he be the emperor, is inferior to him. Therefore that reason touching her sovereignty cannot excuse her in England.

If an absolute Prince might not imprison and put to death a strange King taken in his realm in the practice of murder, and all his subjects should be disabled from being competent judges for trial, he cannot work any assurance for his own life, and so in effect is utterly disabled from being a King.

It is true that ambassadors must be honourably used and not offered any injury or wrong, but only so long as they keep themselves within bounds. If they pass their authority they are not taken any more as ambassadors, and it is no good argument to say that whatsoever is permitted to ambassadors ought by greater reason to be permitted to their masters, for there is a general privilege of protection allowed to all ambassadors *jure gentium*, which is to this end—that they should be kept harmless in delivering their masters’ commandment. But this privilege does not extend to the masters themselves except by some special agreement first had between Princes before entering into each others’ kingdoms. So that this privilege to ambassadors is observed not because they represent the persons of Kings, but rather to maintain this general law and custom of all nations.

The Queen of Scots having deserved no friendship at all, but rather having offended the Queen’s majesty, if she presumed on humanity only to find safety in England, it is an ungrateful part not to recompense so long a protection at least with a like humanity.

If she presumed upon the laws of hospitality, because those who break those laws to Princes who come lawfully to them are greatly blamed by all men, she should also have remembered how rigorously by the same laws those who abuse Princes who receive them in protection are punished. For example :—

Cleomenes, King of Sparta being pursued in battle by King Antigones fled for refuge to King Ptolemy, but after being found to have conspired against him in his own kingdom, was put to death, and by the King’s express commandment his body was most infamously hanged up, as unworthy of burial. Paris broke the laws of hospitality towards Menelaus, for which the King pursued him to death, even to the destruction of Troy.

The Queen of England has so well distributed these her doings touching this matter to all Christian Princes that as well by the laws and customs of both their kingdoms and by ordinary usage observed by their predecessors it was found very lawful for her majesty to “stay” the Queen of Scots’ person and to keep her

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prisoner. But if any man can say "but" for some secret causes she may yet pretend to be unjustly imprisoned, let them remember that many good causes through her evil following, that is to say, being pursued by naughty means, are made in the end worse than naughty, and so whatsoever she could pretend at first, since she has practised conspiracy against the person and life of her majesty, she has now made her cause most odious and execrable to all men.

"She is a Queen and of the bloode royall."

Whereas it is said she is an absolute Queen and of the blood royal of this realm of England, and therefore, *etc.* The people of God have always had more respect for the commonwealth than to any person, and to the common state of their country than to their natural Kings. They learnt that it was an evil thing and against nature to give any furtherance to their own destructions, and amongst them not only the doers of, but the consenters to do evil were punishable both by God's laws and man's. For this cause here in England Henry the First being our natural Prince and next heir to the Crown was arraigned for killing a particular person. This respect therefore must be had and continued for the security of a country.

"It is directly against the commaundement of God."

It is true that we must not offend against the general commandment of God's Word, but a special commandment of God must always be obeyed although it be contrary to a general; for example:—It is commanded generally that no man lay hands upon God's anointed, and yet "King Josua" caused five Kings to be hanged up in one day by special commandment, made himself ready to kill his own and only son, and "Phinis" being no magistrate, by the inward motion of God's spirit, thrust his sword through those two whom he found in whoredom.

It is commanded generally that no man steal, yet the children of Israel spoiled and robbed the Egyptians.

Some will say that she did not offend any in this action but the Queen's majesty only, and therefore, being a Christian Prince, she should show mercy as David did to King Saul. But she has offended against the laws of God by working invasions against the laws of man, and by working invasions both of their own country and others against the whole state of England, by raising sedition, faction, and infinite troubles against the Queen's majesty most unnaturally, by conspiring her death who has stood alone against all men these 18 years for the preservation of her life. God has therefore now declared His effectual will and pleasure sufficiently by delivering her into the hands of those whom she had offended.

3½ pp. Copy. No indorsement.

Oct.

120. JAMES VI. TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 574.

"Reserve up yourself na langer in the earnist dealing for my mother, for ye have done it to long, and thinke not that any youre travellis can do goode if hir lyfe be taikin, for then adeu vith my dealing vith thaim that are the speciall instrumentis thairrof. And thairfore gif ye looke for the contineuance of my favoure touartis you spaire na painis nor plainnes in this cace, bot read my lettir

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1586. vrettin to Williame Keith and conforme youreself quholle to the contentis thair of. And in this requeist lett me reape the fructis of youre great credit thaire ather nou or never. Fairvell." *Signed:* James R.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph. Written below, in another hand; "To Maister Archibald Douglas." No indorsement.*

[Oct.]

121. CRIMES CHARGEABLE TO MARY.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 691.

1. That in the time of the French King her husband, and since, she has taken upon her the arms and title of England.

2. That she has refused to revoke the said usurpation and to ratify the treaty at Edinburgh to that effect.

3. Her marriage with Lord Darnley without her majesty's assent, notwithstanding her promise to the contrary.

4. Her intention of marriage with the Duke of Norfolk against her majesty's express prohibition.

5. That she procured the earls of N[orthumberland] and W[estmorland] with others to rebel against her majesty for the effecting of the said marriage.

6. That she procured relief for the said rebels in Scotland and the Low Countries after their escape out of England.

7. That she solicited the Pope and other her confederates beyond the seas by the means of one Ridolphi, an Italian, for the maintenance of foreign force to invade the realm.

8. *Item*, that she has divers times conspired with some unnatural subjects of this realm beyond seas for her delivery.

9. That she was privy to the bull of Pius Quintus against her majesty.

10. That some of her ministers devised in the Parliament in the 13th year to have disbursed and broken up the said Parliament and to have surprised her majesty's royal person.

11. That she favoured and maintained her servant Morgan after her knowledge and privy that he was the principal persuader of Parry to the killing of her majesty.

The effect of her letters to Throgmorton, June 1583.

Referred her cause to the Duke of Guise in case the treaty for her liberty did not succeed. The said Duke had undertaken to deal in it. She willed Throgmorton to learn what hope there was here of backing any foreign force in case her purpose of liberty was frustrated.

Her letter to Sir Francis Englefield, 9 October 1584.

She had no hope of liberty by the treaty with the Queen, therefore willed the execution of the great plot and design to go forward without any respect of her danger. She prays him by all possible means to move the Pope and the King of Spain that their former design might be executed next spring.

Doctor Allen's letter to her, 5 February 1585.

Terming her his good sovereign, signifies that for resolute answer out of Spain the whole execution was committed to the Prince of Parma. Parson Owen and himself brought the King's said determination to the Prince.

Her letter to Doctor Allen, 20 May 1596 [*sic*].

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Calls him reverend father, and wishes they should not omit this now offered occasion as they had done many before.

Her letter to Doctor Lewis, 30 April 1586.

Wishes him to impart her congratulations to the newly elected Pope. She "affects" him greatly, especially understanding his resolution to follow the steps of Pius Quintus.

Her letters to Charles Paget, 20 May 1586.

To move Mendoza to stir the King of Spain to invade England, the surest way to be rid of the Queen's malice. Alleges Don John's opinion that the only way to settle the King of Spain in the Low Countries is by establishing this realm under a Prince, his friend. Offers to draw her son into the enterprise or to deliver him into the hands of the Pope or Spanish King by means of the Catholics in Scotland. Wishes him, in case Mendoza takes hold of this overture, to write Lord Hamilton to draw the Catholics of Scotland to the devotion of Spain against England; to require the said lord, in case he cannot draw her son to this enterprise, to seize his person and to deliver him; and to "praise" the said lord in her name that he should be established in the succession of the Crown of Scotland if her son die without issue.

A letter to Mendoza to the same effect, of the same date.

Adds one special point to be sent by him to the King of Spain and none else to be privy to it—in case her son were not reclaimed to the Church before his death, she was resolved to grant to the King of Spain, by her last will and testament, all her right in the succession of this Crown. Prays the said King to take her and the state of this country henceforth into his protection. Desires this to be kept secret for divers dangers that might ensue to her thereby.

Charles Paget's letter to her 19 May 1586.

Contains an advertisement of Ballard's being in France and his dispatch into England again. The principal points given him in charge:—That the safety of her person might be well continued, and to have her delivered. A purpose of foreign aid. To move assistance thereto in England. To know what ports were fittest for invasion, which in his opinion would be in the north. Signifies that the foreign aid should come by the Prince of Parma with such speed as should wonderfully vex the Queen of England, not so much as dreaming of that course, but thinking that all that is intended should proceed from Spain.

Her letter to Babington, 25 June 1586.

To renew intelligence with him and to desire him to send her such packets of letters as were come to his hands for her.

Babington's answer.

Advertises the coming over of Ballard, a man of great zeal to the Catholic cause and her service, and the intention beyond the seas for delivery of this country and her safety. There was to be advised in this great action:—For assuring the invasion sufficient force in the invader. Ports to arrive at appointed with a strong party at every place to join with them and warrant their landing. Her deliverance without danger to her person. The despatch of the usurping competitor.

Desires her direction and authority to enable such as may to advance the affairs. Promises that himself with ten gentlemen

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and 100 of their followers would undertake her delivery. There were six gentlemen that would undertake the tragical execution of the usurper. Rejoices that their heroic attempts may be honourably rewarded and that he may by her authority assure them so much.

Her answer to Babington, 27 July 1586.

Commends his zeal to prevent in time the designs of their enemies to extirpate religion. Assures him she will employ her life and all she may therein. For the good success of the enterprise advises him to examine deeply what forces on horse or foot may be raised here; what captains may be had in every shire, in case a general cannot be had; what ports may be assured in the north-west and south for receiving the succours from the Low Countries and Spain; what place is fittest to assemble the principal forces; what foreign forces they require and for how long they are to be paid; what munition, money and armour they will ask; what means the six gentlemen deliberate to proceed by.

After their resolution in these points they should impart the same to Mendoza. Upon assurance of foreign succour they should secretly have their forces in readiness, colouring the same as a fortifying of themselves against the Puritans. The same colour may also serve for establishing a general association amongst themselves. These things prepared, it should be time to set the six gentlemen to work, taking sure order upon the accomplishment thereof for her transporting and for the meeting of her in the field with their forces till foreign aid come.

The six gentlemen to have always about them at Court four stout men with speedy horses, to advertise and likewise to cut off the ordinary posts. To stir before good assurance of foreign aid were dangerous to them and to her also. Refers to Babington to assure the gentlemen of all things requisite on her behalf. If the design did not succeed, leaves to their resolution whether they will pursue her delivery or no. Will at the same time when the work is in hand make the Catholics of Scotland rise and put her son into their hands. Wishes that before any stir were here that some stir in Ireland were procured that the alarm may be given on the contrary side that the stroke should come from.

Sets down three means for her delivery:—To take her away in the moor when she goes about abroad to recruit herself. To set the out-houses on fire to draw her keeper and his people thither. By overturning a cart in the gate some morning, so that it cannot shut.

To Charles Paget, 27 July 1586.

Advertises him of the late intelligence with her in England from Babington and other Catholics there, and of her ample despatches and advices to them. Desires him for divers reasons to further the foreign forces.

To Sir Francis Englefield, 27 July 1586.

Fears that the bruit of a peace to be made between Spain and England will hinder the execution of her designs. Makes him privy to the intelligence she had from the Catholics here, and her despatch and advice to them. Has cleared the difficulty objected for her escape and hopes now to execute the same assuredly.

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1586. Directs him to solicit foreign forces. If a peace is concluded in France, the Duke of Guise may employ his forces before the Queen is aware thereof. Will practise that her enemies may have no succour from Scotland. Can give him no assurance of her son, as she finds him so variable. Fears that the league her son has made with the Queen offends all Catholic Princes. Wills him to execute the same by the authority of the Earl of Anguish and his adherents.

To Mendoza, 27 July 1586.

Rejoiced that the King of Spain would now reform injuries. His long suffering has puffed up his enemies and dismayed Catholics. It grieved her that within these six months the Catholics complained to her and she refused to advise to help them. Now she advised that one should be sent from them praying him to give credit. Will assure her own delivery if there may be aid from abroad. Gives thanks for the 12000 crowns had from the King of Spain, which shall be employed about her delivery only.

To the Bishop of Glasgow, 27th July, 1586.

The Catholics were never universally better disposed, and they there rest upon it. Informs him of the plots, wishing him to deal with the Pope and the Catholic King as she will for Scotland. Would know if the Duke of Guise can perform as much as he promised, and if a peace is concluded in France, to send over his forces hither.

To Lord Paget, 27 July 1586.

Doubts not but that he has understood by his brother all matters passed of late between her and the Catholics of England. Requires him to consider deeply the said plots, and to solicit the same to the Pope and the King of Spain with all expedition by reason of great delay used in those Courts.

The several policies of the Scottish Queen and others in pretending one thing and intending another.

1. They pretend that all their procuring of forces at home and abroad is for reformation of religion, but it is meant to remove the Queen and to set up the Scottish Queen, as Throgmorton confesses.

2. They pretend in a little book, published at Rheims, their great misliking of any attempt against her majesty's person, but Savage says it was to blear the Council's eyes withal.

3. The Queen of Scots pretends a treaty with her majesty for her liberty, but underhand moves foreign invasion and rebellion at home, as Throgmorton affirms.

4. The Scottish Queen by signing and sealing the association confesses her majesty to be a lawful Queen, yet herself has a book affirming her to have present title. Besides, incites her majesty's death, as appears by her letters.

5. She advises the Catholics to pretend the leaving of forces here to be a defence for them against the Puritans, whereas she intends her own delivery.

6. She seeks help of France, and yet would secretly lay the title of England, France, and Scotland upon the King of Spain, and would in no case the French ambassador should be privy to her designments.

7. She bears fair show to her son the King of Scots, and yet would have him surprised and delivered.

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8. She wills Charles Paget to promise Lord Hamilton that she will establish him in the succession of the Crown of Scotland if her son die without issue, only to make him serve her turns and betray the King of Scots.

9. They pretend, as by Francis Englefield's letter appears, that the Scottish Queen's life is her majesty's safety, whereas by her life they intend all danger.

10. She seems to repose great trust in Nau her secretary, yet in her purpose to give this Crown to Spain she will not trust him, because he is French.

11. She advises some stir to be moved in Ireland only to draw England from harking to the places of danger, *viz.*, the Low Countries and France.

The principal grounds and proofs that the Scottish Queen has compassed, imagined and consented to the destruction of her majesty.

1. Charles Paget affirmed to Ballard about Easter last, in France, that in the enterprise of invasion, rebellion and delivery of the Scottish Queen there was no hope to prevail during her majesty's life.

2. Babington and Ballard about 25th or 27th May 1586 resolved that all foreign power and invasion were in vain, unless the Queen's majesty was taken away.

3. Hereupon she concluded that six gentlemen should undertake the killing of her majesty, and that Savage should forbear to execute alone but be one of the six.

4. All these points are confessed voluntarily by divers of the principal conspirators both before and at their arraignment, as appears by record.

5. Her letter to Babington to remove intelligence is proved by Babington's confession, written with his own hand.

6. Likewise his letters to the Scottish Queen and her answers are proved by the confessions of Babington, Ballard, Savage, Tichborne and Dunn, besides other proofs mentioned hereafter.

7. Babington, perusing the copies of both the last letters with great care, voluntarily subscribed his name to every page of them both as to the true copies of the said letters.

8. Both letters were written in the Scottish Queen's cipher, and all points of Babington's letter directly answered by her's to him.

9. The same cipher was found among her papers, and acknowledged and subscribed by Babington to be the same.

10. The imparting of her letter by Babington to Tichborne, Ballard, Dunn and others, when he was at liberty and their constant affirming the same at their arraignment and till their death sufficiently proves the mutual receipt of them.

11. It is not likely that Babington would devise of his own head and impart to others a matter of so great danger to himself.

12. Nau and Curll, her secretaries, by their declarations and confessions subscribed with their own hands, and by their voluntary oaths, witness both the Queen received the letter from Babington and caused the said answer to be written in her name.

13. The copies of the said letters being showed them, they subscribed their names thereunto, and acknowledged that the

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1586. Scottish Queen received the one from Babington, and gave direction for the writing of the other to him.

14. A minute set down by Nau, and found among his papers at Chartley, containing the principal points of both letters, was acknowledged by Nau to be done as a memorial for him for the writing of other letters.

15. Thereto he subscribed his own name.

16. Also Curll acknowledged and subscribed an extract of the said letters.

17. The same points put into French by Nau were also confessed and subscribed by him.

18. Nau being examined before the lords 21st September 1596, says that he received the instruction of the letter to Babington point by point from her own mouth.

19. Curll in substance confesses the same; all which confessions and subscriptions were verified by the oath of Mr. Paul, clerk of the crown.

20. The Scottish Queen acknowledged the aforesaid subscriptions of Curll and Nau to be their own writing.

21. Charles Paget's letter 29th May 1586 to the Scottish Queen was deciphered and confessed by Curll. It appeared that she had intelligence of Ballard's enterprise not only from Babington, but also from others out of France.

22. Several letters of the Scottish Queen written to Mendoza, Charles Paget, the Bishop of Glasgow, Lord Paget and Francis Englefield, all of 27th July 1586, concurring in matters with Babington's letter to her, and her answer to him, prove evidently that she received the one and wrote the other.

23. The original drafts of these five letters were confessed and subscribed by Curll and Nau before the lords.

24. In her letter to Babington and Francis Englefield she promises to essay to make the Scottish Catholics to rise, and wishes that some stir in Ireland should be laboured for; both which advices have not failed of their success, which verifies the truth of the former letters.

25. About the time these things were in hand she wrote divers other letters to sundry persons beyond the seas of dangerous consequence to her majesty and state, whereby her said intention is further confirmed.

26. First to Charles Paget and Mendoza, 20th May 1586.

27. These letters were first written in French, then translated into English and put in cipher by Curll, as he confessed and subscribed the same 25th September 1586, before the lords.

28. By these two letters her intention appears to be to subject this realm to the King of Spain, to the destruction of her majesty.

29. Doctor Allen's letter to her 5th February 1586, and her answer to him 20th May 1586. He acknowledges her to be his sovereign, and she, accepting the same, gives him the title of reverend father; which letters in her answer she does not deny.

30. It is probable that the matter which Allen says was committed to the Prince of Parma was of great peril to her majesty's person, as may appear by the Prince's letter 20th January 1586 to the Scottish Queen.

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31. He writes that touching the great secret he would keep it as becomes, and put to effect as much as she should command and should be within his power.

32. Her letter to Dr. Lewis of 30th April 1586 argues her ill disposition towards her majesty, exciting this Pope to follow the steps of Pius Quintus.

33. For the further accepting of all these letters it is to be noted that the original drafts of them were all found among her papers at Chartley, saving that which she wrote to Babington.

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122. LEGALITY OF PROCEEDING AGAINST MARY.

C.P., vol. XX.

In all criminal or civil causes two points chiefly are to be considered—the fact and the law. Takes the fact as proved sufficiently. The Queen of Scots has many ways committed high treason against the State of England, and maliciously against the person of the Queen of England, and therefore deserves the pains of a traitor.

It is objected that no law will touch her, being an imperial Queen. This is not true either by civil or canon law. Ulpian says “*est receptum eoque iure utimur ut si quis maior vel equalis subiiciat se iurisdictioni alterius possit ei et adversus eum ius dici.*” The Queen of Scots is equal, and therefore if she has submitted herself to the jurisdiction of the Queen’s majesty she may have judgment fit for high treason given against her. Submission in civil law is done two ways, expressly, as she has not done, and privily or by interpretation as she has done; for as soon as ever she committed any treason in England *ipso facto* she submitted herself to the Queen’s majesty’s jurisdiction. Paulus de Castro and others, in d. l. [*est receptum*] prove it.

Mary, Queen of Scots, has out of Scotland, in England, offended Elizabeth our gracious Queen, therefore she must take her trial here as one that has wittingly submitted herself to her majesty’s laws.

Whereas in civil laws it is a maxim that he that is not subject in the realm cannot commit treason, Bouiface understands the maxim in this wise:—“*Non subditus imperii non potest comittere crimen læse majestatis etiamsi sit eius vasallus. Sed istud sic intelligo inquit ibi Bonifae: quando iste vasallus non est sibi subditus ratione originis nec domicilii nec delicti nec quasi delicti.*” The Queen of Scots though not “*subdita simpliciter subiicitur ratione delicti*” may “*comittere crimen læsæ majestatis.*”

When Henry the Emperor deprived Robert, King of Sicily, his vassal, of his kingdom and adjudged him to death for treason, Robert remaining in his own kingdom, Pope Clement the fifth reversed the Emperor’s sentence, because he was not lawfully cited; and cite him he could not out of the bounds of his own kingdom. The Pope said the Emperor might correct any faults if the offender were taken within his jurisdiction and kingdom. The Queen of Scots is found guilty here, so the punishment of her crime, by the Pope’s own judgment, pertains to the Queen of England.

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Celinus affirms that if a patriarch offend in the diocese of an inferior bishop he is to be punished by him; and by the civil law, although ambassadors have great immunities and were called "*sancti a sanguinibus*," yet if they did offend they were compelled to take judgment where the offence was committed.

She is here in England though in name and dignity a Prince, yet touching jurisdiction a private person. Paulus in the third law "*de officio præsidis*" has "*præses provincie in sue provincie homines tantum imperium habet, et hoc dum in provincia est nam si excesserit privatus est.*" But she is gone out of her kingdom, therefore she is but a private person. So, granting her to be a Queen of Scotland, which is yet an absurdity since her son is there a crowned King, yet "*extra regnum*" as now she is, she is a private person, and therefore for her high treason to be put to death and her goods confiscated.

This case supposes treason to be committed against her majesty within her realm by one that now is or lately has been a sovereign Prince of another country, reporting no further circumstance. There can arise no other question but whether the offender stands in terms of a common stranger, so that her majesty has right to punish the offence, the person, state, and quality notwithstanding. It cannot be denied that strangers are bound to the laws they find in the countries to which they come. The author of this discourse has taken this for his ground, and bestowed the rest of his labour in answer of such matter, if any be, as is pretended, for exemption of a foreign Prince from the rule of all other strangers.

If no privilege could have been vouched for difference between the two cases, then the force of her majesty's authority against strangers offending within her dominions had fully resolved the doubt. If show had been made of law to warrant the foreign Princes' condition in this case better than the common strangers is, the occasion to answer to those points had directed his course to more apt and pertinent matter than the substance of those arguments imports.

He supposes an objection of an assertion that foreign Princes are not reputed for subjects within other territories, notwithstanding their transgression of the laws, which is not properly an objection; but the matter itself is in question. His first argument grounds her majesty's right to punish this offence upon the offender's submission, supposing that the offence implies a submission to her majesty's authority, though the person were otherwise discharged of subjection. The other point of this argument, that every breach of law imports a submission to the penalty thereof, supposed to be some principle of the civil law, is a matter of strange absurdity, not warrantable by the law nor any other good learning.

For trial, let this proposition be delivered in known terms, and say thus, every man that breaks any law is to be punished because he was willing to bear the penalty of his offence. Would not this sound strange, every man's affection witnessing against himself that whatsoever he did, yet he would not be punished for it if he might choose? Compare the same speech with this principle of

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Thirdly, were it good reason, if a stranger intending to kill one of her majesty's subjects within the realm would call men to record that he meant not to submit himself to any order of justice in this country, that he should go away unpunished? This must follow from this assertion, if it be true.

Finally, to be tried by submission and to be subject to punishment are not often met in one person. If one under 24 years would submit himself to the jurisdiction of him that is not his ordinary judge, that submission without the assent of his tutor were worth naught in law, yet if such a one being "*doli capax*," commit any crime he would sustain punishment for the same as well as another.

Contrariwise, if an archbishop submit himself to the jurisdiction of any bishop within his own province this submission shall bind him; but if he commit any fault within such a bishop's diocese, worthy ecclesiastical censure, that bishop being under him in authority may not deal with his punishment. Therefore, if offences bind where submission does not it cannot be possible that every offence works a submission; for it is a matter monstrous in nature that the effect should at any time be severed from the cause.

Paulus de Castro is here vouched for this assertion. He and many other writers concerning the same have delivered this and a great number of absurdities besides, whereof Ulpian, Paulus, Africanus, Papinianus and the rest of those famous lawyers who lived before the general corruption of learning never dreamed. And Paulus de Castro can show nothing that sounds that way out of any part of the civil law. The places cited by him and his fellows concern subjects of the Roman Empire, and not any foreigner to that State. Again, of those subjects are considered two sorts, one subject to the jurisdiction of some magistrate in common right, nevertheless exempt by privilege, and another who in common right are not subject to some particular territory where they are convented, by reason they are of some other province of that Empire. If the first sort happen to transgress the laws where they are privileged they may be punished, because the law granting them privilege is not meant to protect them for any crime. If the other sort offend the laws where they are not subject they may receive punishment there, because the Emperor gave his lieutenant a commission that reached as well to this sort as the rest that were naturally of those lieutenants' jurisdiction. These places therefore alleged by Paulus de Castro are not well applicable to the case of common strangers, and this device of secret submission is as needless as in itself it is senseless.

The second argument is a testimony of Boniface Vitalinus, a canonist of no great moment, taken in far other sense than Vitalinus meant, as may appear by his conference with others.

Vitalinus and the rest of those writers hold that he who is not subject to any State or Prince cannot be traitor to any of them. Their meaning is that if, for example, a Spaniard were in France a mere foreigner no way subject to the French King more than any

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stranger in that country is, and should enter into any practices dangerous to the State or the King's person, he should be punishable for that offence, but not by the title of treason. In this sense Oldradus, who first broached this opinion, which was the occasion that Pope Clement V. gave it credit, by authority of one of his Clementines, delivered that rule purposely penned by him for the cause of Robert, King of Naples.

A question is moved—What if a foreigner, in a place where he is not charged with treason, at some other time before had tied himself to the jurisdiction either by trespass or contract? Vitalinus is of opinion that treason may aptly be affirmed in his person, because he is in some sort subject. But his fellows affirm that to be thus subject imports a submission limited to the special offence or contract, and therefore is not enough to bring him within this condition, but he must be subject "*ratione originis vel domicilii*."

Out of this sentence of Vitalinus no argument can be drawn but this—a foreigner attempting anything against that State wherein he has done some former offence is chargeable with treason. To make this place of Vitalinus serve a purpose, the exception is given as if Vitalinus had said that in case a foreigner had committed treason in the place where he is foreigner, and so were subject "*ratione delicti*," he should be reputed a traitor, and a construction is given so far wide from the sense of the author, that all that Vitalinus or any of the rest have said in that argument is destroyed.

It is said that this matter of execution of justice against foreign Princes is already overruled by Pope Clement V. in a question between the Emperor Henry VII. and Robert, King—as he says—of Sicily.

In the Clementines, one of the books of the canon law, there is such a sentence full of many untruths for the matter. Yet that which is picked out is so far from overruling this case that it is scarce applicable to the matter. The opening of the fact will make this plain. The Emperor Henry VII. when his election was to be ratified by Clement, then living at Avignon, was "indented" that he should receive his coronation at Rome, as his ancestors had done; for which purpose three Cardinals were sent thither with Pope Clement's commission. The Emperor found on coming to Italy the country in troublesome factions, one part against him meaning to deliver themselves from all subjection to the Empire. To this side joined Robert, late Duke of Apulia, and at that time King of Naples, who both had their forces in field against the Emperor at Florence and in other parts of Italy, also joining with the families of Vesines of Rome, and resisted his coronation, though to little effect in the end. The Emperor having with difficulty despatched his coronation returned to Pisa, where he "called" Robert by public edict for his rebellion, following the course which Frederick the first took by advice of the lawyers against the city of Milan, and upon default declared him traitor and rebel to the Empire, pronouncing all his dignities to be void.

The Emperor lived a very short time after, poisoned, as it was thought, by a monk in Italy administering the Host to him.

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After his death Clement called this judgment in question at a Council called by him at Vienna, whereupon by many fine points suggested by Oldradus he declares the same to be void. And because he might not justify his sentence if Robert were in any sort subject to the Emperor's, he published to the world that this Robert when the Emperor proceeded against him was King of Sicily, there born and having his special abode, which is a matter of great untruth.

Much of the sentence vouched in the Clementine was doubtless newly forged at the compiling of the book, and not put in writing in Clement's lifetime. At this time Frederick, of the house of Aragon, was King of Sicily, in whose succession the crown continued to this day. There had been controversies between the ancestors of Robert, Duke of Anjou, and Peter, King of Aragon, for the title of that realm, yet that quarrel was at that time quitted. It is again as manifest an untruth that Robert of this process had his abode in Sicily; for after the execution of the Frenchmen there neither he nor any of his ancestors had one foot of quiet possession in that country. Lastly, whosoever shall read the history will think it as unprofitable a tale that Robert was born there, as Clement bears them in hand.

Yet when these suppositions were taken to be true Clement could hardly approve the justice of his sentence to the judgment of such learned men as lived not long after him. Cynus, one of the best of civilians of his age, affirms that Clement was herein seduced by the grossness of the canonists. Baldus flies in the end to this shift "*deceet honestatem utilitas*," affirming the Pope was enforced to it for the preservation of his Church and of Italy. Bart: et Panormit: showed that with some more cunning. This is the weight of that Clementine.

The resolution of Clementine is not the thing that serves this matter, but it is a piece of an answer that Clement made to an objection which was supposed might be framed by the Emperor that he had to deal therewith by virtue of the general law permitting every Prince to punish crimes within their jurisdiction. From this discourse it is gathered that if Robert, though a King, had been found within this district of the empire, then the Emperor's sentence had been well to be justified. Such collection is necessary to be made of Clement's answer. As the objection is of a general authority to punish such as offend within the territories of other Princes, so is the answer in like sense, and not of any degree of person to be taken. Whether the rule of Princes' authority to punish offenders within their territories weighed anything or nothing, the circumstance still remained for refuge if Clement would take the benefit thereof, and that he reserved himself liberty to use other defence, notwithstanding his answer, well appears by the rest of the Clementine following.

Where for more likelihood of Clement's meaning is added out of Felinus, a canonist, that a patriarch committing an ecclesiastical crime within the bishopric of Bononia is punishable by the bishop of that diocese, that helps but little, for this conclusion is part of the law which derives both bishops' and patriarchs' jurisdiction from one head, the Pope. And if he has given the inferior such an

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1586. authority over the great prelates, what does this make to the authority of two who have both a sovereign and absolute jurisdiction, not limited by any Bartolus in defence of Clementine? Between these two cases there is great odds.

The fourth argument makes better show than any of the former. An ambassador, though to all purposes a foreigner, a person privileged and representing a Prince, is for his offence punishable by the civil law; whereupon it must follow that the case of a Prince who is the person represented must stand by all probabilities in like terms of law.

The ground of this reason has been in question during 50 years between Francis the French King, and the Duke of Milan, for the execution of Merveils, the French King's ambassador. Some have been of opinion that the ambassador is in such case to be sent to his master, as the most honourable mean to deliver the Prince offended from suspicion.

The Romans have left an ancient precedent in the ambassadors of Tarquinius, whom they were content to spare, notwithstanding they had practised the change of that State with certain of their own subjects. T. Livius reporting that history seems to say that the Romans had herein regard to the general law of all the world. He says they deserved to have been taken and ordered as enemies, had not the protection of the general law stayed that course. So, in this sentence he takes away both authority to punish them by ordinary justice, which is now the question, and the right to use revenge as against enemies "*propter ius gentium*" upon like consideration.

A. Posthumus in the time of his dictatorship discharged the Volscian ambassadors without hurt, otherwise, the respect of their persons set aside in reason, punishable; and in the former example of Merveills, the Duke of Milan makes not his claim upon any right to punish an ambassador, which he would not have omitted if he might have claimed it justly, but stands upon another point, that Merveills was a private person, a gentleman of Milan, his subject, and no ambassador at all.

The necessity of Princes and States whose causes could never be compounded nor quarrels ended without intercourse of ambassadors has procured by general assent safety to such as are employed in that service. Doubtless if their safety had been weak the mean to entertain amity between Princes had long since failed, for that few or none would have adventured their persons, and Princes and other States might not with good consideration hazard their affairs in the hands of their ambassadors. The discommodity of wars and quarrels likely to arise may be added, seldom any cause falling out so clear to charge the ambassador, or so uprightly handled to the contentment of his master, as he should not find therein matter of unkindness and quarrel sufficient to break off amity.

From these reasons it is thought that the law general touching the safety of ambassadors should reach further than to ordinary protection from violence and injury, nor is any reason found to warrant a contrary judgment. The author of a French book, *Reveille Matin*, lays for one of his grounds in the Scottish argument that ambassadors are to be put to death, using for proof the

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1586. ambassadors of Darius sent into Macedonia, of Demades, ambassador from the Athenians to Antipater, and a third sent from Octavius into Egypt in the time of civil wars, all slain for offences plainly proved or probably conceived in them. But these are examples of murderous and not of orderly execution, whereto this question tends.

It is said that the civil law justifies the punishment of ambassadors. No ancient civilians ever dealt with any question concerning ambassadors, as not pertaining to their profession, but to the general law, called "*jus gentium*." If at any time they happened to make mention of an ambassador it was not to determine anything touching their persons, but to decide some civil question that depends thereupon, even as when they cite some aphorism of Hippocrates they have no intent to set down their judgment in physic, but what must follow in justice, supposing Hippocrates' opinion is true.

Although the books of the civil law are monuments of very excellent wisdom, yet it properly yields no resolution of such kind of questions, for the law civil was a peculiar law to the Roman government, and the matters therein debated reached only to controversies incident to the subjects of that State. All questions touching foreign States and Princes were referred to the general law of the world, whereof the Romans had special professors, first instituted by Numa Pomphilius. With these questions the civilians did not deal, and therefore there is no marvel that they have left no monument hereof in their writings.

The place cited out of the title "*de iudiciis*" is all that is vouched out of the civil law in defence of correction of ambassadors. It cannot be applied to the matter in question except the word "*legatus*" be imagined to mean such an ambassador as is spoken of. In the civil law the lieutenant appointed under the government of some province is called "*legatus*," and so are those men sent from cities and townships under the Roman government to the Prince about their common affairs. This sort of legates is to be understood in that place, and so likewise in the place brought for the punishment of ambassadors it was spoken not of them, but of the other sort termed legates.

The circumstance of the law itself speaks for this. For whereas it was granted to "*legati*" sent from cities and boroughs to Rome, or as it is termed "*ad sacrarium principis*," that they should not be molested for the time by any man's private action "*ne ab officio legationis avocentur*," for which reason they were prohibited to deal in any private matter of their own during their charge, yet it is provided that if they wronged any man they might lawfully be "*convicted*" for the same, even as contrariwise, if wrong were offered to them, they were not forbidden to take their action.

Between this kind of legates and our ambassadors there is great difference; for though the civil law might limit the privilege granted to deputies of cities under the Roman government in manner as is before recited, yet might it not so do with the privilege of a Prince's ambassador, because that privilege is not from the civil law but the universal law of the world subject to refrain by no Prince's ordinance. Therefore this argument proves nothing.

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It may be conjectured by some things extant in the civil law that the Romans used to forbear the correction of an ambassador's offence, for Quintus Mutius gave his opinion that where any man offered violence to the enemy's ambassadors, the most convenient way was to deliver the offender into the hands of the enemy to punish him at their own discretion. If they had this regard in their own subject, fearing they should not be thought to have given him punishment proportionable to his offence, would they be less careful in the person of an ambassador to avoid all doubt of partial dealing in correction of his faults?

Some have objected that the ambassador's privilege should be no longer allowed than while he demeaned himself ambassador-like. How far this assertion is true is not to be disputed, as requiring a needless discourse. It may suffice for answer that if for the ambassador's offence the benefit of the general law be denied him, it should not be denied to the offender alone, but his majesty, who is guiltless, which stands not with good proportion of justice. The tribunes in the Roman States, if they had committed any crime in their year, were spared, for it was taken that, whatsoever the tribune's desert was in respect of himself, his protection should still hold, not as this, but as the States whose magistrate he was. So in like manner may be said of the ambassadors. Yet if the ambassador's fact be of that nature that either the Prince may not spare his person without hazard of his own State, or otherwise cannot give delay to expect redress from his master, the ambassador offering such injury shall not challenge his protection. For if an ambassador were able to make head against the Prince and were with rebels in arms, it were no breach of "*ius gentium*" to repress him who had in that sort first broken the law himself.

All this is spoken of the punishment of ambassadors, not of restraint of their liberty, for many grave causes fall out to warrant their restraint allowed by the judgment of all ages. For this manner of dealing is not a revenge, but necessary defence permitted to all, and denied against none.

The last reason to conclude this discourse is this—a Prince coming within any foreign territory is a private person, therefore punishable if he offend.

This argument at first sight has a countenance of some "concludency" by reason that the common speech often puts little difference between a person private and a subject. But the word does not bear this sense, nor do the places alleged out of Paulus and Lupus yield such signification. The word private imports the want of authority to exercise public jurisdiction. A Prince coming into any foreign territory is there a private person, can make no laws there, nor put them in execution there, nor give any public punishment to any of his own subjects in that place. For these actions depend on his jurisdiction, whereof he has no use there. And no other matter do either Paulus or Lupus infer of that word.

Wherefore, if a man infer that such a Prince in another territory is punishable, he includes more than the nature of the word will warrant, for the difference of persons private and public shows not who is punishable, but who has exercise of jurisdiction and who has none. This may suffice for opinion of the arguments, which is

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Finds the question which is the matter of this discourse is not debated save by the author of the French dialogue, who deals very little with the generality thereof, bestowing the great part of his treaty in the examination of circumstances not set down for any part of this case, and of certain other points considerable rather in policy and compassion than in justice and law.

It has been disputed and decided by many learned men what right Princes have to punish strangers within their dominions, whether that right may have execution in those that come upon safe-conduct, and whether a stranger is chargeable with treason as well as a subject. But a foreign Prince's case has not been debated in these points. Peradventure it is omitted because it was not thought a disputable matter, Princes being comprised in the generality of a foreigner. And does not find the practice of the world reported by history, but has taken it otherwise. Nor does it put difference in the degrees or states of foreigners at all.

Sometimes some examples at first sight offer appearance of such a matter to those that thoroughly look not into them, as in that which the history of Naples and Sicily report of Corradinus, right heir of those kingdoms. When judgment of death was given against him for attempting to recover by force the Crown from Charles, Duke of Anjou, upon whom Pope Urban had bestowed those countries a little before, he told the judge that he ought to know that he was a King's son and could not be judged by his equal.

Therefore let the ground of this discourse be that every prince's territory warrants him to punish the offender there, be they foreign or others, for the truth thereof is, because every stranger is in all countries where he comes a subject for the time: otherwise how could he be tied to the positive laws of those countries, as continual experience teaches, and all learned men agree he is, or with what reason be so many ways at commandment as custom has allowed, or stayed for debts grown in other countries, if he be in no sort subject? For positive laws have no force but by virtue of such authority as the Prince and State have in his own person whom those laws must rule, and commandment is idle against him that is not compelled to obey, and no jurisdiction can be exercised but against a subject. Therefore particular men standing in like terms of necessity to obey laws and do what is commanded, which is the condition of every stranger, are for the time to be judged subjects.

These reasons were needed not, but sees that the author of this discourse was led with an old error found in the commentaries of late doctors, and maintained to this day by some, that subjection in the person of a stranger grows first by his offence or contract, or other equivalent matters, and not before, whereas he enters into that condition as soon as he sets foot in another land. This error first grew by occasion that the reason why a foreigner should be convented for his offence was sought in the civil law, which is a preposterous course. If the question were generally asked why a stranger in that empire or a Roman in a foreign country is there punishable, it were no good reason to say, because he is found to

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transgress the laws there, except it were showed that the general law or custom of the world allowed that authority over the person of a stranger.

Albeit transgressions make men punishable, it does not make them punishable in this or that place unless it be granted that they are there under jurisdiction. Therefore if it is demanded why jurisdiction is exercised by way of punishment, it is so because he has done some offence without which no man is punishable. So "*ratione delicti puniendus est*," and not as the common error holds "*sortitur forum ratione delicti*," because he is a subject before.

Some fancy that public authority over strangers is grounded upon submission; for whereas the point is at the civil law merely positive, so ordered "*lege Julia Judiciaria*" of special policy for the case of the subject, and so in the nature of a statute law, yet it cannot be vouched to be the ground of that which was the law of all ages long before "*Lex Julia*" was known. To be judged by the rule of nature, submission of private persons can ground jurisdiction in no man where special provision of law has not given it greater force.

The civil law sometimes says "*Privatorum consensus iudicem non facit eum qui nulli preest iurisdictioni*," because that jurisdiction must take its warrant from the law and by the common rule. "*Ius publicum privatorum pactis mutare non potest*." May it not then be concluded that a Prince whose jurisdiction is limited to his subjects by the law general can by assent be extended to the person of one in no sort subject? It is as impossible to enlarge a jurisdiction limited by law as to give him jurisdiction that had none before. Hereof the Bishops of Rome well wist to take their advantage, for having once "*wound*" to themselves certain authority over the clergy wherewith no temporal might meddle, afterwards they decided for law that a clerk could not be subject to the jurisdiction of a layman, though he were content to submit himself thereto.

To conclude, submission to another state is bootless or needless: for if, for example, a Spaniard abiding in Spain would yield to be a subject to the French King's authority, the French King cannot for all that execute any point of his jurisdiction over him in Spain, and if the Spaniard, being in France, would therein submit himself, yet the French King wins nothing thereby, because that being within his territory he was subject before, though no submission had ever been made. This is not to confound the conditions of strangers and subjects, for a stranger is for the time a subject, to wit, "*subditus temporalis*." This addition alone puts difference enough between him and "*subditi originarii*" or "*assititii*," in whom the Prince and State has a stronger interest.

If this be thought a paradox there are reasons sufficient to justify the practice of all States in correction of foreigners, for considering that wheresoever they come they are "*iure gentium*" intitled to protection, it stands with good equity that they for their own parts should be harmless, and there should be as well allowance to reform them as provision to defend them.

Again, the law of all ages has allowed to every person and State

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Admitting for a principle that strangers are in all countries punishable; the next point is, what good matter a Prince in another territory can allege to deliver his person from the force of this rule.

Corradinus, as before said, pleaded incompetence of the judge. The example of this plea alone is of little weight, for there is no cause why the example of Charles rejecting this plea should not be as good a precedent to all States to deal with foreign princes as he did with Corradinus. For although it may be said that Princes are in some sort equal, yet a foreign Prince within another's territory is in the sense of that rule not so to be taken. That the difference may be distinctly seen, it must be understood there are two qualities in a sovereign Prince, his royal dignity, and his royal authority. One is respected in whatsoever civil place he goes; the other has no use but in his own dominions. These distinct qualities supposed that, for as much as the rule "*par in parem*" cannot be meant of equals in dignity only, but of such as are "*pares imperio*," a foreign Prince having in another territory no authority at all, much less in that respect equal to the Sovereign thereof, cannot be relieved by the help of this rule.

Why the rule should have place in the one rather than in the other there are manifest reasons. For where the authority of powers is equal, how can there be between them any execution of justice, one having as strong a power to forbid as the other to command? It is not so with those of like dignity and not of like power, for everywhere are men of mean estate advanced to places of justice, having jurisdiction over persons of greater countenance for their degrees of honour as well as over others of baser condition.

The civil law has plainly expressed thus much. It shows that it "*skills*" not what dignity an arbiter be of, praetor may enforce him to give his award. For this Ulpian has "*arbitrium cuiusque dignitatis coget officio quod suscepit profungi, etiamsi sit consularis nisi forte sit in aliquo magistratus superiores aut qui sunt pares imperio nullo modo possunt cogi*." The old edict of the praetor "*de in ius vocando*" made special exception of magistrates "*qui imperium habent*," as not compelled to come before him in any matter of justice, but excepted not "*consulares praefectorios*" or any others that bear only titles of honour, which it should have done had not the wisdom of the civil laws known the difference of these two qualities.

To revenge wrongs was permitted by the common laws of the world as well in correction of faults by justice as in war. If that law has not restrained men's liberties in the one, from any respect of dignity, whereof wars against foreign Princes are testimony, it has also left as large a scope in the other.

There are examples, though not many, misgovernments of Princes in foreign lands being but rare accidents, which report either executions done or how Princes and States have taken their

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right on this point. Tigranes, King of Lesser Armenia, being with Pompey in his camp about a matter of his own state in variance between him and his father, was arrested for treason practised against Rome during his abode there, was from thence carried to Rome, and for that fact put to death. Like execution was done upon Antiochus, King of Comagene, in the time of Augustus the Emperor, for murdering his brother's ambassador to that State. Ptolemeus, King of Egypt, had not many years before as bad a cause, but better luck, for notwithstanding he had caused the most of those ambassadors which came against him out of Egypt to Rome to be slain, so that the rest for fear withdrew from that service, yet corruption so strongly prevailed and so mighty was the faction in his favour that he escaped the reward of his desert. Cleomenes, one of the Lacedamonian Kings, entertained in the Court of Ptolemeus Philopater, was for some speeches uttered to his dishonour put in prison, and finding shift to deliver himself from thence, attempted the death of the King and change of that State, as Polebius writes, or, as Plutarch reports, executed his purpose upon the King's person, and prevented his punishment for his fact by murder of himself. What might be done to his body and to his mother and children, who then were with him, was performed to the uttermost. So it appears they took them for want of a person whereon to execute their right, rather than as right to minister justice in punishment of his person.

Furthermore, if the rule "*par in parem*" shall so deliver foreign princes from jurisdiction, that they may not be put to death, then it must also exempt them from other degrees of jurisdiction, for the rule is absolute and no more limited to one degree than another. But imprisonment, which is one and not the least part of jurisdiction, has many times taken hold of them, and the justice of these examples is hitherto uncontrolled.

Dorimachus, Prince of the Etolians, was imprisoned by the Mesenians, because, making countenance to them that he came to content them in certain grievances, they perceived his people received secret encouragement from him to continue their pillage of the country in as great outrage as before. Cotis, King of one part of Thracia, came to Reseupharis to confer on certain matters of difference between them and was put in prison, Reseupharis pretending to the senate of Rome that Cotis after entering his realm had practised treason against him. What happened to Louis XI. during the time that he and Charles Duke of Burgundy were together at Perona in conference is at large reported by Philip de Comines and others.

If yet it be reported that the fact of Charles against Corradinus has ministered matter of many bitter invectives, the histories not only of Naples and Sicily but other countries much complaining of this execution, it cannot but be thought that Corradinus' defence carried more weight than has been acknowledged. What has been said must be taken to be spoken of the generality of this rule, which is of force sufficient to avoid correction of every foreign Prince taken in the place where he offends.

This rule was not altogether unaptly pleaded by Corradinus, for he came into Naples with an army purposing the recovery of his

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inheritance, therefore could not properly be said to offend in a foreign country, and so was not punishable by that title; for it is held for law that a Prince wheresoever he goes with his army is still within his own territory. Otherwise, if because a Prince made war within the dominions of another he should be taken for a subject, it would follow that no law of arms should be held with him more than with a subject rebelling against his natural Prince, which no man's reason would well digest.

That Corradinus was none of Charles' subjects, was no part of the fault which writers find with this fact, though condemned by many. It was that Corradinus, whose misfortune was in common humanity to be pitied, the cause of his war in the opinion of many being just, was condemned first as a traitor, and after brought to an open scaffold and publicly executed with shame and ignominy. Though that which Charles V. wrote in his apology against Francis the French King, that the liberty of Princes to deal with prisoners taken in just wars by perpetual imprisonment or death is not restrained by any known custom or law, yet nature teaches that confederations are to be had whether the captive is touched with the common calamity of war or with some cruel dealings or other desert worthy of extraordinary hate, and whether he may be spared without danger. Lastly, it may not extend to despise or contumely where there is not very odious matter to minister that occasion.

Mithridatus finding Attilius, a Roman in his camp, had a secret purpose to compass his death, yet because he was a senator of Rome, a state then equal in credit to that of a King, he spared his public execution and caused him secretly to be put to death. The public judgment of those who wrote the histories of those times does not touch Charles' right, but blames his want of moderation; therefore it makes little against his assertion.

The place cited out of Plutarch is utterly out of the case, and touches an execution of a prisoner taken in lawful war. It makes little to this purpose because it notes not the putting to death of a King for a strange matter not practised before, that Anthony put it in use in Antigonus, for thereof Anthony had many precedents even in the countries near where this fact was done, and not long before his own or his ancestors' memory. It says it had not been seen before that a King was beheaded with an axe, meaning that he was the first example of this manner of execution in the person of a King within the Roman government. So Strabo cited by Josephus writes more plainly.

It is undoubted that this form of punishment was taken to be very base, and therefore Antonius Carracalla when he commanded the famous lawyer and his chief magistrate Papinianus to be put to death he misliked the manner and told the executioner "*gladio te exequi oportuit iussum meum non securi*," noting that he would regard had been had of the men's calling. But the fact of Anthony is excused by Strabo, and Polebius, touching the death of Aristomachus the tyrant, sets down his opinion that he deserved after being taken prisoner not to be put to death, in the gaol at Cenchris, but to have been carried in show throughout all Peloponesus, and after to have suffered all the torments that might be devised.

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It is true that ignominious deaths or extraordinary torments in the person of Princes are in some cases well approved, some by infallible authority, others by common judgment. The examples of Jezebel, Athalie, and Zedechia are well known, besides so many Kings as it pleased God to show his fearful judgment upon by the hand of Joshua and the children of Israel. None have blamed Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, for the death of the great Emperor, Alexius Duus, whom he caused to be arraigned for the murder of his master and predecessor, and after to be thrown down from a high pillar and so end his wretched life, nor Charles, Prince of Dirruchium, for causing Joan, Queen of Naples, to be hanged where she procured her husband to be made away by the same death, nor Clotarius, the French King, who by the advice of his Council gave judgment on Brunaechilet, a wicked Queen who had been the occasion of the death of ten Kings with a precedent of as terrible an execution as since has not been practised.

To return, Plutarch's note does no whit discredit the defence of Princes' rights in their territories, but makes for it very strongly, for if conquest in war sets the life and honour of a captain [*sic*] at the devotion of a conqueror, can it be thought reason that where a foreign Prince offends in another territory, offering such wrong as the Prince offended might therefore make war against him, now for want of good means to be avenged by jurisdiction, he be suffered to depart, and so left to the uncertain event of war? For where by jurisdiction the Prince had his remedy without danger to himself or loss of his subjects he must if he fall to war put in hazard the lives of a great number, and for the event stand at the courtesy of fortune.

Touching the dismissal of Jugurtha, what was done must be ascribed to policy and not to justice, for the Romans had already made their provision for the wars of Numidia, not doubting the conquest thereof, and would not by stay of his person lose the opportunity of that war which was shortly to make them lords both of Jugurtha and his dominions. Again Jugurtha, coming to Rome under public assurance for his safety, it may be they would not by any execution for his desert minister occasion of discredit to such assurance. If any man think that the Romans were directed by justice, their safe-conduct refraining them to deal with him for his offence as with a common foreigner, let him refer to the example of Bomilchar, who accompanying Jugurtha upon like assurance was compelled to give sureties to answer the cause in judgment. For though Salust's words are fit "*reus magis ex bono et equo quam ex iure gentium*"; Bomilchar's meaning is not that the law general was herein broken, but that the Romans followed the sense in equity and not the bare letter of the law. As when Paulus says "*equitas suggerit ctsi iure deficiamus*" his meaning is that the law by construction of equity is kept, and not broken.

It cannot be maintained that such promises gave any man defence or protection for crimes that are to be committed after, for that were to embolden men to do mischief upon confidence of impunity. The ancient civilians said "*nulla pactione effici posse ne dolus malus praestitur*" and "*bonae fidei contrarium esse ut de dolo quis non teneatur licet ita convenerit.*" Much less may it be

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thought to be any man's meaning to give him any other liberty to do him what hurt he can. So has the case in safe-conducts been overruled in courts of great credit. Adonias came to Salomon upon safe-conduct, yet was not spared when it was perceived he sought the crown. Dyonisius the younger sent for Plato out of Greece to be instructed in philosophy, for dealing dangerously in matters of State was in peril of his life had not Architas and his other friends by their earnest suit to Dyonisius purchased his [Plato's] deliverance.

Great assurance is given to those who in war yield themselves to others in trust, that is to say, "*qui non potestati sed fidei alienæ se comiserint*," wherein Papiris sometimes told the senate of Rome that they were to put difference in the cause of the Phaliscans, who, after many revolts, yielded themselves then being in question. Yet it has not been doubted that if after such compositions the persons deal treacherously, they may be used as enemies.

As much may be said of those generally who receive public entertainment in foreign countries, who are in as good security as if they had come on safe-conduct. Whether the Prince or State give this protection by writing or other assent, the assurance must be held of like weight and authority. Therefore Matthias, King of Hungary, is greatly commended, for when George, King of Bohemia, with whom he had long war for the cause of religion, came to him about some treaty concerning that quarrel and the Pope's legate advised him to make a short end to his wars, he answered that it should not be said of him that his welcome was not as good as his safe-conduct. No man ever claimed privilege of impunity for such entertainment, but contrariwise they have been thought to be tied to a greater care of duty than the natural subject.

The attempt of Tarquinius taking no great effect was not thought to deserve so severe an execution as death, yet considering Porsena banished him from his Court, who was an exile before, having no place of safety to repair to, the fact received some measure of punishment, and therefore justifies the Prince's authority over such as be "*recepti hospitio*." From the example of Jugurtha it can hardly be gathered that anything was done in this favour by necessity of justice, therefore nothing is to be drawn from this to the discredit of this discourse of greater weight than former objections.

For conclusion, forasmuch as every stranger is a subject for the time, which draws him into all dangers of penalties for offence, and a foreign Prince not exempt from that condition in another territory, and safeguard or entertainment are no protection to offences afterwards done to the State by which they were granted, it follows that foreign Princes, notwithstanding any grant of safety, are subject to all degrees of correction.

To answer the canonists "*Non subditum in alieno territorio comittere crimen læsæ maiestatis*." It is confuted by the contrary practice of all the world, and the reason thereof to be answered with that already set down.

Where it is thought that treason cannot be committed by a foreigner because that crime is a wrong done only against a great state and of one that is subject, was answered before.

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These terms "*maiestatem lædere maiestatem minuere*," commonly used to express this crime and enforced in this argument, were better known to them who lived in the light of learning and had the use thereof in their natural language than to Oldradus and the rest, who were unacquainted with the property of the tongue or anything that savoured not of ignorance and corruption. Yet they doubted not but these terms might be as aptly applied to the person of such a foreigner as is spoken of, as to a subject. So Cæsar writes that the opinion of himself at Alexandria was, for bearing his poleaxes and rods within the dominion of Ptolemæus where he was a stranger, "*concursum ad se fieri videt quod fasees anteferrentur: in hoc omnis multitudo maiestatem regiam minui prædicabant*."

Much might be said to that purpose, but it can have no use but where the law is thus written "*si quis maiestatem publicam læserit*," and thereon the question framed whether a foreigner may be touched with the breach of that law. The laws for this crime at this day are in few places of any temperate government penned.

The Romans had for punishment of this crime "*legem Apuliam, Varianam, Corneliam, Juliam*," all conceived in such general words as are recited. Cicero says "*mihi ipsi cum Sulpitio fuit in Norbam causa: contentio pleraque eum ab iis que ab ipso obiiciebantur eum confiterer tamen ab illo maiestatem iminutam negabam, ex quo verbo lege Apulia tota illa causa pendebat*." Marcian, an ancient civilian, writes "*lex autem Julia maiestatis præcipit eum qui maiestatem publicam læserit teneri*," wherein notwithstanding the words were large and might be wrong to many strange constructions for the time of that State there was little inconvenience. But after the change of government it grew dangerous, every man's life standing at the courtesy of a bad Prince who might by construction framed to his will draw whom he liked within the compass of high treason.

Suetonius complains that in the time of Tiberius, a civil emperor, many trifles and toys were charged with the title of this crime, and Pliny comparing the good disposition of Traian with the violence of some former princes says "*locupletabant et fiscum et ærarium non tam Voconia et Julie leges quam maiestatis singulare et unicum crimen eorum qui crimine vacarunt*." Therefore these countries have dealt more providently which have not left the construction of this crime to the uncertainty of these general words "*qui maiestatem læserit*," or as Bracton describes the same, "*quod contra personam ipsius regis presumptum est*," but admit punishment by that title for certain fact as practising the death of the Prince, levying war in his realm and such like, particularly allowed either by ancient custom or expressly set down by law, whereof England is a most happy pattern.

If a foreigner should come into England and here enter into any "practice of the Statute of Edward III.," makes treason? Every reasonable man would confess that it might be so said. For there are natural actions wherein difference of country makes no diversity, otherwise in case he had robbed a man it might as well be denied he had done a theft or murder. If it be so confessed, it

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These things granted, what use can there be of this question in England or in any other country directed by like policy, where the law punishes the fact for treason, and the offender cannot be delivered from the pains of the fact, because every country has right to punish foreigners that are there transgressors?

37 pp. Copy. In the hand of Burghley's clerk.

[1586.] 121. EXAMINATION OF NAU AND CURLE.

[Oct.]

Cott. Julius F.,
VI., fol. 47b.

After that [] day of the said month of October, the lords and other commissioners being assembled at the Star Chamber at Westminster to confer on the said matters and touching the sentence to be given, the said Nau and Curle were produced personally before them, and the papers, letters and writings to which they had before confessed, subscribed and affirmed by their oaths, as is aforesaid, being then and there likewise shewn them, they did then eftsoons voluntarily acknowledge and affirm all that to be true which they had before confessed and subscribed; and that they had so done only in respect of the truth, frankly and voluntarily, without constraint or threatening. The said Curle did then also affirm that the letter which Babington wrote to the Scotch Queen, as well as the draft of her answer, were both by her commandment.

He said also that after the deciphering of the said letter written by Babington, and the reading thereof to the Scotch Queen, he admonished her of the danger of these actions, and persuaded her not to deal therein nor to make any answer thereunto. She thereupon said she would answer it, bidding him do as she commanded.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Copy.

[Oct.] 122. DOCUMENTS PRODUCED AT THE TRIAL OF MARY.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 684.

1. The commission.

The commission recites the statute made 27 Elizabeth, and authorises the commissioners to examine whether Mary, the Queen of Scotland, since June in the same 27th year compassed or imagined anything tending to the hurt of the Queen's person, or whether she had been privy that any other person had compassed or imagined anything tending to the hurt of her highness' person, and thereupon to give sentence or judgment, as the matter should appear upon good proof.

She was charged by the Queen's serjeant that she had compassed and imagined the death and destruction of her majesty, and also was privy and consenting to the conspiracies and treasons of Anthony Babington and John Ballard and their confederates, and so was within the compass of both the said articles of the statute and commission.

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For declaration thereof, first it was opened that Ballard being a seminary priest, and one that by the space of five or six years had ranged through many parts of the realm disguised in apparel, and under sundry several names, seducing the Queen's subjects and withdrawing them from their due obedience, went into France in Lent last, and about a week after Easter had conference in Paris with Charles Paget, Thomas Morgan, and Bernardine de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador there, touching the invading of this realm by foreign forces, rebellion to be stirred amongst her majesty's subjects, and a strong part made to assist and join with the invaders, and the Scottish Queen to be delivered. In this enterprise Charles Paget affirmed that there was no hope to prevail during her majesty's life.

Hereupon Ballard was sent into England by direction from Charles Paget and Mendoza to solicit and practise the execution of this their complot. He returned to London on Whitsunday being the 22nd May last, and within four or five days after he conferred with Babington and acquainted him with all the whole plot of these treasons.

In this conference Babington and Ballard resolved that all foreign power and invasion were in vain unless the Queen's majesty were taken away, whereupon they concluded that six gentlemen should undertake the killing of her majesty, and that Savage, who before that time was solicited at Rheims to execute that wicked action alone, and had vowed to perform it accordingly and was come to England for that purpose, should forbear to attempt it alone and should be one of the six, and that at the time of the execution thereof Babington with certain others with him should deliver the Scottish Queen.

These things with many other material circumstances and parts of their treasons were directly and voluntarily confessed by divers of the principal conspirators, both before and at their arraignment, as appears by the record, whereupon according to their defects and justice of the law they were attainted and executed.

The proofs against the Scottish Queen.

After this declaration thus made, the proof against the Scottish Queen was entered into and prosecuted as hereafter follows :—

(1) Babington's confession written all with his own hand.

First was read a confession made by Babington written all with his own hand, and by him delivered to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer and Mr Vice-chamberlain voluntarily and frankly, before he was committed to the Tower, wherein he set down at large that about four years past being in Paris he grew acquainted with Thomas Morgan who brought him to the Bishop of Glasgow, ambassador "*leger*" in France for the Queen of Scots, and they both recommended their mistress unto him as a most wise and virtuous Princess, *etc.*

After the reading of Babington's declaration aforesaid, a part of Ballard's examination was likewise read.

After this was read a copy of the letter written by Babington to the Scottish Queen.

Then was read a copy of the Scottish Queen's letter to

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Babington in answer to his. [*Recapitulates the contents of the letters.*]

Hereunto the Scottish Queen, after her protestation, answered that she never saw nor knew Babington, and denied that she ever received any such letter from him, or that she wrote any such letter to him, or that she was privy to his conspiracies, or that she did ever practise, compass, imagine or was privy of any thing to the destruction of her majesty or to the hurt of her person; confessing, nevertheless, that she had used Babington as an intelligence for her, and for the conveying of letters and packets. And she further added that she was not to be charged but either by her word or by her writing, and she was sure they had neither the one nor the other to lay against her.

After which answer so by her made, divers other matters were alleged and showed forth to prove that she did receive the same letter from Babington and did also write answer to him, as the before mentioned copies purported. [*Recapitulates the examination of Nau and Curll and other documents.*]

After, on the [24th October], the Lords and other the commissioners being assembled at the Star Chamber, at Westminster, to confer of the said matters and touching their sentence thereupon to be given, the said Nau and Curle were produced personally before them, and the papers, letters and writings which they had before confessed and subscribed, and affirmed by their oaths, as is aforesaid, being then and there likewise showed unto them, they did then "eftsones" voluntarily acknowledge and affirm all that to be true which they had before so confessed and subscribed, and that they had so confessed and subscribed the same only in respect of the truth frankly and voluntarily without any torture, constraint or threatening. And the said Curle did then also further affirm that as well the letter which Babington did write to the Scottish Queen as the draft of her answer to the same were both burned by her commandment.

He said also that after the deciphering of the said letter written by Babington and the reading thereof to the Scottish Queen he admonished her of the damage of those actions, and persuaded her not to deal therein nor to make any answer thereto, and she thereupon said she would answer it, bidding him do that which he was commanded and which appertained unto him.

18½ pp. Copy. [*Printed, Cobbett's "State Trials," I., 1211.*]

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 115.

Another copy of the same.

Nov. 1.

123. HENRY III. TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 600.

The Sieur Desneual has told me on his return how he had left you in those parts while awaiting that he return thither, a thing which is very agreeable to me, in order that I may always be advertised of that which shall present itself in Scotland. And forasmuch as in the estate wherein the Queen of Scotland my sister-in-law now finds herself, she has need of being assisted by all those who ought to love her, in order to insist before the Queen of England, my good sister, that she may be diverted from using

Elizabeth.

1586. towards her any ill treatment, as it seems that some of her ministers wish to incite her thereto; I have resolved, besides that which I have already said thereof very frankly to the Lord Stafford, her ambassador resident here, and caused to be said by the Sieur de Chasteauneuf my ambassador who is with her, to write to the King of Scotland the letter which I now send you, the which you will present to him on my behalf; tending, as you will be able to see by the copy thereof, thereunto, that he employs himself by all good offices for his mother with the said Queen of England, as it is a thing wherein if he failed her he would do great wrong to his reputation and to the filial amity which he ought to bear to her. St. Germain en Laye. 1 November 1586. *Signed*: Henry. *And lower down*: Brubart.

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 600.

Copy of the same.

Nov. 3.

124. WALSINGHAM TO SHREWSBURY.

Lansd. 982,
fol. 73.

There is an ambassador despatched out of Scotland for two purposes; to try some offers of mediation from the King for his mother, and that the sentence may be so qualified as not to prejudice his pretended title. One is looked for from France to move her majesty to stay the proceedings: all good men hope she will not be carried by their persuasions.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

Nov. 3.

125. EARL OF ANGUS TO WALSINGHAM.

His servant, John Douglas, the bearer of this letter, while returning from London to Scotland, was robbed by Englishmen at sea of all his own money and goods of his master. Therefore requests he will use his power to restore to the young man what he has lost. Edinburgh. *Signed*: Angus.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 3.

126. EARL OF ANGUS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

[As in No. 125.] *Signed*: Angus.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Seal.*

Nov. 3.

127. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"May it pleis you to ressave from this berare such lettiris as it was hir majesteis pleasour to gewe command to be send in Scotlande. I hartlie pray that thai may be directed wyt your lettir to Sir Harve Woddrington, deputye of Berwicke, wyt desire to him that thai may be send to the Maister of Gray."

"I haif takin boldness also to pray your honour to put hir majestie in remembrance, when occasione salbe offered, of that which I spak to your honour at departure. Bot I wilbe most sorve that hir majestie suld be trubillit wyt ony materis, being in suche

Elizabeth.

1586. perplexitie of mynd as I beleiff this sorowfull newis hes brocht hir hienes." London. *Signed: A. Douglas.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 4. **128. JOHN COLVILE TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

The bearer, John Douglas, being robbed by sea of all that he had, desired me to "mein" his cause to you, which I could not "goodly" refuse. "I tharfor humaly pray your lordship lett him find suche favour and courtesy as conveniently may be schewit in suche cais, as I salbe aver redy after my mean habilitie to prove." Edinburgh. *Signed: Jo. Colvile.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 4. **129. WILLIAM KEITH TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.**

"It has bein his m[ajesty's] pleissowr and prevei counsellis to derekt me to hir m[ajesty] off this realm, and being cown to Wair on my jorney, I thocht expediant to let your lordship know thair of, as the Maister of Gray tald me that he had med yow forsein wyt it, or else I wald. All other thingis your lordship sall know as I do, at meitting." Ware. *Signed: W. Keithe.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

[Nov. 4.] **130. ADVERTISEMENT OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.**

The Abbot of New Abbey has written from France to his friends in these parts that he will return home shortly.

A servant of Holt returned to Scotland from France and his master—who lately came from Rome to Paris—with letters to several people there.

Dr. Allen, travelling to Rome about the causes in hand, has been made cardinal, and through him Holt got a speedy despatch to the seminaries at Paris.

Angus has been advanced to the lichtenancy by means of Arran, who considers it the nearest step to his overthrow.

Letters have been sent from England to the King and Hamilton declaring an intended accusation against Hamilton of being in the conspiracy for her majesty's death.

Crauford having left the Court suddenly returned, and after conferring with Montrose and Fentrye repaired to James Stewart at Lord Abergenny's, which action is thought by some to portend some dangerous event in a few days.

James Stewart rules the King and Court though now absent, and it is thought that he will soon obtain the King's public favour.

Maxwell is advised to seek his peace with the King, and Arbroath is endeavouring to compound all "griefs" between Maxwell and Angus.

A general pacification is desired among the nobility, and, if it is effected, some think it will cause disquietude to England. If anything is intended by the Scotch it will first be attempted at Carlisle and in these Marches, where entrance would be easy

Elizabeth.

1586. owing to the weakness of horse and men, and the alliances and feuds prove of great advantage to the Scottish.

There is still a firm resolution to persist with the plot for the general subversion of religion, and for that purpose a large sum of money is lying in readiness in France.

It is "bruited" that the King of Spain is preparing a great army, though for what place is not known.

The execution of the late traitors and matter against the Scottish Queen were reported to Rome by Hays, the Jesuit. All Jesuits in that realm [Scotland] are much quieter than formerly.

An arrival of foreigners is expected there. A tall, well-favoured Englishman, called Gray, about a month ago went from Edinburgh to Leith for the North of Scotland.

Ingleby and other Englishmen were about Dumfries before Michaelmas, and are expected there.

Some of the Carrs are at Hull. They are great favourers of the Jesuits, and would give them passage at that port.

Hamilton advises Angus against extreme dealing with Maxwell, as it would avail little.

The King seems displeased with Lady Johnstone for her information against Angus, and has written to Angus to reassure him on that point.

1½ pp. *No flyleaf or indorsement.*

Nov. 5. **131. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.**

Acknowledges his letters received last night from William Keith. Is content that the said William should be lodged with him, but if orders are not given for the release from prison of his host, detained against all reason, fears he will not "haif the commodite of one chambre for him." Has submitted the case to her majesty, who granted that it may be remitted to the common law, and now begs that order may be given for his release according to the justice and equity of his cause. *Signed: A. Douglas.*

½ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

[Nov.] **132. WILLIAM KEITH TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

"Being cown to this town from far on my journey at the King of Scotland my maistirs command to hir m[ajestie] of England, your lordships soweraine, I may be so haimly, owppon awld aquentance, as to know be your lordships meins hir majestie dayatt that I may haiv awdiance, and if it be with dilligence I am now as off beffer bound onto you, the quihilk I will aquytt as your lordship pleissis imploy me." London. *Signed: W. Keith.*

½ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 5. **133. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

[*First part, copy of No. 129.*]

The Scotch ship wherein he sent some furnishing to his master the King was robbed by a ship of Blakeney, but he shall receive further information later. London. *Signed: A. Douglas.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.

1586.

134. WILLIAM KEITH TO WALSINGHAM.

Nov. 5.

Informs him of his arrival in London on his majesty's business with the Queen, with whom he desires a speedy audience. London. *Signed*: W. Keith.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 6.

135. THE MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSINGHAM.

"I resavit yours of the 26 of Oct. together with the letteris inclosit and subscrivit by your quin handis, quhilk I mynd not to use disavantageusly. The King's majestie, as of befor, stil insistis on his mother's lyf, save bot in confrence he haittis hir maners so far as I can learne. I am in that maiter stil of one opinion, and of your quin opinion, bot it comeis hardly to hand, for the King vil tak it evil, so that I know not that to say forder in it. . . . The evil affectid are bissie every day bot I can not definitely advertise yow quhat as yit it shall tourne to.

If als great persuasion and sume effect be not usit to retein the King in gude disposition or is usit to divert him, I feir ye see thingis fall furthe ithervaiyis than is lukit for.

I forbeir to wryt to you of my greife for my deir brother Sir Ph. Sidney for feir to augment yours. Now, sir, I wilbe plaine, since he is gone I shall never serve in that country by my auin motive, and as ye desyrit me oft of before nou I am content to stay at home, and quarof befor I craveit a prest of money, now I crave only to have hir majestei's very earnest letteris to the estaite of the Low Countryis, that my men be veil usit or ellis leyk they not of thair sarvice furnis them schipping, and thay shall retourne home agene.

The King by Captaine Hatherstoun is to wryt of this to hir majestie quhen he comis.

I intend by all meinis possible to chift any ruinous commission bot I can not refuse my souveraine's comandements, yit I shall use them I hoyp, if I can not escheu, to the contentement of all honest man. Quhat I mein in this, enquiry of his majestei's subject Mr. Archibald Douglas, and by my nixt ye shall know forder of my meining." Holyrood House. *Signed*: Master of Gray.

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 6.

136. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Announces that William Keith has arrived in London, being sent from the Scottish King to her majesty, and desires to know when he may have an audience with her. London. *Signed*: A. Douglas.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 7.

137. SIR HENRY WODDRYNGTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 588.

The 6th instant 140 soldiers came to this town. They were shipped by the Master of Gray from Scotland to Flanders, and were taken on the coast of Flanders by those of Dunkirk, all spoiled, the captain and lieutenant carried away, and twenty of them slain.

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1586.

They cut down their main mast, "boughestd" their ship with great ordnance, took away their pump, and left them without either sail or anchor on the main sea. They landed about Lambrougle, and coming hither, having nothing left them, I defrayed their charges here and gave them some money to carry them home, *etc.* Berwick.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Copy.*

Nov. 8. **138. ROBERT GOURLAY TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

"The presentt occasioun falling outt hes movit me to call to mynd the guid will and cortessie offerit to me be your lordship the tyme of your being last heir in Edinbro, quahairof your lordship effectouslye willit me—quhen as I sould happen to haif to do—to employ your lordship. My eldest sone Johone Gourlay being heir att courtt in commissioun with Mr. George Hakett, our conservetour, anent the scent of certane sillmowt quhilkis wer apprehendit and had in to the Flushing, as allso for the metigatioun of the edict prohebiting the transporting of wyveris in France, quhairof I dout not your lordship is in guid memorye, and eftir thair despeche wer gevin to thame from Court, my sone gat the lasser and opportunitie to mak the employment of sum money in Londone upon certane slayt and wdir merchandise extending to the soumme of aucht score poundis sterlyng, quhilk guidis in the monethe of October last bypast he embarquett in ane lytill Scottis schyp, quarof the master is callit Andro Redpethe in Leyt, quhilk schyp in hir returning hamewart to Scotland is haillelye spullzeit and pillit of hir haill guidis be Englis men att Birlintoun Bey, to the havie damage and skaytht of my sone, as allso of manye syndrie othir guid and honest nychtbouris, quhairby exept redres be maid againe, wilbe to thair verie wttermaist wrak, quahairof your lordship will heir att mair lenthe.

"Heirfor I maist humlye and affectouslye beseikis and crafis your lordship's help and guid will towardis this matter, inspeciall towardis the partt of my sone." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robartt Gourlay.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 9. **139. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 597.

"Richt excellent, richt heich and mychty Princesse our dearest suster and consine, in our hartiest maner we recomende us unto zow. Having made chois of our richt traist consing and counsallour the Erle of Angus for the repressing of the rebellions and disorderit inhabitantis upoun our Bordouris, disturberis of the gude peax and amitie betwix us our realnes and people, and appointed him to that effect our lieutenant generall ower all our Marches, we have thocht meit to signifie the same unto yow be the present, and thairwith to requyre zow, as we do richt affectueuslie, that according to the motioun gevin in be our commissioneris to zouris at the dissolving of thair lait meting on the league, ze will appointe some ane of zour nobilitie equall to him in rank and weill affected to gude courssis to meit with him, lieutenant on zour

Elizabeth.
1586.

Marches, and give him correspondence in all gude offices that may further a settled peax and quietnes betwix our Bordouris, and in this mean tyme to direct down zour strait commandment to all your wardenis that nane of our rebellious subjectis, being put at be our said officiar, finde any confort or ressett within the boundis committit to thair charges, upoun thair hiest perrellis. And for that the Lady Johnnestoun being chargeit to have comperit before us and our Counsale for certane treasonable devyses quhairwith sho chargeit our richt traist cousing foresaid, and had dilated him to us of plane intentionn to have cassin him in suspicioun and disgrace with us, is becum fugitive and now hes found ressett and intertenement in sondrie partis within zour Marches, it is our speciall request that according to a speciall article set down in our said league the lyke commandement may be gevin to zour wardane of that Marche quhare tho said lady is ressett, that immediately he apprehende her and cause her be delyverit to sic as we upoun advertisement sall have ready to ressave her at the Marche. The like quhair of ze may be weill asseurit to finde with us quhen any sic occasioun sall fall out within the boundis of our dominions. Thus expecting your spedie ordour to be gevin in thir bebalffis, richt excellent, richt heich and mychtie princesse our dearest suster and consine, we commit zow to the blessed protectionn of the Almychty. From our palais of Halyruidhous." *Signed*: "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin, James R."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 10. **140.** WALSINGHAM TO SHREWSBURY.

Lansd. 982,
fol. 73b.

Report being made to Parliament of the foul matters where-with the Scottish Queen is charged, being considered of by both Houses, they agreed to petition her majesty that execution might be done according to justice for the crimes; otherwise neither the Queen's safety nor the quiet of the realm can be maintained. Mr. Keith, the ambassador who useth the office of mediation, is this day appointed his audience.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

Nov. 11. **141.** [] TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XX.

There is great lamentation made in the College of Clerkenwell for the apprehension of Mr. Henry Vaux, whom they hold to be a most singular young man. Mr. Davies and his wife were present in the chamber when he was taken. Being in some doubt of themselves they gave out that she was sister to Mr. Marbury of the pantry, to whom Newall being greatly beholden passed them over with friendly speeches.

Sir Thomas Tresham and Bawde of Hogesdone were sent for that night by Lady Vaux to give advice what course was best to be taken in the cause and behalf of her son Henry. After long talk they concluded to leave him to his own answers, which they are persuaded will so wisely be framed that he shall not need any other

Elizabeth.

1586. means of deliverance. These people hold opinion that the Scottish Queen shall not die. Yea, they say plainly her majesty dare not put her to death for fear of "afterclappes." But God grant she may not live to endanger us any more with "foreclappes."

They have entertained a new hope, namely, that the messenger now come from France will either alter the case, or at the least work a pause until some further remedy may be found. "For," say they, "it is a French vye that must win the game in the end." Lord Vaux kept Newall, the poursuivant, from entering his house until my lady had conveyed her little casket, which she would not [for] 500*l.* had been searched.

The Lord God prosper and preserve you and make you blessed in all your actions.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p.* Copy.

Nov. 12. 142. BURGHLEY TO SHREWSBURY.

Lansd. 982,
fol. 73b.

Here is come Mr. Keith from the King of Scots to require her majesty to forbear further proceeding against the Queen of Scots until he be further informed of her crimes, "and to send some of his council hither." He requireth that nothing be done to the prejudice of any title to the King. The latter is granted; the former cannot be without her majesty's peril and the discontent of parliament, where the sentence is already confirmed, and petition this day ready to be exhibited at Richmond by the lords temporal, 6 bishops and 40 commons to require execution.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p.* Copy.

Nov. 12. 143. SPEECH BY ELIZABETH IN PARLIAMENT.

Lansd. 94,
fol. 84.

So many and so great are the bottomless graces and immeasurable benefits bestowed upon me by the Almighty, that I must not only acknowledge them as benefits, but admire them as miracles. I account myself bound to give Him thanks, that, as I came to the crown with the willing hearts of our subjects, so after 28 years' reign I perceive in you all no diminution of goodwill, "which if happellie I should wante, well mowght I breath, but never thincke I lived."

And now, though my life hath been dangerously sought, yet nothing hath more grieved me than that one not different in sex, of like estate and my near kin, hath fallen into so great a crime. And so far have I been from bearing her ill-will that, upon the discovery of certain treasonable practices against me, I wrote to her secretly that if she would confess them to myself she never should be called into public question. Neither did I write thus to circumvent her, for I knew then as much as she could confess. And even yet, though the matter be made apparent, if she would truly repent, and no man would take the matter upon them, "or that we were but as two milke maides, with pailles uppon our armes," and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the whole estate of your religion and well-doings, I would most willingly pardon her. Or if by my death other nations might

Elizabeth.

1586. attain a flourishing estate, I would gladly die: for your sakes I desire to live. I see no cause why I should wish to live or fear to die.

I have had good experience of this world as subject and as sovereign. I have found treason in trust, and seen great benefits ill requited. An evil is much better the less while it endureth. I have more courage against treasons than is common to my sex; as I would be loth to die so bloody a death, so shall it not take me unprepared.

Touching these treasons, she, having been the contriver thereof was liable to the ancient laws; the late act was not made to prejudice, but to forewarn her. Seeing it was in force, I thought good to proceed against her according to it. You lawyers would have had her indicted in Staffordshire, and tried by jury "a proper course, forsooth, to deale in that maner with one of her estate!" I thought better to commit the cause to the noblest in the land and the judges of the realm. We princes are in sight of all the world; it behoveth us to be careful that our proceedings be just and honourable.

By this last act of parliament you have forced me to give direction for her death, which cannot but be grievous to me. I had gladly absented myself from this parliament, lest I should hear this cause spoken of; not out of fear of danger, though it is not long since I saw a written oath, wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a month.

I am not unmindful of your association for my safety, which I do acknowledge. As this matter is very rare, I think you do not look for any present resolution. I pray God to illuminate my understanding, and for that I know delay is dangerous, you shall have with all conveniency our resolution. Whatever any prince may merit of their subjects, that do I assuredly promise to perform for requital of your so many deserts.

3 pp. *Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "The former copy of her majesty's first speach the 12th of November."

Nov. 13. 144. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO BURGHELEY.

C.P., vol. XX.

I can hardly express to your lordship the great joy which I have conceived of your choice of Sir Dru Drury for my assistant in this charge, wherein, although I know that your lordship's chief and principal regard has been to further her majesty's service, yet because your lordship cannot be ignorant of the old acquaintance between this gentleman and me, I take it for an especial favour that among so many others meet for this place it has pleased your lordship to make choice of one so likely to be welcome to me, as indeed he shall be most heartily welcome. I am well recovered from my gout, I thank God, having felt no pain these three or four days, and now I doubt not but that these good news will set me on foot without delay. And thus with most humble thanks for your manifold favours, I cominit your good lordship to the merciful protection of the Almighty. Fotheringay. *Signed:* A. Powlet.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.

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Nov. 13.

145. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS AND WILLIAM KEITH TO
MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Have written letters to Scotland—which they pray may be conveyed speedily to Berwick—with his order to Sir Harry Wodrington for their delivery where directed.

Request his attention to the pitiful case of their host, Master Harvie, and beg that in the case of a Scotchman who has received injustice at Carlisle he will move some of the Council to “subscryve” it, and that it may be directed to Lord Scrope, the sheriff there, and present Mayor of Carlisle.

State their surprise that nothing has been done in the matter of piracies, as his Majesty directed, and inform him that the number of cases to be decided is much increased on that account. London.
Signed: A. Douglas. W. Keithe.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 14. **146.** BURGHELY TO SHREWSBURY.

Lansd. 982,
fol. 74b.

Since my last, on Saturday morning, there were with her majesty at Richmond 21 lords temporal, 2 archbishops, 4 bishops, and 40 commons to exhibit a petition affirming the sentence on the Scottish Queen to be just and lawful, and praying her to publish the same and proceed to execution. The lord chancellor for the lords and speaker for the commons expressed the same largely. Her majesty’s answer drew tears from many eyes.—“The conclusion was, she would be advised after proceedinges, and commend herself to be directed by God’s Spirit.”

She hath this day determined to send to the Scottish Queen Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Beale, secretary of the council; they shall declare to her how sentence is passed, confirmed, and required to be executed. “So as the Queen of Scots is to resorte to God, to expect what it shall please Him to inspire into our Queen’s harte.”

Sir Drew Drury is gone this day to assist Sir Amias Paulet in his infirmity.

1 p. *Copy.*

Nov. 14. **147.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS AND WILLIAM KEITH TO
MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

“It was hir majesteis pleasour to gif answor to the last audience had be Mr. Keyith that she wald advice upone suche mater as he had preponit, and within ane day or two theireftir geve fordar declaratioun of hir mynd thairin, whiche haif bene luiked for be us befor this tyme. We can bot interprete that the performing thair of hathe proceeded from hir majesteis weychtear effairis, whiche may be the occasione that langar delay may intervene if hir majestie sall not be put in remembrance that we daylie luik to heir from hir hienes in this mater, and must pray your honour to make hir acqwaynted heirwithall, and humblye to pray that hir mynd in this mater may be knawin.” London. *Signed:* A. Douglas, W. Keithe.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.

1586.

148. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

Nov. 15.

C.P., vol. XX.

Your several letters of the 13th of this present I received this day at 9 in the morning, and now according to your direction Mr. Stallenge comes to you, who has behaved himself here in good and honest sort, willing and ready to do his best endeavour to the furtherance of her majesty's service, and yet to say truly unto you, having received no warrant for it.

I have not employed him in anything concerning this lady, neither has he had access to her or any of her people but in my presence; not for any doubt I had of the gentleman, because he was sent to me from her majesty, but for that I had no commission to employ him in such like causes, whereof I thought good to advertise you for his discharge, doubting lest some greater report might be expected at his hands than he is able to make.

Sir Dru Drury arrived here the 13th of this present in the evening, by whose assistance I find myself so much strengthened that I trust I may be bold to assure you that all things shall fall out here to the full discharge of his duty and mine.

I have sent your letters to Sir Richard Dyer, trusting that your speedy resolution will abridge this trouble and charge. And indeed the gaining or losing of one day may be the gaining or losing of a kingdom.

Since the writing of my last I received these inclosed from Curll's wife, and will not fail to convey the letter received from you for her as soon as I may. And thus with due commendations from Sir Dru Drury and myself, I commit you to the mercy of the Highest. Fotheringay. *Signed: A. Poulet.*

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 16. 149. MASTER OF GRAY TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

" I resaveit yours of the first of November the 14 of the same, quhair of I mervail, bot I think the postis has not dune thair duetie. I can see little forder by it then by your former anent the causis of William Keythis negociation. Thairfor it shalbe veil dune to let his majestie understand of all proceidingis thair, for I never fand him so solist as at this tym. The estait heir is in no uther termis than as at my last. Bot men would be glaid that thingis geid wrong betwix the Queen thair and the King our souverain.

Bronit came heir yisterday that ther wes a neu conspiracie in that country and sume great men wer come down to the Bordour, bot I heir no more of it.

I have satisfiit his majestie tuitching the contradictionn remarquit in your letteris, and he wes in a maner content with that ye wrot of it your self. As tuitching my voyage to the Lou Countryis I fully satisfiit you by my last. I am content to remaine at home since he is gone for whois cause I intendit my journey, and intendis never to go thair save if thearle of Leicester retourne in the spring.

I mynd, Godwilling, to see the summer warris, bot not as generall over the Scottis men.

I mynd to cause the King presently revok his holl subjectis

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from that service, seing thay accompt litle of them, and I know this at this last tym thair wes Scottis men send over by me did als weil as any in the camp.

Bot seing England myndis to mak a pair of auld bouttis of men I shall serve them in thair auin heumeur. Bot ye hard never tell of so fast a hurt bot the wit of man could louse it. Thair caise is not yit so good bot men may herme them, and for any surtie they have heir if I lye by, yow wil see quhat it wil tourne ynto. Asshur I caire not so mutche for their geir as for thair misbehaviour towardis me. As for that I resaved of my Lord Leicester I shall geve a verie fare super expendit compt and shall send with it him that deboursit and Captaine Hatherstoun. They shal see quhen I have dune that I caire monoy in that quantitie als litle as ever any in England did. By God you may know it partly the voyage is out of my way ten thousand crounes, so that Sir Francis shall say verie treu that I shalbe comptable to the least grot.

I pray you tak better ordour for the dispetche of your letteris, for this last and the former has lvin twelve dayis by the way. Let us heir oft from you. And let me asshur you yis, that do my best, I see men shall move the King to brak up with that Queen if sche put hand in his mother's blood. My creditt wes never better than at this hour with the King.

Send me word in the secreit way quhat you think of William Keythis proceedngis thair. The Lordis Maxwell and Jhonstoun ar aggreit and therle of Angus constitut lieutenant, but the said lord wil not suffer the erle to come in his country. He wes chairgit to be heir this day, bot he is gone to the horne and myndis agene to be outlau, quharof is thocht shall proceid sume great tumult. The holl Catholiques of this realme ar thocht to be alairt, bot I see it not, yit thair is appeirinces for thair is a Frenche Embassadour expectid dayly, and by him sume neu thingis lukit for.

Commend me to Sir Francis and confort him I pray you of my part." Holyrood. *Signed*: Master of Gray.

2½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. [16]. 150. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSIONERS SENT TO MARY.

C.P., vol. XX.

"Instruccions given to our right trustie and welbeloved counsellours the L. of Buckhurst and our servunte Roberte Beale, sent by us to the Scottische Queen November 1586."

After you shall have informed yourselves particularly as well of the treaties offered and other things needful which have heretofore passed betwixt us and the Scottish Queen, namely, of the manifold favours we have from time to time showed to her both before and since her arrival within our realm acquitted, with her great and many ingratitude towards us—of the one and the other, whereof our pleasure is you shall receive some special note and remembrance from our principal Secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham—as also of the whole course of our proceeding with her in trial of this late unnatural and wicked conspiracy against our life and crown, whereof herself is found by a just and honourable sentence of our nobility, appointed to examine and judge thereof, to have been not only privy and consenting, but also a compasser

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and contriver, to the inevitable danger of our life and state, if God of His great mercies towards us and our poor people had not most happily and miraculously discovered and prevented the same, our pleasure is that you shall make your immediate repair towards Fotheringay, where the said Queen now remains under the charge of our wellbeloved councillor Sir Amias Powlet, knight.

And after you have delivered our letters addressed to him and imparted these our instructions and other directions received from us, you shall repair together unto the said Scottish Queen, to whom you shall signify the cause of our present sending of you unto her, namely, to let her understand how the lords and other our commissioners lately sent to Fotheringay have proceeded since their return from her; wherein you shall particularly deduce unto her the causes which moved them to stay the pronouncing of their sentence there; their several meetings at their return at our Star Chamber to examine and perfect the act of their proceeding, to the end no just exception might be taken against the same; the producing before them of her servants Nau and Curll; their free, voluntary and public maintaining and confirming in their presence, without either hope of reward or fear of punishment, of all those things which they had before testified both by word, subscription and oath against her; and finally the sentence given by universal consent of all the lords and other commissioners in this cause that she was not only privy to this late most horrible and wicked conspiracy against our person and state, but also a contriver and compasser thereof according to the words of the said sentence, which to this effect, our pleasure is, shall be delivered to you.

And also [you shall show her] how afterwards the whole parliament of this our realm now assembled, having been informed of our honourable and just proceedings in this cause by our commission directed to the said lords and others appointed to the examination and trial thereof, and made acquainted with the particularities of those things wherewith they found her to stand charged, together with the testimonies and proofs produced against her and her own answers to the same; and finding after deliberate consideration thereof that the said sentence pronounced by our commissioners aforesaid was most just, lawful and honourable, have with a uniform and full consent, and without any manner of scruple or contradiction of any one amongst them affirmed and approved the same.

And also [you shall show her] how sundry deputies, selected out of both houses of the lords and commons, and addressed hither unto us in the name of the whole realm, have offered and presented their most humble and earnest petitions unto us, both by writing and mouth, tending to the moving and most instant persuading of us by many strong and invincible arguments to proceed to the finishing of the said sentence by the execution of her whom they find to be the seed-plot, chief motive and author of all these foreign and home conspiracies which these many years past have been hatched, intended and attempted against our person, crown and state, and yet still threaten the same in case we should not apply that remedy which in honour, justice and necessity appertains, protesting that otherwise we should be guilty and inexcusable both

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before God and the whole world of all the miseries and calamities that may ensue of our neglect or refusal to incline to this their humble petition, so greatly importing the safety of our own person and preservation of the estate of religion and commonwealth of this our said realm, none of which can in their opinions be otherwise sufficiently provided for and assured against such home and outward dangers than by a just execution of her by whom and for whom they have been and are still likely to be devised, attempted and followed against us.

And for that we are pressed on all sides as well with the respects of honour, justice, surety and necessity aforesaid, as the importunate suit and petition of our said lords and commons, who still protest that they can find no other way of assurance for our person, religion and state than to proceed against her according to justice, you shall let her understand that, albeit we know not yet how it shall please God to incline and dispose our heart in this behalf, yet we have thought it meet in conscience that she should be forewarned thereof to the intent she may the better bethink herself of her former sins and offences both to God and us, and call to Him for grace to be truly penitent for the same, and namely for this, her late most unnatural and ungodly conspiracy against our life—a crime so much the greater and more odious in the sight of God and man in that she has suborned and encouraged some of our own natural subjects to be the actors and doers of an act so foul and horrible against their sovereign and anointed Prince, her own near kinswoman, and one that, howsoever the account thereof both in nature and duty for many benefits past, ought to have received a more charitable measure at her hands if either fear of God or common humanity had prevailed anything with her.

And because she should have no reason to think herself hardly dealt with in the manner of our proceeding against her, you shall let her know how much the respect of her degree, calling and nearness in blood to ourself has moved us to take the course we have done in sending to her a number of our chiefest and most ancient nobility to examine and try her offence, whereas we might have proceeded otherwise by an ordinary course of our laws without these respects and ceremonies, if we had not preferred our own honour herein to any other particular affection of malice or revenge against her: which you may truly say in our behalf is such that, if the consequence of her offence reached no further than to ourself as a private person, we protest before God we could have been very well contented to have freely remitted and pardoned the same, so we might hereafter have lived sufficiently cautioned and assured against the like, a thing so much the more hopeless howsoever she might hereafter reform herself, since the taking of our life and subversion thereby of the present estate of religion and commonwealth is amongst her "factors" and instruments abroad and at home now held and approved in their bloody divinity a work meritorious and lawful before God and man.

And whereas in the opening of these particularities she may happen, as in the late meeting of our said commissioners with her, to fall into some justification of her former offers and demeanours towards us, removing the cause of all these succeeding mischiefs

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from herself, and imputing the same to the hard measure she may pretend to have received at our hands, we have thought meet in case she shall fall into any such discourse, that you "remember" unto her how much she is to blame to wrong us in honour with so unjust and untrue affections, considering how much more graciously we have dealt with her than she could with any judgment or reason expect, if we had proportioned our favour with her own demerits. Where you may take occasion to deduce unto her from point to point those our deserts and benefits past with her many ingratitude in recompense of them, which by an especial note from our Secretary as is before remembered, shall be delivered to you.

Lastly, in case you find her desirous to communicate with either of you apart, or under pretence of revealing any matter of secret and weight to be delivered unto us concerning either ourself or our office, we think it not amiss that you conform yourselves to her desire in that behalf, and thereof, if you find cause, to advertise us before your return, which we refer to your good discretions.

1 pp. Draft. Indorsed.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 583.

Copy of the same.

Ib., fol. 655.

Another copy of the same.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 187.

Another copy of the same.

Nov. 16.

151. ELIZABETH TO SIR AMIAS POWLET.

C.P., vol. XX.

Has thought it convenient for sundry respects to send Lord Buckhurst and Beale to acquaint his charge as well with the proceedings of the commissioners since their departure from Fotheringay, as also what has been lately done in Parliament upon communicating to them the said commissioners' proceedings both at Fotheringay and since their return, as by their particular instructions may be understood more at large. He shall permit them to have access to the said Queen, hoping that before their repair thither he will be restored to good health and able to assist and join with them in the present service committed to their charge. In case the said Queen desire to have any conference apart—upon pretence to reveal some secret matter to be communicated to her—either with Lord Buckhurst or any one of the servants abovenamed, assents thereto if she earnestly requests the same. Otherwise would best like that he to whom the sole charge of her is committed be present when any such speeches are delivered.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Copy.

Nov. 19

152. MONSIEUR DE [L'AUBESPINE] TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Informs him that Monsieur Bellienre arrived today, charged by the King of France to do all in his power to save the Queen of Scotland. Himself sees little hope of it since Parliament has agreed to her death, and makes great insistance of the execution to

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1586. the Queen of England. Milord Boucault went two days ago to advise her of the sentence of the Parliament, and some say he had with him command to the sheriff of the place to execute her.

Cannot believe it, but everything is very secret, and he has a bad opinion of the whole affair, as has ^{*}, who says that the Queen [of England] gives him fine promises always. London.

1 p. *Cipher, deciphered by M. J. Thorpe. French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 20. **153. ROGER ASTON TO WALSINGHAM.**

Regrets that he was not able to see him before his departure for Scotland, as her majesty did not despatch him as soon as he thought, and begs for an answer to the letters of which he was bearer.

States that her majesty has granted him something in reversion, and commanded him to leave his desire with him [Walsingham], and she will see to it. Begs that he will consider how willing he is to be of service to the Queen [of England] and himself. Alnwick. *Signed: Roger Aston.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed: "R. att Wetherbye the 22 day of October abowte 12 at midnyghte, being all myred by the postboye of Darneton, as apered by a note thatt came with last pac. directed to my lorde Hunsdon."*

Nov. 20. **154. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.**

"My sudden suspicious colleague as appereth doeth tak ain moyr speady than wyse course in derecting of his servand to Scotland wyth such expedition as he doeth."

"The sum of his derectioun doeth conteyn, besidis the declaratioun of his last audience, ane discours of such materris as hath passed betwixt the French ambassadour and him, whearwyth I did mak maister Secretary Davison acqaynted."

"His dessire is that ane solemnit ambassadour may be send hyther wyth speed to joyn wyth this French ambassadour for dealing in the Queen Mother of Scotland hir effayris."

"This mater I think shalbe bettir prevented at home than it can heir, wherein I will do my best. I recommend unto your honouris more wis descretioun the secreit dealing in this mater."

"I think it shalbe weil down that hir Majesteis pleasour may be knauin anent the sending of buckis to the King at this tyme, that I may wryte sumwhat theyrof to my master, to the end that one pleasour may helpe put owte another greif. I haif send onto your honour the memoyr of such small pleasouris as are craveit, together wyth a note of my pryvate and publick instructionis, to be used according to your bettir judgements." London. *Signed: A. Douglas.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

* In cipher.

Elizabethh.

1586. 155. HENRY III. TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Nov. 21.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 589.

I have received your letter of the 4th of October last past, wherein I have seen the discourse which the King of Scotland held with you about what you testified to him of the good affection that I bear him; whereby he made show of having every desire to correspond entirely therein with me. But I would that this letter had also made known to me that he was better inclined towards the Queen his mother, and that he had a heart and will wholly disposed to assist her in the affliction she is now in, considering that the prison wherein she has been unjustly detained for the last eighteen years and more might induce her to lend an ear to many things which have been proposed to her in order to obtain her liberty, which is naturally much desired by all men, and yet more by those who are born sovereigns and to command others, who suffer with less patience being thus held prisoners. He ought also to think that if the Queen of England my good sister allow herself to yield to the counsel of those who desire her to soil herself with the blood of his said mother, besides that this will be a thing which will turn to great [loss] of reputation to him, inasmuch as it will be judged that he has failed towards her in the good offices which he ought to have rendered for her with the Queen of England, which might have been quite sufficient to move her had he been willing to employ them as soon and as warmly as natural duty commanded him, it will be to be feared for himself that his said mother being dead, some may think to do as much for him afterwards in some violent manner, in order to render the succession of England easier to seize by those who purpose to have it after the said Queen of England, and not only to frustrate the said King of Scotland of the right which he can claim thereto, but also to render doubtful that which he has to the crown of Scotland. I do not know in what estate the affairs of my sister-in-law may be when you receive this letter, but I will tell you truly that I desire that you incite the said King of Scotland by these remonstrances, and all others which may be adduced upon this subject, to embrace the defence and protection of his said mother, and that you testify to him on my behalf that as it is a thing for which he will be greatly praised by all other kings and sovereign princes, so he may be sure that failing therein will be great blame to him, and possibly at last notable damage to himself. For the rest, as to the state of my affairs, you shall know that the Queen my lady mother is on the point of seeing very soon the King of Navarre and entering into conference with him upon the matter of the pacification of the troubles of this realm; to which, if he bears as much good affection as I do on my part, I hope that things will be able to come to a good conclusion, and that my subjects will have some respite from the great ills and calamities that the war has inflicted upon them. St. Germain en Laye. 21 November 1586. *Signed: Henry. And lower down: Brulart.*

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French.*

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1586. 156. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

Nov. 21.
C.P., vol. XX.

Your letters of the 19th came not to my hands until this present day at three after noon, wherein you may see the lewd negligence of the posts, who might have brought this letter inclosed, to have been delivered to my Lord Buckhurst before his departure from hence this present morning.

My letters to her majesty inclosed herein will be, I doubt not, imparted unto you, and although it pleases you to impute her highness' tended liberality towards my servants and soldiers to the report of Mr. Stallenge, yet I am greatly persuaded that the same has proceeded in the greater part, if not wholly, of your favour towards me and mine, wherein you have bound me very much; and, indeed, I thank you for it as for a singular benefit. And thus I leave to trouble you, beseeching God to bless all your actions to His glory. Fotheringay. *Signed*: A. Powlet.

Postscript—I do not remember, and I think I may be bold to deny, that I have at any time left this lady in her passionate speeches, but I confess I have left her often in her superfluous and idle speeches. I have said to Mr. Stallenge, and it is very true, that in former time I have observed this course, to have as little talk with her as I might, since now lately that, following your direction, I have given her full scope and time to say what she would; and yet at some times finding no matter to come from her worthy of advertisement I have departed from her, as otherwise she would never have left me, and I am deceived if my Lord Buckhurst will not give the same testimony of her tediousness.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 21. 157. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XX.

Perceives he was not much deceived in his "conceit" upon receipt of his late letters mentioning the discharge of the trained soldiers appointed to be sent hither out of Huntingdonshire, and the same to be supplied by the like number taken out of this shire of Northampton. Took it for an argument of the short continuance of this service, and that he should not be troubled with these soldiers at all. Is much confirmed in this opinion and hope by the late repair hither of Lord Buckhurst. Now trusts the next messenger will bring his last resolution. Fotheringay. *Signed*: A. Powlet.

Postscript—Has requested this bearer, Mr. Beale, to pray his sign to a letter, wherein he may do him friendly pleasure.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 23. 158. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS AND WILLIAM KEITH TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Having received letters from Scotland, request that he will inform them when they may have audience of her majesty. London. *Signed*: A. Douglas, W. Keithlie.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

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159. MARY TO THE DUKE OF GUISE.

Nov. 24.
C.P. vol. XX.

Copy of a letter of the late Queen of Scotland to the late lord the Duke of Guise killed at Bloys, transcribed from the original written with the said Queen's own hand.

My good cousin whom I hold dearest in this world, I say farewell to you, being ready, through unjust judgment, to be put to such a death as no one of our race, thank God, has ever received, still less one of my quality; but, my good cousin, praise God for it, for I was useless in this world in the cause of God and of his church, being in the estate that I was, and I hope that my death will testify my constancy in the faith and readiness to die for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic church in this unhappy island; and although no executioner has ever dipped his hand in our blood, have no shame thereof, my friend, for the judgment of heretics and enemies of the church, who have no jurisdiction over a free queen, is profitable and honourable before God to the children of his church; for if I would adhere to them I should not have this blow. All those of our house have all been persecuted in this manner, witness your good father, with whom I hope to be received to the mercy of the just Judge.

I recommend to you then my poor servants, the discharge of my debts, and to cause some yearly obit to be founded for my soul, not at your expense, but to cause solicitation and ordinance to be made therefor, as shall be requisite, and that you will understand my intention by these my poor desolate servants, eye witnesses of this my last tragedy.

May God prosper you, your wife, children and brothers and cousins, and above all our chief, my good brother and cousin and all his people; may the blessing of God and that which I would give to my children be on yours, whom I recommend to God no less than my own unhappy and abused one.

You will receive tokens from me to remind you to have prayer made for the soul of your poor cousin, deprived of all help and counsel but that of God, who gives me strength and courage to resist alone so many wolves howling after me, to God be the glory.

Believe especially what shall be told you by a person who will give you a ring of rubies on my behalf, for I take upon my conscience that the truth of that which I have charged her will be told you, especially of that which touches my poor servants, and the portion of some of them.

I recommend this person to you for her simple sincerity and honesty, that she may be placed in some good place; I have chosen her as the least partial and the one who will the most simply report my commands; I pray you that she may not be known to have told you anything in particular, for envy might harm her.

I have suffered much these two years and more, and have not been able to let you know it for an important reason. God be praised for all, and give you grace to persevere in the service of his church so long as you shall live, and may this honour never depart from our race that we, both men and women, may be ready to shed our blood to maintain the fight of the faith, all other worldly considerations set aside.

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As to me, I deem myself born, both on my father's and mother's side, to offer my blood in that cause, and I have no intention to degenerate. Jesus crucified for us, and all His holy martyrs make us worthy by their intercession of the willing sacrifice of our bodies to His glory. Fothrighay. Thursday 24 November.

Thinking to degrade me, they had caused my canopy to be taken down, and my warden has since come to me to offer to write to their Queen, saying that he had not done this act by her command, but by the advice of some of the council. I showed them, instead of my arms on the said canopy, the cross of my Saviour. You will hear the whole discourse: they have been more gentle since.

2 pp. *French. Copy. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 598.

Nov. 27. **160. MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSINGHAM.**

"I foreboir at this tym to wryt at any great lenthe for that I know the greife to be greate for the lose of your sone, bot hes set down to Mr. Archibald the estait of maiters heir. I find thingis lykly to fall evil furthe if sume ordour be not takin for a good middis in this maiter of my souvraineis mother, for all the evil affectid takis occasion to cry out of this, and so to incense the King that he is a verie diligent suter for hir lyf, and is deliberat nou to send a great ambassador to the Queen your souveraine for that effect.

His majestie has preaceit me verie instantly bot as yit I have refusit. He is to send th' earle Bothwell and Sir Robert Melvil, and hardly can I escheu, bot if I come I hoyp to do to your contentement, and all honest mans." Holyrood. *Signed:* Master of Gray.

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 27. **161. ROBERT STEWART TO THE COMMENDATOR OF PITTENWEEM.**

"Now, as of before, I thocht guid to adverteis yow of the stait of materis heir, and how I haif procedit in your drectionis. I haif oft and with sundrie beirars writtin uncertaine gif your lordship hes rasavit any. I delyvirt your lettiris to his majestie in Faukland wyth the declaratioun off the general in your lordship's particularis, quhilk lettir and propositiones of me was weill rasavit.

His majestie inquerit the knalege off the credit specefieit in the lettir, quhilk I wald not at that tyne declair, in respect bathe the persones qhome it tuitchit in effect, war thair present and the only men his majestie had in Consail. So I deserit a bettir and mair convenient tyme bot schew his majestie that I haid sumeqhat to declaire that consarnet his estait.

I attendit dyverris tyme to fynd the comoditie and culd not fynd oportunitie, unto such tyme as the report of his majesties mither come, how hir grace was accusit and convict for the conspiracie devisit be hir againes the Quein of England. His majestie beane ryding betuext Stirling and Edinburgh, I fand ane meit tyme, hes grace beane queyet. I entret with his henes abowt your affaires and fynding ane willingnes to heir off yow, discourst off your

Elizabeth.

1586. lordships estait, efter protestation that his majesty suld heir without effene abjecttit upone my part for that I had to declair, seing I was burdenit with the same bathe be your lordship quho had gevin me derectioun, and siklyk that off dewtie I aucht to revele quhat sumevir mycht tend to the prejudice of his majesties person or estait. Swo I delaittit frome poynt to poynt evin als neir as I cold in wordis and haibilie in effect." The King answered that it should never be possible for men to endanger his estate, and further he knew you to be deadly enemies the one to the other. His opinion concerning his mother was that he could find no excuse for her actions, and that though he loved her as his mother, he hated her actions. Concerning the right of the English to sit and judge her, he replied, who could control the Queen of England's laws within her own country. News of her execution is expected hourly here, and the greater part of the nobility appears careless, looking for comfort, where there is none.

The Earl of Angus is made lieutenant, and has taken a company of fit men, and 100 horsemen and is now at Jedburgh. There is appearance of trouble between the Earl of Morton and Angus. "The Erle of Morton is lyne out and is griet with Jolnestoun, bot now is brocht in be my lord Hamilton quhom the kyngis grac derekit him." He is as worthy to be warden within his own bounds as Angus to be lieutenant. We are all in a miserable state. If there is any hope, haste, for every Scottish man would hazard his life to release the Queen. His majesty declares they dare do nothing, but that is folly.

We had some hope of better news after your departure, but I see none.

I dare not write my mind, but you know it is good. The noblemen you left in the country last believe you dead, but there was never better occasion to live, for we want you. We may win, and we must work for it.

Your friends are all in good health and would be glad to hear of your welfare, but gladder to see the same, my father-in-law, mother, wife, and sisters.

"On the lik manir I haiff a dochter in Glasgow that God and natour hes adornet with all guid aperance that is my only . . . * to pay me with, so I heir of your lordship."

I have spent the most of my "kyand mony and wantis the Kingis waigis to releiff me with. Gif your lordship beis not shortle in this cuntrie I sall seik your lordship to the wardellis end, for heir I dow not abynd." Let this present my hearty remembrances to Lady Lane and her brother, and good Jonathan. Linlithgow.
Signed: Robert Stewart.

3 pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 27. **162. ROBERT STEWART TO CAPTAIN DAKCHIE.**

Informs him of the good estate of his friends in this country, who would be glad to hear the same from him, and desires that he will see to the delivery of the inclosed letter to the Laird of Pittenweem with the first commodity, if he is in the Low

* Decayed.

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Countries, and by his hand if he be where he can get to him safely. Knows of no other friend of whom he could ask so much with the same confidence in their friendship. Expects that he knows more of the late conspiracy in England than they do. Some think it will put their Queen in great danger.

Informs him of the appearance of revolt against religion in the country, many noblemen both in the north and south professing argument against the ministry and taking open reasoning into the dissent of the papists. Prays him to give his commendations to his brother's son and desire him to write as to his condition. Edinburgh. *Signed*: "Robert Stewart, lait cornet."

1 p. *Holograph, also address*: "To ye ryeht honourable his assurit guid frend Capitane Dakchie, Sergeant Major to ye Scottis regiment in Flanders grayis." *Indorsed*.

Nov. 28. **163. JAMES VI. TO WALSINGHAM.**

Recommends to him the bearer of the letter, whose interest he desires to be considered by Mr. Archibald Douglas in the matter of the "bypast" piracies, concerning which orders have been given by the Queen and her Council. Holyrood. *Signed*: James R.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "In favour of Adam Fullerton."

[Nov.] **164. STATE OF SCOTLAND.**

"The present state of Scotland with their particular dispositions."

The King's disposition towards:—

1. Religion. Well and soundly affected, as may be presumed by these reasons:—

(1) His exercise in hearing God's word almost daily, besides a chapter read with some exposition after every meal. Because it is done so often, it is to be supposed he does it sincerely and to good effect. He is never absent from his ordinary sermons without giving notice to his preacher, which argues some regard of his absence, which happens seldom.

(2) His promptness in the Scriptures, wherein he is thought as pregnant and ready as any man within his realm. From his judgment in applying them it appears that he has knowledge and persuasion of the truth.

(3) His care to give good example to others by sometimes resorting on Sundays to the ordinary sermons in Edinburgh church, and his patience in hearing himself publicly reprov'd there by the preachers. Also his remitting his displeasure towards certain preachers, *viz.*, Messrs Watson and Gybson, which few princes would have done in like case. Some hard construction is made of his behaviour at the public sermons where he used to talk sometimes with those that stood by, especially with Mr. Peter Young. Though it had better been reserved for private, yet since it was of something spoken by the preacher, it may be well interpreted.

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(4) His protestations, as at the General Assembly of the ministers at the arraignment of Lords Maxwell, Herries, and others, of his love towards the truth, and his detestation of popery.

(5) His frequent deriding of popery.

(6) His denying Mass to the French ambassador.

(7) His life and conversation, which though somewhat touched with the common faults of the country, *viz.*, with swearing, is of a staid behaviour, void of licentiousness. Towards the discipline of the church he seems not soundly affected, because he has the impression that it takes away from the princely authority, which he thinks little enough as it is in Scotland.

2. England. Sound and true for these reasons:—

(1) The respect he shows towards England for the matter of succession. He seems to have resolved that it is a better course for him to attain it by favour from England than by confederacy with any other sovereign of France.

The reasons for this presumption are the reports of those about him, and the matter of the late league wherein, notwithstanding the articles were framed more for our benefit than for theirs, the non-subscribing to the instrument for not prejudicing his succession, and the default of 1000*l.* from the pension money, he digested all to conclude the amity.

(2) For the reason that France has failed him for pension, and that he sees the confused state there to incline towards the better part, *viz.*, Navarre. Also he objected against the late ambassador the dishonourable dealing of the King of France in breaking the pacification. He knows besides that his mother's friends there carry more respect to her than to himself. He would rather have her as she is than give up his place to her. Further, he entertained the French ambassador coldly, both in public and private.

(3) He sees that the amity with England awes the factions of his nobility at home, whom otherwise he would doubt and fear more.

3. Parts at home. He generally seems desirous of peace, as appears by his disposition and exercises.

(1) His great delight in hunting.

(2) His private delight in enditing poetry.

(3) His desire to withdraw into retirement with a small retinue, which might endanger his person.

(4) His readiness to compose matters that might trouble his peace. It is thought he entertained James Stewart and advanced him to be Earl of Arran to counteract some of the nobility that were likeliest to keep the government *in statu quo*, and to abate their authority by some other new creation. Towards the Earls of Angus and Mar he seems scarcely soundly affected, notwithstanding the reconciliation.

Presumptions:—(1) The reconciliation was violent, and therefore to be suspected.

(2) He counts it a great dishonour to him that they were so restored home, as appears by what he still speaks of Mr. Wotton, for his close departing.

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(3) In outward appearance there seems to be a dryness between the King and those lords.

(4) He suffers a feud to grow between the Earls of Mar and Bothwell, and does not stop it betimes.

Towards Arran, James Stewart. It is commonly supposed he bears him some secret favour. Presumptions :—

(1) Because he suffered him to continue in his realm so long a time after his proscription, and gave him two months more after the time was expired.

(2) Because he has his brother, Sir William Stewart, very near about him, who gives out that his brother James shall be in place again ere long.

(3) Because he suffers him and his wife to enjoy such jewels as they had conveyed from him.

(4) Because on the day after the ambassador's departing from Lord Bothwell's, where he left the King, it is said that Arran came thither and conferred with the King.

(5) One near the King told me that he [the King] after a good large cup, taken in, said in his ear that he should hear of another alteration shortly of the noblemen about him.

These may make some doubt of the King, but it is to be thought verily that his respects towards England will keep him in the same tenor he is now in, in case he perceive a dislike here of Arran's restoration, and a favour towards the other lords.

“ The Nobilities disposition.”

1. English part. The Earls of Angus, Mar, and Glencarn, Lords Hamilton and the Master of Glamis in pretence, the Master of Gray.

The Earls of Angus and Mar, beside some doubt of the King's favour towards them, seem to be of no great authority, save with their own followers. They are supposed to have dealt very slightly in their late action, and not to have performed their promise for the sound reforming of religion and things about the King. This is the common talk of the better sort, and the adverse part seem for the same cause not only to hate them, but to impute this their gentle dealing to lack of courage and wisdom. Divers of the noblemen that took part with them are now in quarrel with them, as Earl Bothwell with the Earl of Mar, and Maxwell with the Earl of Angus, about the title of Morton, which was evicted from him by the Earl of Angus since his restoration.

The Master of Gray. Sure to England, well-beloved, and followed by the active and military sorts.

Lord Claud may be suspected, though he is English in pretence. (1) For his secret conference with the French ambassador, when he was there. (2) For his behaviour to the English ambassador. Though it had some shew of friendship, yet it easily appeared that it was nothing but counterfeit. (3) The course of his past life which seems to have been ambitious, cruel, and dissembling. (4) His need, which not being supplied by some pension out of England, might move him to turn his hope towards France for something thence, as it seems he has done.

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His brother Lord Hamilton shews an honest and friendly disposition, as the better sort report of him.

The Master of Glamis pretends well, but is familiar with the neutral part, namely, with the Secretary. The appearance of his friendship bears no life in it, but a sadness and dryness which may argue some doubtful meaning.

The English part seems but small and weak, but is strengthened at this time by the King's favour towards England.

French part. Earls of Huntly, Sutherland, Caithness, Lords Fleming, Seaton, Maxwell, *etc.*, of the Popish faction.

Though quiet for the present, because some of them are but young, and France is in the state it is, yet it seems to be strong and apt enough to move when they get opportunity to trouble the peace and amity with England. In that respect it is not unlikely to join with Arran, who is said to have solicited divers of them towards the north, having divers favourers in the south, and who is in confederacy with France to run that course. It would make things surer there if he were intercepted.

Neutral. Secretary Maitland and some others that looked for a reward out of England, and of late were disappointed, as Justice Clerk, *etc.*, with those that were neutral in religion and parts before, as the Earls of Errol, Orkney, Montrose, Bothwell, Lords Hay, *etc.* Some do not deal in matters at all, but sail with the wind. Some, like the Secretary, persuade a middle course—not to join with France, nor yet to follow England, or depend on favour thence, but to join with some Protestant Prince of good power in sure league, *viz.*, by marriage, as well to relieve the King's present want by dowry as to strengthen him hereafter in the action of his claim to England, and so to hold afar off, that England may rather seek to follow them than they England.

This is thought by some to be the special end of the ambassador into Denmark, under pretence of the matter of the Orcades [Orkney].

The Commons' disposition.

The religious part follow England. That number seems not great, specially after so long preaching of the Gospel and the use of discipline. The causes:—

(1) The licence and disorder of most part of the nobility, who can bear no yoke, and draw their followers after them by their example.

(2) Their frequent mutinies and disturbances that dissolve all order, ecclesiastical and civil.

The best affected are of Edinburgh and some of the greater towns in the south part. The rest of the common sort follow the faction and their lords' part.

*2 large pages. Partly in Randolph's hand, and indorsed by him :
"The present state of Scotlande, 1586."*

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 661.

[Nov.] 165. JAMES VI. TO [MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.]

Perceives from his last letter that his mother is still in that state which the pretended condemnation of the parliament has put her in. Marvels that the Queen has allowed the affair to proceed

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so far to his dishonour and contrary to her good fame as to condemn by subjects' mouths a sovereign Prince descended from the best blood in Europe. "King Henry the Eighth's reputation was never prejudged in anything but in the beheading of his bedfellow, but yet that tragedy was far inferior to this if it proceedeth as it seemeth to be intended." Refuses to believe in its truth, and will shortly send an embassy to England, in which commission will be one man whom the Queen will like, and who will deserve credit at her hands.

Prays he will insist that the matter go no further till their arrival, for he [the King] does not merit such hard using at the Queen's hand as to disdain to hear his overture and reasons. Promises himself it will be granted, so that, when she has heard, she will weigh the same as best pleases her.

Requests that he will show her this letter, and wishes she might see his inward heart, where she would find "a great jewel of honesty towards her, locked up in a coffer of perplexity, she only having the key, which by her good behaviour in this case may open the same."

Hardly dares to go about because of the indignant cries of the people against him and the Queen of England, and fears that if he were to find fault with the same it would lead to his dethronement, since all Scotland is incensed with this matter.

Begs him, as he loves his master's honour, to omit no earnest diligence in this request. Owing to the sudden departure of the bearer, hopes this letter will excuse his not writing to the Queen herself.

1½ pp. Copy, in Walsingham's hand. No indorsement.

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.
D. IV.,
fol. 104b.

Nov. 29.

166. MONSIEUR [DE L'AUBESPINE] TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I will send you this word to advertise you that Monsieur de Bellièvre arrives to-day, having express charge from the King of France to do all that he can to save the Queen of Scotland, but I see very little hope of it, inasmuch as the whole parliament has sentenced her to death, and not only sentenced, but are making urgent request to the Queen of England to have the sentence put in execution, so that if I had not struggled for a month past to get them to await the arrival of Bellièvre I think it would have been done, and so I have great fear that they will enforce it as with the Duke of Norfolk, forasmuch as my lord Buckhurst [Boucault] departed two days ago to go to signify the sentence and judgment of the parliament to her. Some say that he bears with him command to the sheriff of the place to cause her to be executed, a thing which I cannot avouch, for if it be true it is very secret and known to few persons, and the said Queen of Scotland will be dead eight days before []. [] * has been to see me, and says that the Queen of England has given him very fair words; nevertheless he also has a bad opinion of it, as I; a thing whereof I much wished to give you sure advice. London. 29 Nov. 1586.

1 p. French. In cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Indorsed.

* Cipher.

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167. MONSIEUR MAHEUT TO HIS UNCLE, MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I should not so long have deferred writing to you again but for the hope of your return with Monsieur d'Auneual of which some of the agents of Monsieur Pinart had assured me. Nevertheless I have learnt by your letter that you cannot return so soon, the said Sieur d'Auneual having deputed you in his place, which proceeds from the goodwill and friendship which he bears you, not wishing to remain ungrateful for the services which you have done him: wherein I feel myself honoured and obliged by him; I shall not fail to go and thank him for it. Monsieur Hubert has been to see him. He told me that the said gentleman holds you in great esteem, and that he will not fail to advertise the King of the good service that you have done him, and that he will endeavour to get proper means given you to maintain the rank and place which you hold, which is a good beginning that will bring you honour and commodity, and will give occasion to your being employed for the service of his Majesty. When the said Sieur Pinart returns with the Queen mother I will not fail to god to greet him on your behalf, in order that he may remember to cause that which shall be granted you to be delivered to you. As to your affairs, Monsieur Hubert has the care of them, and since he is doing what he can therein, I for my part will employ myself about them as for myself. I recommend your health to you; and not to use so many drugs and medicines as you do; that only wastes the body. I will not fail on all occasions to write to you again. I thank you heartily for the dagger that you have given me; I shall keep it for ever for your sake. Since seeing you, God has given me yet another son, who will have no smaller disposition than the first. I have made your salutations to Monsieur and to your nieces. Paris. *Signed: Mahaut.*

1½ pp. French. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Nov. 30. 168. MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

As your Majesty was pleased to command me I have presented to the King of Scotland your good nephew the letters that you wrote to him, having moreover given him to understand the care that your Majesty has always taken of the Queen his mother, for the particular friendship that you bear her, as well for the honour that she has had of having been Queen of France as for the closeness of the alliance which binds her to you, having espoused your eldest brother; and who, finding herself at this time in greater necessity than ever, by reason that some of her enemies and ill-wishers have wished to impute to her that she had knowledge of the conspiracy that is said to have been discovered against the Queen of England your good sister, in order thereby to make an attempt against her person, she has so much the more need of being aided and succoured by those who have a good will towards her; in order to be urgent with the Queen of England that she may be diverted from using any harsh treatment towards her; and whereof, in addition to what it may have pleased you to say to the Sieur de Stafford, and to cause to be made known to the said Queen

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of England by Monsieur de Chasteauneuf your ambassador with her, your Majesty had resolved to write to him in order that he might employ himself (as you could not but think that he would have done and would do, in accordance with the good disposition and affection of a well born son towards his mother) by all means, good offices and most affectionate entreaties towards the said Queen of England, to dissuade her from proceeding further against the said Queen his mother; and to join your united entreaties hereupon, in order so much the sooner to obtain a more favourable treatment such as your Majesty desires for her; there being nothing more worthy and commendable wherein your Majesties could employ themselves than on this occasion, in the which if he failed her he would do a very great wrong to his reputation and to the filial love which he ought to bear her. Whereupon, sire, he began to say to me that the matter of the Queen his mother was the strangest that was ever heard of, there having been no history like it since the creation of the world, and asked me whether I had read anywhere that *a princess and sovereign Queen had been detained so long time prisoner* without cause by a king or prince her neighbour, in order to bring her to trial at last. I told him that in the little that I have ever read I have verily not found nor heard tell of a princess for so long time and so continuously afflicted; and that it seemed to me that the Queen of England ought to content herself with her long misery and captivity, which was the more cruel and insupportable to the said Queen his mother for the high estate and greatness that she had before it, without wishing to impose upon her the crowning misfortune of a new torment and punishment of death: and that her miserable fate ought to be deplored by everybody, and especially by him who is her son, of her blood, and who has no one so near as she. He told me that she was right in saying lately at the public accusation which was made against her that since his birth her life had been accompanied only by every sorrow, dilating at the same time upon the troubles, misfortunes and afflictions wherewith she had been afflicted; and she did not forget to show to the whole assembly *the ring that the Queen of England had sent her before she came into her kingdom* for a token and pledge of her faith, in which she had too readily believed, for which she had suffered penance nineteen years and was yet suffering it at this time; and that, surrounded by her enemies, she spoke so bravely and loftily that *the greater part of them remained speechless, thinking over what she had said*; that even an orator could hardly have spoken better; and that he thought the Queen of England would wish her safely in France and did not believe that she wanted to lay hands upon her life as she has done to Mr. Archibald Douglas his ambassador, and that she *would never consent to sign or decree her death, although the estates of her realm should adjudge her worthy of it*, both as recognising that her life was not safe during that of the said Queen of Scotland, and for the fear that they have that if she survived her and came to the crown she would not only use rigour towards them but would wish to change the religion in England. Wherein recognising the uncertainty of the said Queen of England, and fearing that she may allow herself to yield to the passion of some

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of her ministers, ill-affectioned and enemies of the said Queen his mother and of himself, and deeming himself unworthy to remain in the world if he did not employ himself for her on so important an occasion as concerning her life, he had written lately thither with his own hand to the said Queen of England, to pray her not to permit further proceedings against the said Queen his mother, having written to the same effect also with his own hand to four or five of the chief persons in England, and particularly to one whom *he knew to be a very great enemy of his said mother and of himself, and who appears so interested in this affair that he believes it was no other than he who was the instrument in what has passed concerning her, telling me it was the Secretary Walsingham*, and that he bids him to desist from his ill offices and to meddle no more therein, otherwise he would do him a displeasure whereof he would take pains to avenge himself. And for this cause, and in order also to make his intention more particularly known to the said Queen of England, and to entreat her most earnestly not to allow any further steps to be taken against the said Queen his mother, he had sent with the aforesaid letters a gentleman, his servant, named William Kit, who has this affair very much at heart, who protested to him on taking leave of him *that he would employ himself therein with all his heart, and that he willed not to live for a week afterwards if any mishap should befall the said Queen his mother.* Which he said to me, as I can but think, sire, by reason of the discontent (which he supposes I have heard) which some lords among the greatest of the realm have conceived hereof, that he has sent a man of so little weight, and a pensioner of England as they say, in a matter of such consequence wherein the life of his mother is concerned, which ought to be as dear to him as his own, as if there had been no other in his kingdom whom he could send and who would have felt it an honour to make the said voyage, and to employ therein their lives and their goods if it had been needful, and the which they offered to do at their own expense. Which makes them believe that he has some secret intelligence with the Queen of England, wherein they are the more confirmed because the instructions of the said Kit were made between the King, the Secretary Ledington, the Master of Gray and the said Kit, as I have already informed your Majesty, and without having been communicated to any others of the lords of the council who were then at court. He said to me also, continuing his discourse, that there was not one of the lords nor any other person whatsoever in his realm who does not counsel him not to permit and *to protest against anything being attempted against the person of his mother, whom he deems not to be in danger of her life*, unless they should secretly poison her. And with regard thereto that the Queen of England said that the death of his mother was her safety, she was very ill advised, for that she ought to assure herself to the contrary, and that the death of the said Queen his mother would be followed by her own, and that she would not live long afterwards. Moreover that he had given charge to the said William Kit if he found that he could not persuade the said Queen of England and the lords of her council to use more gracious treatment towards the said Queen his mother, to join with Monsieur de Châteauneuf,

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1586. ambassador of your Majesty, in order together to urge before the said Queen of England that there be no further proceeding against her, if it be possible, and whereof he was writing to him again immediately. I told him, sire, that I would inform your Majesty of his good and holy resolve not to forget any good offices in this which particularly concerns him so nearly as the Queen his mother; and that your Majesty expected as much of his good disposition and affection towards her, which you hope will shortly be followed by effects conformable to it, which can but bring him praise, reputation and honour with all the princes his neighbours, kinsmen, friends and allies, who on the contrary might give him blame, either for having little loved the life and honour of his mother, or that the Queen of England made little account of him, if he should neglect her on this occasion. Afterwards, Sire, I went so far as to tell him that in accordance with the open declaration which he lately made your Majesty assured yourself that he would not permit any levy of men of war in his kingdom to pass over to the help of your subjects who have taken arms against your Majesty, as I had heard that some were intending to do. He told me *that he would not for anything in the world favour and assist those who rise against their Prince for any cause whatsoever*, although the ministers have lately wished to persuade him to the contrary; but that he had well refuted their arguments, and that he had given them to understand that such propositions were not agreeable to him: for which cause they departed very ill content with him, and that he is sure that they have him in no more amity than if he were a Catholic; and that I could assure you that there would go no men of war from his realm to the help of the said Protestants, any more than had formerly gone thither; and that he knew how serious a matter it was to favour subjects risen against their prince and to assist them in their rebellion. I pray him to continue in this goodwill, which cannot but ever bring him confirmation of the friendship which exists between your Majesties, which ought to be as dear to him as any other, and from the which he could only receive utility and greatness.

With regard to what is happening in this kingdom, sire, many lords begin openly to declare themselves Catholics and to make profession of their religion, and it seems that they may be willing to establish it throughout this realm if they can; whereof the ministers lately made complaint to their sovereign; whom they informed that his council, his house, and the court of parliament of the country which is called the Tolbooth were full of Papists; even that many books and ornaments of the church had been brought into this realm, and that the Earl of Huntley had two or three Jesuits in his house. And after they had made their complaints with much vehemence, whereof this King made no great account, he asked them whether they had spoken to those of his council, of the parliament and of his house whom they said to be Papists. They told him they had not. He sent them back to question them as to their faith, and to convert them and reduce them to their religion if they could. With regard to the books and ornaments of the church, being uncertain of those who had sent for them, answer was made to them that they did not know what they

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were asking; and as to the Earl of Huntley, that he could not refuse his house to his uncle, although he was a Jesuit, for the charity that we owe one to another and chiefly to our kinsmen. And they were constrained to return as they had come. Wherein many remark that the ardour which the greater part of this realm had to the Protestant religion and to the said ministers is beginning greatly to abate. Sire, it is to my very great joy and honour that it has pleased you to inform me that it is your wish that I should stay here to keep your Majesty advertised of that which shall present itself there, awaiting the return of Monsieur d'Esneval. Wherein, sire, I will take every care that is in my power. 30 Nov. 1586.*

6 pp. *French. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 591.

Copy of the same.

Nov. 30. **169.** MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES TO MONSIEUR BRULARD.

You will be able to see by those letters which I wrote to his Majesty the good will that the King of Scotland told me that he bears towards the Queen his mother, whom he is resolved never to abandon either on this occasion or any other. He promises himself that the journey of William Kit will produce something in favour of the Queen his mother, and that the said Kit will keep to his intention and promise that he made him at his departure, to be urgent with the Queen of England to dissuade her from using any rigorous treatment towards her. If he who resides as ambassador to the said Queen of England for the said King of Scotland had not been assisted by some other, I think that he could not hope for many good offices from him; and even had he had the will, and should he have it still, he would not dare, being a pensioner of England, having a stipend from the Queen, and a gratification from her of more than 25,000 crowns for the last four years. Monsieur de Châteauneuf may have informed his Majesty of the truth, which will keep me from wearying you further. A rumour has been current here for some days past that it was desired to alter the court and the religion there, which has arisen from the fear that the ministers have of it, who recognise that the King of Scotland does not love them at all, they having preached only sedition; also that the factions English, who see themselves now with little strength, and many Catholic lords of this kingdom speak more openly against them and their religion than they have done, and increase every day in friends and in desire to chase them from about their King. And that which draws many yet more against them is that the captains and soldiers who were preparing to go to Flanders for the service of the Queen of England, and who had employed much of their means in this hope, are countermanded. Which I will refer, however, my Lord, to your better advice to say to his Majesty if you deem it fitting. 30 Nov. 1586.

1 p. *French. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 594.

Copy of the same.

* The words in italics are underlined in the MS.

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170. WILLIAM WAAD TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Nov. 30.
C.P., vol. XX.

It may please your honour, Mr. Secretary Walsingham let me understand her majesty's pleasure for the seeking out of the accounts of the Scottish Queen which were amongst her writings. And because the coffers were left, as I take it, in her majesty's gallery at Windsor, there is a messenger sent thither for to bring them to the Court by cart, with a man of my own that assisted in the conveying of the same hither, and knows the chests, if they should happen to be removed to any other room, which it may please your honour to let her majesty understand.

This day I have given my attendance here on the Queen [of England], otherwise would have waited on your honour. Cecil House. *Signed: W. Waad.*

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 30. **171. BURGHLEY TO SHREWSBURY.**

Lansd. 982,
fol. 75.

Here are ambassadors from France and Scotland to press her majesty to stay further proceedings against the Queen of Scots. From France a grave councillor named Bellièvre; he hath had an audience, but was answered that, if the King of France understood her majesty's peril, he would not press her.

"The Scotts ambassadour, Mr. Keith, being but a young man, useth great earnestness, but with small reason." Lord Buckhurst was sent to the Scottish Queen to declare the sentence, and that parliament required the publication thereof, and offered some divine to instruct her; she refused, and desired licence to write her will, which was granted. "Whether she look to dye or not I know not. The sentence was subscribed yesterday by all the commissioners that were here at parliament, and I have answered for your lordship that you will not faile to signe at any time, and to [*sic*] left space for your name." The session shall be prorogued on Friday next to mid-February or March. On Friday our sentence shall be published by proclamation, which will trouble the ambassadors. Westminster. 30 Nov. 1586.

1 p. *Copy.*

Nov. 30. **172. MONSIEUR COURCELLES TO CHATEAUNEUF.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 593.

I wrote to you fully five or six days before the departure of the Lord Kit, whom the King his sovereign is sending into England, what I had been able to learn of the will of the King of Scotland towards the Queen his mother, whereof I promise myself that by now some good effects will have been perceptible. For he tells me that he has given very express charge to the said William Kit, his servant, and that he has promised him to employ himself with all the care and diligence that may be in him for the said Queen his mother, and to insist with the Queen of England that she should have more gracious treatment than that which she has had since the accusation that some of her enemies and ill-wishers have wished to impose upon her; having also expressly charged him to go to seek you and to join himself to you, in order that your united

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1586. requests may so much the sooner produce the effect of a favourable treatment for the said Queen his mother, and whereof he promised me to write to him again by the first despatch, having received no news since his departure until this hour, when I have news from his majesty. Upon that which it shall please you to command me, I shall not fail to see the said King of Scotland, in order to let him know what you shall judge to be of importance for the good of the affairs of his mother, whom he makes a show of greatly affecting, and of not wishing to forsake her in this affliction. You will be able to know more of his will towards her by the said Lord Kit, who is a very worthy man, but a little English. I sent him a packet for you when he was ready to start; I do not doubt that you have received it and have sent those which were for her majesty, as I beg you to do with those here inclosed. There is nothing new in this realm to be written to you; and yet I suppose there may be some rumour current of some change of religion, whereunto credence must not lightly be given; and I think that such a rumour has arisen from the fear that the factionaries of England have conjured up that it was desired to change this court, which could not be but by the means of many Catholic lords of this realm who are upon their guard. Also the Earl of Morton, who is a Catholic and who lives on the borders, having taken up arms, at least holding himself on his guard by reason of the Earl of Angus, whom he asserts to be his enemy, and who is on his way with some soldiers to give order to the said borders and to the pillage and larceny which are committed there every day, has put the ministers of this realm in alarm, inasmuch as they know well that he does not love them at all and would drive them away if he could; as many others of this realm would likewise do who love them no better.

Thanking you most humbly, my lord, for the advice that it pleases you to give me about my man who has returned to me; whom I will not fail to observe exactly, and he must go by a very secret road if having some ill intention I do not discover it, *etc.*

1½ pp. *French. Copy.*

[Nov.] **173. BOND OF DAVID STEWART.**

To all those who shall see or hear these present letters, William Makartney and William Rutherford, bailies and magistrates of Leith, in Scotland, greeting. We make known that before us and John Guthré, our notary, appeared personally the honourable gentleman David Steuart of Vezines, son and heir apparent of the right honourable William Steuart of Vezines in France. Who has deposed and declared with his consent and will that forasmuch as he being detained in the town of Edunburg in Scotland by many necessities in the months of June, July, August, September and October last past, surrounded by the plague, in such sort that he being a foreign gentleman born in France, destitute of all means and succour of things necessary for the support of life, were it not that God the pitiful Father had raised up a gentleman named Thomas Murray, servant of the King our master, to withdraw the said Vezines the younger, by sufficient

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caution which the said Thomas Murray gave to the creditors (without which he could not have left) of the said town where he was detained during the plague, and where but for God's help he had perished of sickness: how also being set free by the said Thomas and having "defrayed" him in prison with provisions in his very great need and entertained him since that time at the court, succoured during the fury of the civil disturbance, in short having furnished him with victuals at his embarkation and disbursed money to conduct him to France: the said David Steuart confesses and has bound himself before and in presence of the said parties above named, his heirs, successors and assigns, his body, lands, rents, goods movable and immovable, present, purchased and future wheresoever they may be found, submitting himself to all jurisdictions civil and criminal as well without France as within, to content and faithfully pay and restore to the said Thomas Murray, his heirs, successors and assigns, the sum of [] crowns of the sun, or for every one of them fifty shillings of money of Scotland, between the date of the present and []. At the issue whereof the payment of the said sum being not duly and lawfully made, he binds himself and his aforesaid to pay to the said Thomas and his aforesaid all the damages and the interest which may have accrued since the term failed of payment and all according to the laws of France. Leith. [No date.]

1 p. *French. Indorsed.*

Dec. 2.

174. WALSINGHAM TO SHREWSBURY.

Lansd. 982,
fol. 75b.

Certain persons being chosen a committee out of both houses were sent to her majesty to entreat her to give order for the execution of the Scottish Queen; to which she answered, "that she was loth to proceed in so severe a course against the Scotts Queen as the taking away her life, and therefore prayed them to thinke of some other way that might worke both hers and their security." Parliament, after long deliberating, returned their committees to her majesty, saying that they, having considered thereof, saw no way of safety but by execution of the said Queen, and therefore prayed it might be performed. Her majesty is contented, though she yielded no answer to their supplication, to give order for the publication of the proclamation. It is hoped she will be moved by their earnestness to proceed thoroughly in the cause. Parliament is adjourned till January. London. 2 Dec. 1586.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Copy.*

Dec. 2.

175. PASQUIER TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XX.

Upon the assurance that it pleased you to give me when I was with you of your goodwill, I took courage to importune you last week by a little note—which I sent to Mr. Philippes to deliver to you—for my entire deliverance, or in default thereof for some opportunity to procure money, whereby I may be able to support myself in the very great need that I have thereof. With your leave, if it please you, I will renew this suit; I will most humbly

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1586. entreat you, sir, to be willing so far to do me good as to oblige me in one or other of these two. Saturday 2 December, 1586.
Signed: Pasquier.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 2. 176. MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XX.

This note will be only to remind you, the opportunity presenting itself, of the decision as to my most humble request and suit touching my present estate : and in the meanwhile that it may please you to procure for me, besides the money which I have already entreated of you for my necessities here, the necessaries contained in a memorandum here inclosed, not being in any wise able to do without them being detained here longer : for I lately asked for very few of them, and yet they were not entirely sent to me.

If it please you to cause all my coffers to be sent hither, and to deliver the charge thereof to some one of your people, I should be very greatly obliged to you therefor. 2 December 1586. *Signed: Nau.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same :—

(Needs of Nau.)

Memorandum of the articles that I beg to be permitted to have for my necessity here.

Firstly, six shirts of the best that are in my coffers.

A dozen new handkerchiefs.

A dozen collars with flat bands with a simple lace, each with its pair of cuffs of the same fashion. More, half a dozen collars or ruffs with work, and the cuffs, six pairs.

A dozen pairs of short hose of new linen.

A dozen large handkerchiefs made for the night. They are like table napkins.

Half a dozen new night-caps.

Two worked covers to use with the night clothes.

A jacket with black velvet sleeves worked, and the breeches of the like velvet.

A long cloak of black taffeta of coarse grain, entirely trimmed with black lamb.

A short cloak without sleeves, of taffeta of coarse grain, lined with uncut black velvet, with large buttons on the trimmings.

A long cloak of black cloth lined with black taffeta, fastened all down with a broad black lace. A pair of new black satin sleeves.

A doublet of black satin with a little lacing in a circle upon it, and the breeches or Venetian hose of the same fashion.

Two pairs of leather buskins.

Two short black silk stockings and two black worsted stockings.

Four yards of black cloth which were in the trunk where the stuffs in reserve were.

The hat of black quilted taffeta with a narrow brim, and another hat of black beaver trimmed with cords.

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Six pairs of common gloves washed, garters, belts, six dozen points of silk.

A cup of silver with its case. A jug of silver, having two rings on the two sides.

A book in Italian entitled "Diei Veglie." Two volumes of Plutarch's Lives in Italian. The smaller works of the said Plutarch in one volume in French. A book in English newly printed "Of resolution of lyffe," and a breviary of prayers.

1 p. *French.*

Dec. 4. **177. BURGHEY TO SHREWSBURY.**

Lansd. 982,
fol. 75b.

"If your lordship shall like to fynde a dryer soyle my house at Burghley shall be at your commandment, where out of the stone pitts no humour cometh to nourishe the gout."

I send you the late proclamation for publication of the sentence which her majesty commanded me to draw; wherewith she was well satisfied. What will follow a few days will declare. Her majesty is greatly pressed by the French and Scotch to stay further action therein. May God direct her for His honour and her safety. Richmond. 4 Dec. 1586.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

Dec. 4. **178. PROCLAMATION CONCERNING THE SENTENCE AGAINST MARY.**

C.P., vol. XX.

"By the Queene. A true copie of the proclamation lately published by the Queenes Majestie, under the great Seale of England for the declaring of the sentence lately given against the Queene of Scottes, in fourme as followeth":—

Understanding that divers things were and had of late been compassed, imagined and resolutely intended to the hurt and destruction of the royal person and the subversion of the realm by foreign invasions and rebellions at home as well by the Queen of Scots as by other wicked persons with her privy who had freely confessed the same, and thereupon received open trial, judgment and execution according to the laws for their deserts, and being deeply grieved to imagine such monstrous acts should be devised by her, a princess born and of the blood royal, and one whose life has been preserved and saved many times, yet drawn to think all the same to be true by the sight of such proofs as proceeded from herself and the conspirators themselves, who voluntarily and freely, without coercion, confessed, was by the lords of the nobility and other loving subjects counselled to take undelayed order for the examination of all these enterprises and conspiracies avowed by the said Queen of Scots, and to use all present means to withstand, or rather prevent, the same.

Being unwilling to proceed against her, considering her birth and estate, by such usual sort as the common laws of the realm, which was by indictment and arraignment of ordinary juries, yielded by good advice to proceed in the most honourable sort that could be devised within the realm to the examination thereof.

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according to a late Act of parliament made the 23rd November, in the 27th year of the present reign. Thereupon by commission under the great seal of England dated at Windsor Castle 6th October last, according to that statute, assigned, named and appointed all the lords and others of the Privy Council and so many other earls and barons, lords of Parliament of the greatest degree and most ancient of the nobility of the realm, as with the same lords and others of the Privy Council made the number of forty-two, adding also thereto a further number, according to the tenour of the aforesaid Act of Parliament, of the chiefest and other principal judges of the Courts of Record at Westminster, amounting in the whole to the number of forty-seven, to examine all things compassed and imagined tending to the hurt of the royal person, as well by the said Queen of Scots, by name of Mary, daughter and heir of James V., late King of Scots, commonly called the Queen of Scots, a dowager of France, as by any other by her privity, and all the circumstances thereof, and thereupon to give sentence or judgment as the matter should appear to them by good proof, as by the same commission more fully appears.

And whereas, afterwards, the most part of the said Councillors, that is to say thirty-six, in the presence and hearing of the said Queen of Scots at our Castle of Fotheringay at divers days and times in public, very exactly, uprightly and with great deliberation, examined all the matters and offences whereof she was charged and accused tending to the dangers afore-rehearsed in the said commission, and heard also at large in all favourable manner what the said Queen did or could say for her excuse in that behalf, whereupon afterwards on the 25th October last all the said Council, lords and judges who heard and examined the same cause in the said Queen's presence, with one assent after good deliberation gave their sentence in this sort following:—that after the 1st June in the 27th year of this present reign, and before the date of the said commission, divers things were compassed and imagined within the realm of England by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of the said Mary, pretending title to the crown of this realm of England, tending to the hurt, death and destruction of our royal person, and that, after the same 1st June and before the date of the said commission, the said Mary, pretending title to the same crown, had compassed and imagined within the same realm divers things tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the royal person, contrary to the form of the said statute; which sentence and judgment the same lords and commissioners have with one assent caused to be put in writing and duly engrossed with the whole process of their proceedings thereto belonging, and have subscribed the same with their hands, as by a record thereof shown more fully and largely appears.

And whereas also, since the same sentence and judgment so given and recorded, the lords and commons in this present Parliament assembled have also at sundry times in open Parliament heard and considered the principal evidences, proofs and circumstances whereupon the same sentence and judgment were grounded, and have by their public assent in parliament affirmed the same to be a just, lawful and true sentence, and so have allowed

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and approved the same in writing presented to her, and notified to her how deeply they foresaw the great and many imminent dangers which otherwise might and would grow to the royal person and the whole realm if this sentence was not fully executed, and consequently, therefore, by their most humble and earnest petitions in that behalf they most earnestly pray, beseech and move that the said sentence and judgment, so justly and truly given as is aforesaid, might be declared and published by royal proclamation, and the same finally executed.

But after such earnest request made from all the lords and commons in parliament, they perceiving how deeply the Queen of England was grieved to hear of these horrible and unnatural attempts and actions of that Queen, whose many former offences manifestly and dangerously committed against her, her crown and realm had been overpassed with great clemency, contrary to many advices and requests as well in Parliament as otherwise, and understanding her desire to have some means devised by them in parliament to withstand these mischiefs, other than the execution of the aforesaid sentence as was required, they, after their sundry considerations apart and conferences, jointly, with one accord, in the names of all the lords of Parliament, even by the particular votes of them all assembled, and also of the Commons with one assent, allege, declare and protest that, upon their long, many and advised consultations and conferences, they could not by any means find or devise how the surety of the royal person and the preservation of themselves and their posterity with the good state of the realm might be provided for and continued without the publication and due execution of the said sentence.

Whereupon, being not only moved, to her grief, but also overcome with the earnest requests, declarations and important reasons of all her said subjects, the nobles and Commons of the realm, whose judgment, knowledge and natural care for her and the whole realm far surmount all others not so interested therein, and so justly to be esteemed, and perceiving the said sentence to have been honourably, lawfully and justly given, agreeable to justice and to the laws of the realm, yielded, and according to the said statute by this proclamation, declares, notifies and publishes to all her loving subjects and other persons whatsoever that the said sentence and judgment is given in manner aforesaid, to the intent that they and every one of them by this proclamation may have full understanding and knowledge thereof.

Also wills that this proclamation be * into the court of Chancery as speedily as conveniently may be. Richmond 4th December 1586.

God save the Queen.

Imprinted at London. Christopher Barker, printer to the Queen's most excellent majesty.

3 pp. *Broadsheet.*

Copy of the same.

Another copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 602.
Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 189.

* Torn away.

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1586. **179.** SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

Dec. 4.

C.P., vol. XX.

I think the time very long since I heard from you or any other about the Court, and I should fear lest Fotheringay were forgotten, if I did not know that this lady under my charge has given great cause to be remembered by all true and faithful subjects, whose dutiful care for her majesty's safety, the continuance of the Gospel and the liberty and quiet of this realm will not permit them to sleep soundly until the head and seed-plot of all practices and conspiracies tending to the imminent subversion of prince, religion and people, be utterly "extirped."

I thank God I have conceived a most stedfast hope of a happy resolution, and yet the experience of former times teaches us that opportunities neglected are very often accompanied with dangerous effects. God has the times and seasons in his hands, and His judgments cannot be prevented, but will appear in their dire hour.

This lady is said to be grieved in one of her knees, which is no new thing unto her, and is not likely to have any continuance. Thus you see that these few lines tend to no other end than to draw from you a word or two, if your leisure will so permit. Fotheringay. *Signed*: A. Poulet.

Postscript—Sir Dru Drury prays to be recommended to your good favour.

Second postscript—It may please you to do me the favour to cause one of your servants to deliver this letter inclosed to my Lord of Leicester.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Second postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec.

180. THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADOR TO [WALSINGHAM].

Requests that his promised instructions be sent to Mr. Archibald Douglas, with the name of the person to whom he may address himself until her majesty appoints an audience.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Indorsed*: "From the Scottish ambassador."

Dec.

181. [] TO [].

Advises him of the following, in case others omit to inform him of the new care his majesty has in restoring order in his estate. Following the execution of the King's proclamation, (1) the Earl of Angus as his lieutenant and justice in the south is well occupied at Edinburgh.

(2) The Earl of Huntly is lieutenant and justice in the north at Aberdeen.

(3) His highness has had a diet to make the principal broken Irishmen inhabiting the middle part of the country answerable to justice. He now gives certain times weekly to hearing the complaints of the people, a course for which they begin to feel a sweetness.

(4) He has been occupied this morning in settling the disorders of the West Marches, having the Earl of Morton and the Laird of Johnstone present.

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(5) The session is "ythandlie" occupied, as also the justice trial. His highness takes delight in hearing their proceedings.

(6) He has appointed a number of skilled auditors for the Exchequer, neither of the session nor of the Privy Council, to put order into the confusion in the estate of his receipts and house.

(7) He has appointed the principals of his nobility to convene here on the 15th of December to remove their private mislikings, and unite them in his service.

1 p. *Indorsed*: "The parte of a letter written out of Scotland, December, 1586."

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 595.

Copy of the same.

Dec. 6.

182. BURGHLEY TO THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADORS.

Lansd. 115,
fol. 72.

The Queen having considered of the request you made this day, in the King your sovereign's name, for a safe-conduct for certain noblemen he wishes to send to her to make some overtures to move her to stay proceedings against the Queen his mother, and that in the meantime she would for some days stay the execution, hath willed me, after conference with her council and me,—“to let you understand that if you, Mr. Keith, had not delivered unto her majesty so strange and unseasonable a message, as did directly touch her noble father, her self, and all the estates of her present parliament, shee would not have misliked, nor denyed the Kings request, tho' nothing can bee at this instant more dangerous unto her self then delay.” But as you have proceeded in so strange a manner, she cannot with honour yield the safe-conduct and the stay of proceedings.

Yet as she imagineth that the message should not grow from the King himself, but by those who wish to interrupt the amity between the two realms, or hope by threats to make her hasten the execution, she is willing that overtures be sent from the King to his ministers here, so [that] it be within ten or twelve days. Yet she cannot promise to stay so long in case she be forced, through danger to her life or the realm, to proceed to execution.

For my particular, I am sorry to see such strange dealing. Such requests ought to have been sought with all courtesy, but I fear, as doth her majesty, that there be some not well affected to the nourishing of love betwixt their majesties.

1½ pp. *Copy. Indorsed.*

Dec. 6.

183. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS AND WILLIAM KEITH TO BURGHLEY.

Acknowledge his letter stating that her majesty does not see her way to a safe-conduct, in respect of the message and letter delivered by Mr. William Keith, and because the said message seemed to be procured at the devotion of some ill affected round the King, but that her majesty consents to grant twelve days that such overture as has been devised may be sent hither. Regret that any of their dealings should offend her majesty, and suggest that such persons as their sovereign should trust may be allowed to come hither for “opening up all such griefs, as the concealing might

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breed inconvenient," whereby any evil instruments may be rendered harmless. Crave that, since her majesty has been pleased to grant such time to do good in, she will also grant them the safe-conduct they also desired.

From the letter that gave offence it may be perceived that whatever concerns the King proceeded from a necessity, whereunto he is in some degree forced by the acclamations of his subjects. London. *Signed*: A. Douglas. W. Keith.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed* (in Walsingham's hand).

Dec. 6. **184.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS AND WILLIAM KEITH TO WALSINGHAM.

Have received a letter from the Lord Treasurer, and committed the answer thereof to the bearer of this, for whom they beg a commission for post horses for his speedy despatch to Scotland. London. *Signed*: A. Douglas. W. Keith.

Postscript—Desire that the bearer may be given the particulars wherewith the Master of Gray may be thought to be charged.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Postscript in Mr. Archibald Douglas's hand. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 7. **185.** SIR HENRY WODDRINGTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 609.

It may please your honour, late at night on the 6th instant I received from the Court of Scotland these intelligences, which I assure your lordship I am credibly informed of by one of no small account at Court. They are as follows:—

The nobility of Scotland are summoned and have general warning to be at Edinburgh on Saturday next. They are to convene in Council with the King, beginning on Monday next, and are to continue three days in Council, which is to conclude with a general consent that if the Queen of Scots be put to death the King [will] give up the peace with her majesty and [go to] war with England.

The King now shows himself to be greatly discontented to hear that the Queen his mother should die; and yet it does not all come from himself, but he is both threatened and forced by the nobility to enter in the action against her majesty and this realm if his mother die.

And also these other practices in the north of Scotland by the lords there and Maxwell for the erecting of mass are all let fall, and [there is] no proceeding for the reformation thereof as the King was determined. But all are to join wholly together against this realm. And likewise the King has received assurance from the French King that, if he have occasion, he shall be assisted both with men and money.

After the breaking up of this assembly there presently came ambassadors to her majesty, the Earl Bothwell, the Master of Gray, Sir Robert Melvin, Mr. John Sharpe, Mr. Lindsey, preacher, and Mr George Yonge, with divers other gentlemen of credit. All this I thought most convenient, for the discharge of my duty to her majesty, to signify with all expedition to your

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1586. honour. And so I commit your honour to the tuition of the Almighty. Berwick. *Signed*: Henry Woddryngton.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 8. **186.** ADVERTISEMENTS FROM THE CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND
TO THE CATHOLICS OF ENGLAND.

1. That [the] M[aster of] G[ray] has made a secret offer to the Catholics there to procure a toleration of religion at the King's hands.

2. That he would do his utmost to dissolve the amity between her majesty and the King.

3. That the King, by his persuasion, is driven to deal with the Queen for stay of the execution of the Queen, his mother.

4. That he has sent one Tyrie, a Scotchman, with letters and instructions to Monsieur D'Andragas to move him to remove the hard "conceit" that the Duke of Guise has of him in respect of his dealing with England, offering to do anything in reparation thereof.

5. That if it shall please the French King to send an ambassador into Scotland by the mediation of the Duke of Guise, he doubts not but that through the credit he has with the King he shall be able to breed a breach of the amity between this realm and that of the said King.

6. That the Catholics of Scotland are persuaded that the offer made by [the] M[aster of] G[ray] is done to abuse them and discover their secrets, yet do they think it meet to bear him in hand that they love him.

1¼ pp. *Draft. Many corrections. In Walsingham's hand. Indorsed*: "Sent by Mr. Hudson, to be communicated to the Master of Gray."

Dec. 8. **187.** HEADS TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE SECRETARY OF
SCOTLAND BY MR. HUDSON.

1. That my not answering his letters of six months past proceeded from no "misconceit" of him, but because I could not yield him such answer as was to my desire or his contentment through some cross-dealing here.

2. That I pray him to think that I am not one lightly drawn upon reports growing out of faction to condemn a man reputed so wise and religious as he is.

3. That by long experience I have found that where faction reigns—and few courts are free from the same—it is hard for a man to escape unslandered. Therefore I earnestly pray him that it may stand for a granted rule between us not to condemn each other upon any report until the same shall be reciprocally answered.

4. That for the present action in hand here all wise and religious men wonder to see that the wise and religious in that realm so press the King to importune her majesty in this cause of his mother, seeing all the papists in Europe that affect the change of religion build their hope of the said change upon the person of the said

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Queen, who shews herself so passionate in religion that she has transferred her pretended right to both crowns to the King of Spain in case her son shall persevere in his religion.

5. That the late message sent by the King, delivered by Mr. Keith, might have bred a dangerous alteration of the affection here borne to the amity of that crown, had not well-affected men interposed their credit for the stay thereof.

6. That although some here suppose that the Secretary was the penner of the said message, yet, for my own part, knowing him to be a man of wisdom and judgment, I am persuaded that it was done without his knowledge.

Lastly. Let him understand that some here would be content that the present amity between us were interrupted, and that the hatred between the two nations was revived, which would be more profitable for the common enemy than for either of our sovereigns. Therefore it ought to cause all well-effected servants and councillors to look earnestly that all causes of offence be avoided.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Corrections and additions in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

Dec. 8. **188. MEMORANDA FOR WALSINGHAM.**

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 37.

“ The memorial of certain heads to be communicated to the Lord Secretary of Scotland.”

That the not answering of his letters sent unto me above a five months past proceeded not of any “ misconceit ” I had of him, but for that I could not yield such an answer to the same as might fall out either to my desire or his contentment in respect of some cross dealing here underhand.

That I pray him to think that I am not one that is lightly drawn upon reports growing out of faction to condemn a man reputed so wise and religious as he is. That by long experience I have found that where faction through envy reigneth, as few or no Courts are free from the same, how hard it is for a man to escape free unslandered.

That I therefore do earnestly desire him that it may stand for a constant and grounded rule between us not to condemn each other upon any report until the same shall be reciprocally answered, whereby there may be a profitable intelligence continued between us for the public benefit of both the realms and the princes our sovereigns.

To let him know that all wise and religious men here do wonder greatly that for the present action in hand here, to see those that be both wise and religious in that realm so earnest in pressing the King to importune her Majesty so greatly in this cause of his mother, seeing all the papists in Europe that affect the change of religion in both realms do build altogether their hope of the said change upon the person of the said Queen, who sheweth herself so passionately in point of religion as she hath transferred her pretended right to both crowns unto the King of Spain in case the King her son shall persevere in his religion.

That the late message sent by the King delivered by Mr. Keith had like to have bred a dangerous alteration here of the affection

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born to the amity of that crown, had not men well affected interposed their credit for the stay thereof.

That although it be supposed by some here that the Lord Secretary was the penner of the said message, yet for mine own part knowing him to be a man of judgment and wisdom I am persuaded it was done without his advice.

Lastly, to let him understand that there are some here that for their particular could be content the present amity between us were interrupted and that the ancient hatred between the two nations were revived, which might be more profitable for the common enemy than for either of our sovereigns and therefore ought to move all well affected servants and counsellors to look carefully that all causes of offence may be avoided.

1 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Indorsed.*

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 17.

Copy of the same.

Dec. 9. 189. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 608.

Sir, I cannot thank you enough for your friendly letters of the 7th instant, and for your willing favour to let me know upon every occasion such accidents as shall seem meet for me, which in this time of expectation cannot but bring great comfort, howsoever things shall fall out against all expectation. I should be condemned for a busybody if I wrote to you all that I think touching the copy of the Scottish King's letters to Keith, not doubting but that her majesty and her most honourable Council will consider of it in all respect of honour to her highness touching the manner, and in all politic and Christian judgment touching the matter. Only I will say that as I would be glad to hear that her majesty had not vouchsafed to read the said letter at a second hand, so I assure myself that having answered the French ambassador—coming from the mightiest Prince in Europe, and bringing a message of great temperance—in such round, princely and majestic sort as moved admiration in all the hearers, her majesty being now justly provoked many ways, if I do not mistake the copy, will not give place to the pride of so poor a neighbour, but repress the same in his first budding, a principal or rather the only remedy in such forward—I will not say presumptuous—attempts.

I pray God that the unthankfulness of the mother work not like effects in the son.

Captain Oliver has been here with me to-day and will bring hither the 40 trained men on Monday next, being very glad of this supply in this dangerous and desperate time. And although I took the last delay thereof for some argument of no long continuance of this service, yet I am so strongly persuaded of the honourable necessity of the cause—the rather upon the proclamation lately published—as these new forces cannot remove me from my former hope of a speedy discharge.

I have lately been suitor to the Lord Treasurer and you for a supply of powder, whereof in truth I shall have great need if the service have any little continuance. Every arquebusier of my servants and soldiers had only one flask full of powder remaining at my coming to this castle, where some part was spent the day of

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her majesty's coronation. I had only 30 calivers out of her majesty's store for the 30 soldiers allowed to me, but I brought hither 30 calivers of my own store, which serve to furnish my household servants.

This letter comes to you in a packet sent to the Lord Treasurer, by which I am a suitor to him for a new supply of money, and have put him in remembrance of my former suit for powder. Fotheringhay. *Signed*: A. Paulet.

Postscript—Sir Dru Drury has seen your favourable remembrance of him in my letters, and yields you all due thanks.

$1\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *No flyleaf or address.*

Dec. 10. **190. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS AND WILLIAM KEITH TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

Has directed James Hudson towards Scotland with such answer as they received in their last audience.

Imagines that the grief conceived by her majesty and councillors at sight of the King's letter gave occasion for the refusal of the passport required. In like manner it has given them hope to obtain the same when her majesty's choler has been appeased. That they may be considered wise men, prays he will do what he can to move her majesty to consider that the granting thereof can breed no inconvenience, but rather work good effects.

Desires he will put her majesty in remembrance of her promise concerning the delivery of the "decreit" against the Queen, his majesty's mother, and that they may receive some good order concerning the piracies committed against the poor Scottish merchants, with answer concerning the Border causes. London. *Signed*: A. Douglas. W. Keithe.

Postscript—Would be glad if it might be her majesty's pleasure to send the few lines concerning the Master of Gray, with the copy of his present contract. Has already made mention thereof to the King. *Signed*: A. Douglas.

1 p. *Postscript in Mr. Archibald Douglas's hand. Indorsed.*

[1586.] **191. MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO THOMAS PHELIPPES.**

Dec. 11.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 616.

Mr. Philips, her majesty delivered me the ticket here inclosed to be sent to you for your "exercise," because she thinks you now lie idle. When you have made English thereof I doubt not but you will return it back to her highness. And so in the meantime I commit you to God. At Court. *Signed*: "Your loving frend, W. Davison."

$\frac{1}{8}$ p. *Indorsed*: "To my verie loving freind."

Dec. 12. **192. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.**

Has not received his instructions from the governor concerning the Master and the Secretary. Forgot to tell him how the words which the King said of him grew—that he never loved him nor his mother.

Was told by the Master in secret that he knew that he [Walsingham] "defydid" in the King both for religion and

Elizabeth.

1586. cruelty, and therefore he did not advance his great causes as otherwise he would.

Much has been said to the King, and he knew as much besides. Therefore thinks he spoke so in grief. Is sure it was since they came away, for the King was then in another mind of him. Hears that the Master has no mind to come, and thinks some special man may come as a servant. He shall know it if be so. Would it were so, for Mr. Keith's better relief. Berwick. *Signed: J. Hudson.*

1½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 13. **193. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.**

The pitiful usage of Scottish merchants in this realm and the piracies committed upon them give occasion for this letter.

Within the last fifteen days three ships have been robbed. Two were laden with wine, whereof part was taken and the rest let go; and the complaint of the third appears in the copy of the letter herewith inclosed, received yesternight.

The hard dealing of the Admiralty with the Scottish men lately robbed in Norfolk, who came from Scotland to receive their goods, has caused an outcry against him. Prays that these attempts committed during his abode here may receive speedy remedy by reason that remedies now appearing "doable" in the compass of a short time become impossible to be performed.

The request moved to him in favour of one Achesone, a Scotchman, troubled at Newcastle, is not yet performed. The bearer will inform him of the cause, to the end he may give reasonable order therein. London. *Signed: A. Douglas.*

Postscript—Has often desired Mr. Secretary Davison to move her majesty and her Council to give some order for the piracies before committed, but marvels that he has received no answer.

1 p. *Postscript in Mr. Archibald Douglas's hand. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same :—

(Edward Herman to Mr. Archibald Douglas.)

A ship of Leith laden with merchandise, going to Dieppe in France, was taken by an Englishman, Captain William Beare, a month ago. He took the ship to Ireland and put on land both merchandise and mariners.

Is one of these merchants, having come to this town from Ireland, and being ready to come to London to complain. Is informed that their ship has been brought to Cardiff to dispose of the goods.

Prays to have letters of the Queen and the Lord Admiral to take the said ship and keep her for the owners' use. She is laden with wax and lint, hemp, salmon, "claytht," and hides, extended at more than 7000*l.* or 8000*l.*

Doubts not he will cause the said letters to be sent with all diligence for recovery of the ship and the apprehension of the men of war. The goods belong to the best men of Edinburgh. Bristol. December 10, 1586.

1 p. *Copy. Addressed.*

Elizabeth.

1586. **194.** MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSHINGHAM.

Dec. 13.

His letter came in marvellous good time, for he already had thought it strange that such as had professed friendship for him should hear of him but not acquaint him with it.

Is to see him shortly, therefore will be short, remitting the rest till that time, or to the bearer, who is well affected to them both. Protests that whatsoever is contained in the advertisement is false, and for his better satisfaction will answer to every particular.

1. In respect it is alleged that he promised to procure a toleration in religion of the King, all know he never dealt with him on such a point, and he shall have the King's own declaration therein.

2. For the dissolution of the amity little answer is needed. Has sustained overmuch evil in testimony of it to work the contrary. It would have been better seen what his dealing profited for entertaining it, if for the last two years he had forborne but for one day to deal therein.

3. That he has sent his servant Thomas Tyrie to deal with Monsieur D'Entragues to induce the Duke of Guise to use him and think well of him, answers that he never knew, from the day before he "pertit" till he desired leave to go to France for selling his place in the King's guard, that he was to go. Is to meet the gentleman in London where, for the better verification of this, he shall be examined, and his oath shall be taken if ever he carried from him either writing or instruction.

Wrote a letter within the last three days to Monsieur de Amies, brother to Monsieur D'Entragues, but there was no matter of "esteit" in it. Had he so dealt, would have let it come from them, for he has been sought thirty times in the past two years.

4. Never craved an embassy, but thinks some here dealt in it.

5. Touching the matter of his majesty's mother, assures him that he persuaded the King to the contrary as long as he durst, till it was like to procure his disgrace. It caused his "unfreindis" to deal with the King for his employment, thinking he would refuse. Indeed, would have refused if he had not been advertised of their design in time. Seeing that he must "enterprise" it, prays he will take it in the service he means, and that, if he minds not to save her life upon capitulation, he procure that he [Gray] is either stayed by the way or commanded to retire.

Has written thus that he may answer for him to her majesty and others. Her majesty has now done him the second wrong, to condemn him before she judge.

Prays that the Earl of Leicester may see this. Holyrood.
Signed: Master of Gray.

2 pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Dec. 14. **195.** [R. COLVILE] TO ROBERT BOWES.

C.P., vol. XX.

Sir, my humble duty remembered. I thought good since our last conference at the Court—for that my lord minds within these few days to go down into the country—to set down in writing such reasons and arguments for my present employment as I would—

Elizabeth.

1586.

under correction—at your next talk with his honour have him to be informed of. For, let no man imagine or think that the late wonderful and miraculous discovery has put an end to their devilish devices and practices, but they continue still in that malicious mind towards her majesty and the State.

As I understood, his holiness was lately advised by some desperate persons entering into the like attempt that, notwithstanding their apprehension, yea, and execution, he should not desist, but by all means possible prosecute his intended purpose, for, at some time or other, it should take effect. Also in a letter written by the Scottish Queen to Anthony Babington does she not will him that, though she was committed to the Tower, yea, or hardlier handled, he should, notwithstanding, persevere to put his devilish practices in execution, which argues their constancy in their satanical attempts?

And as no doubt they are quick for invention, politic in contriving, and constant in persevering, so are they as subtle, yea, and wise in their generation—I may use Christ's term—in discovering of any contrary policy managed against their devices and proceedings. For to what end should some of them tell me of late upon conference had privately of those causes touching the Queen of Scots, I affirming that I durst adventure a great matter she should be put to death, since it was by act of Parliament concluded lawful, and by all the states of this realm both spiritual and temporal humbly desired at her majesty's hands, and that they could find no way for her majesty's security and preservation but by her death?

“Tush, Tush,” said one of them. “All this notwithstanding she shall not die, for all these proceedings are but policies to restrain and bridle the attempts of Catholics, because in her is their only rest. And now for her preservation and life they deem the Catholics dare not attempt anything lest it should be to her prejudice and execution. But,” saith he, “God can turn this policy against themselves for the propagation of His church,” as he doubted not but He would. Which argues that their malice ceases not, but that they are still devising how to “ruinate” this noble estate, which I pray God, for our sins and offences, He suffer not.

It has been a great saying amongst them *sublata causa tollitur effectum*. What their secret meaning thereof was, I know not, but evil being taken away the effect might cease. There is no policy against God: she has deserved to die. God has commanded she should die: she has sold herself to work wickedness, and therefore she ought to die. God grant that her life make not poor England smart!

How God dealt with Saul for not executing Agag, whom he had given into his hand for that purpose, you know. How God used Ahab for sparing of Benhadad, you are not ignorant. Thou shalt not suffer an idolator to live. Yea, so jealous is God of His honour, and so severe in punishing idolaters that, for worshipping the calf in the absence of Moses, the father was commanded to kill his son and the son his father, and to have no pity or compassion one upon another—a thing otherwise very unnatural. Pardon

Elizabeth.

1586. me, good sir, if I write somewhat too boldly in matters of so weighty consequence, but a certain zeal, which is of God, has made me digress from my former purpose.

Now of late I saw a letter sent by Simpson, the party who first persuaded me to get over sea, and who was banished out of the Marshalsea, whose letters I have as a commendum to Doctor Barrat and others at Rheims for my better preferment there when I should come. The conclusion of which his letters—written to a friend of his—I saw only, which in effect was this:—"I do greatly marvel that Mr. Glover has not kept promise with me in repairing hither. I fear me he is like the young man that was very rich, who went away sorrowing when Christ bade him sell all that he had and give to the poor and come and follow Him. So he is loth to leave his worldly preferment and to save his soul and many others. Tell him from me that I have been at Rome and am returned hither into France by Spain. If he come over now the next spring I have left order at Rouen, Dieppe, and at Paris also for him; he shall want nothing. Let him not doubt thereof. I myself will be at Rheims, where I mind to stay this winter. Tell him now is the time to do himself good, and the Church. But let him not fear, for God is on our side. I will procure him all the good that I can; for the rest I leave to you. Let him bring the certainty of all matters there, *etc.*" This was the contents of that part of his letter which concerned me, as near as I can remember.

Now, sir, I am assured that this man is very much employed with them in matters of great weight, and, if you call to remembrance, I showed you once his letter to Doctor Barrat in my behalf, which I have yet, wherein he writes that he should employ me in the same place with as great trust as he used him, and that I was the man of whom he so often told him.

Now, these things considered, I suppose never a man in England had better means to discover their malicious treasons and practices against her majesty and the state than I have, if I were employed. And God is my witness, it is not only the cause of my preferment that made me first enter into this course, though I have great reason to seek my own benefit, but the detestation and hatred of their false worship of God and damnable religion, whereupon all their satanical practices are founded. And this consideration comes often into my mind—Who knows whether God, by the means of me, a poor simple man, shall work a miraculous work for His Church and chosen of England? For I have often observed that God ordinarily affects matters contrary to man's judgment, and chooses weak things to confound strong and mighty things, for the wisdom of this world is foolishness with Him.

Good sir, think this spoken of me *ex sincero cordis affectu* and not colourably, for I say this, and my conscience shall accuse me thereof, if I should any ways deceive you, that the religion which we profess in England is true, perfect and sincere, grounded upon the sacred word of God, theirs clean contrary, founded upon man's traditions. The one shall remain when heaven and earth shall fail. The other is even now in the war, and almost all nations perceive the palpable ignorance wherein they have been led.

If I should so much strive against God, against my country and

Elizabeth.
1586.

sacred Elizabeth, what reward were there for me but misery and shame in this world, and everlasting torment in the world to come? I pronounce this sentence against myself if I be false, and therefore, good sir, let no man doubt me.

Under his honour's correction I think it very expedient—if he mind to use my service herein—that I should now presently, after Christmas, be committed to the Marshalsea for a month or two upon colour of an escape to be purposed by me over sea, and for that my lord minds presently to go down into the country, it will fall out in my conceit very fitly, and yet his honour not to be at the charge of a pursuivant or any others for to bring me up.

After this sort I know his honour shall have occasion to write to my lord, wherein, if it shall stand with his honour's liking, he may move my lord that he has a man whose name is Glover, who, upon the late apprehension and examination of certain priests, seems to be touched with weighty matters, and therefore to will his lordship that he send me up forthwith, but not to make me privy thereof, but only that he should send me with answer of his honour's letters, as ordinarily he is accustomed to send other of his servants; which done, I know my lord will perform accordingly. Then may his honour presently commit me as aforesaid, and signify unto my lord that I rest upon further examination, wherewith I know he will be satisfied.

By this means shall I thoroughly acquaint myself with them in the Marshalsea, and so be known of others their favourers, which are too many, God knows, yea, and some of the greatest, so that when I am to go over, having such a faithful commendation from them, and being so perfectly known amongst them—for from hence must my credit arise—I shall no doubt be made acquainted with their secretest attempts of greatest moment. And I would rather go down to Portsmouth than be committed now presently, for that I have two or three good fellows thereabouts with whom I am required by them to talk.

In Scotland I think were now some great service to be done herein, for no doubt that place is a receptacle for many English traitors and others envious of our blessed state. But my acquaintance there as yet is small, but by this means no doubt I shall shortly have enough to insinuate myself into the company of the chiefest. Well, in all these things I refer me to his honour's wise direction, and my rude scribbling to your patient acceptation.

In the conclusion of my letter I fall to begging, and very necessity enforces me thereto. I thought to move you herein at the Court, but I assure you, sir, shame refrained me. But paper cannot blush. My suit is that it would please you now against this good time—as beggars are wont to crave—to vouchsafe me a cast suit of your apparel. For I protest before God, saving these clothes I wear, I have neither doublet nor hose to shift me with, and know not how to get any. For, my lord—I may say to you in secret—is so miserable that he never enters into consideration how a man should live, nor cares not, so his turn be served, in what sort a man follow him.

Good sir, pardon me, and let my necessity be an excuse for my boldness. And so I rest yours in all dutiful affection and loyal

Elizabeth.

1586. service during life, being not able any other way to requite your great favour. Westminster. *Signed*: R. Colville [*crossed out*].

2½ pp. *Indorsed by Walsingham*: "From Barton to Mr. R. Bowes about ye Q. of Scot."

Dec. 14. 196. HENRY III., KING OF FRANCE, TO MONSIEUR COURCELLES.

I have had your letters of the last day of October and 30th of November, wherein I have been very glad to perceive that the King of Scotland my nephew has not yielded to those who wished by many artifices to persuade him to forsake the Queen his mother in the affliction she is in, putting before him the prejudice that he might do himself for the future by embracing her cause and defence. Wherein he has shown himself very virtuous and of a good disposition, having sent his ambassadors to the Queen of England, who have declared to her that he would renounce all treaties of alliance which he has with her if she should cause to be put in execution the sentence which has been given against his mother. This office will acquire for him great honour and reputation with all the princes of Christendom, who would greatly have blamed him if he had not bestirred himself for such a matter, besides that his interest is greatly concerned therein. Which you will have ever again to put before his eyes, and that he ought well to foresee that those who shall have the power to put his said mother to death, will not hesitate afterwards to attempt and essay the like towards him, deeming that it cannot be but that there remains in him the will to avenge himself of it.

I am very satisfied hereof, that you advertise me so particularly of the things which present themselves in those parts, wherein I desire that you continue. And as to the state of my affairs, I will tell you that the Queen my lady and mother commenced to see the King of Navarre the 13th of this month, being indeed entered that day; and the next day well advanced in proposals about the matter of the pacification of the troubles of this kingdom, whereof I hope, by God's help, some good conclusion. Nevertheless some time may pass therein, as things of so great importance cannot be so soon concluded. Also that the said King of Navarre has asked for some time in order to advertise his friends and the churches of France. Paris. 24 Dec.* 1586. *Signed*: Henry and Brulart.

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 139.

Dec. 15. 197. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Pleis your honour, from France I haif ressaved advertisment that Colonell Stewart is cummed to Paris, who of layte was wyth the Prince of Parma."

"Sen his cumming thyther he hes had dyvers assemblies of the bannished Inglesmen in the Bishoppe of Glasgow his lodgeindge and in that lodgeynd of the ambassadour of Spaynis. He gevis it owt that his erand is to procure the King of France and Duck of Guys theyr letteris to the sayde Prince in favouris of his bedfalle.

Elizabeth.

1586.

Bot I can not lern to what purpose these frequent assemblyes of Inglesmen shuld be conwenit. Be all apparence it seameth that wythowt thayr helpe he mycht obteyn eny such sute, which maketh to suspect that sum uther mater is in wyrring, whearof I haif thocht gud to mak your honour advertised, to the end that ordour may be gevin to know the certaynty."

"I pray your honour to speik to Mr. Davison that we may ressave sum anssour anent such mater as we haif wrytin to him. What his anssour shalbe I cayr note, so that it appeir to my collegue that I omitt no part of my deuty in materris committed to my charge."

"Those piraceis will not fayle to wyrrk ill effectis in our cuntry, onles sum spedy ordour shalbe gevin for ramedy."

Signed: A. Douglas.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 17. **198. LORD SCROPE TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 611.

Received last night his letter of the 11th instant with the proclamation touching the Queen of Scots, and gives him hearty thanks for it. Is right glad to hear of her majesty's continued resolution that the execution of the statute in that case provided shall be permitted to be proceeded in against the Scottish Queen according to her just desert. So would more gladly rejoice to understand that by giving her that due reward such a dangerous and corrupt canker were indeed killed, for the happier health of their most precious head and the preservation of the whole body from apparent peril. Prays God long to keep them from this and all like poisons, to His glory and the comfort of them all.

Whereas he desires that the party known should be sent to look into Maxwell's doings and what comfort he has or expects out of England or from places beyond the seas, he may understand that the same party is now in Scotland—as he is informed—for the understanding of matters in hand and to be resolved on at the convention. Upon his return will acquaint him with such things as shall thereon come to his hand, and also will travail with that party to examine Maxwell's part in such things as he requires.

Touching his former advertisement of the passage of Ingleby into Scotland by Whithaw and Hoddam, dares assure the same to be true, having good proof that he was with Maxwell about Holyrood Day last. Sees that the mistaking of the time of his passage made him doubt the certainty thereof, whereof he can now put him out of doubt. Also is credibly advertised that the said Ingleby with two or three other Englishmen are at present with Maxwell, and quietly put up by him in a secret corner of Scotland. Is promised that the lurking place shall be made known to him in a few days, when he shall be advertised of the same.

All the noblemen and gentlemen in these parts—Maxwell excepted—are said to have "entered" their journey this day towards this great convention. Hears it is to begin on Monday next.

Is credibly informed that Maxwell has given out to some of his friends that the cause of the calling of this convention is especially for two ends, one for a liberty of conscience in religion,

Elizabeth.

1586. the other to give up the league with England, by general assent. Carlisle. *Signed*: H. Scrope.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 17. **199.** SIR JOHN MAITLAND TO WALSINGHAM.

His sovereign, moved by the duty of a son and the bond of nature between himself and his mother to intercede for her life, has chosen the Master of Gray, who has always worked to conserve the amity between the two crowns, and Sir Robert Melville, a gentleman well known in England.

He is his kinsman and dear friend, therefore recommends him to him, notwithstanding some hard "conceit" may be bred of him through misreport growing upon faction. Assures him no one more apt to be employed could have been chosen, seeing his affection to the amity between the crowns, and his devotion to the Queen, of whom he thankfully acknowledges to hold his life.

Will be glad to hear that he is taken well with him, and doubts not he will endeavour to deserve his favour.

Has committed to the bearer some things to be imparted to him, to whom he carries a great affection. Prays he will give him credit in what he shall say. Holyrood. *Signed*: Jo. Maitland.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 18. **200.** WALSINGHAM TO [THOMAS PHILIPPES].

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 617b.

After my hearty congratulations. Her majesty, understanding that the coffer with the Queen of Scots' accounts is not yet sent down, is displeased therewith and imputes a fault of negligence in me. I pray you therefore to let me understand what has been the cause of the stay thereof, for if I had known that you could not convey the same I would have devised some means that it should have been sent before this time. And so I commit you to God. Barn Elms. *Signed*: "Your verie loving frende, Fra: Walsyngham."

Postscript—Her majesty finds some fault that the original letters interrupted be not brought in to her with the extract you promised to make.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Postscript in Walsingham's hand. Addressed*: "Mr Phelippes."

Dec. 18. **201.** JAMES MELVILLE TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"My lord, albeid my brother neidis no recommendation of myn at your handis, nether neid I by hym—who will be mouth mak you participant of th'estait—to use many wordis, yet I can not bot congratulat you in your office of secretary, as weall deserved of your part, and weall acknaulegit by the Quenis Majestie your Souverain, assuring you that as I was of before frend to your vertus I am no les reiosed of your promotion, for the firm confidence I have to se a personage of vertu in place till advance the glory of God, till entertean amytie between ther twa realmes, and to keip constant frendship with his frend. Wherwith my hartly

Elizabeth.

1586. recommendatioun I tak my leave, preing God, good Mester Secretary, to grant yow happy success in your office, with health and honour." Edinburgh. *Signed: James Melville.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 19. **202. MARY TO ELIZABETH.**

C.P., vol. XX.

And then I know that you, more than any other, ought to be touched to the heart by the honour or dishonour of your race, and of a queen, the daughter of a king. Then, madam, by the honour of Jesus—under whose name all powers obey—I require you to permit, after my enemies shall have satisfied their desire for my innocent blood, that my poor desolate servants all together may carry away my body to be buried in holy ground, and with some of my predecessors who are in France, especially the late queen my mother; and this in consideration that in Scotland the bodies of the kings my predecessors have been outraged, and the churches thrown down and profaned, and that, suffering in this country, I cannot have place by your predecessors, who are mine: and what is more, according to our religion, we set great store by being interred in holy ground.

And since I have been told that you do not wish in anything to force my conscience against my religion, and that you have even granted me a priest, I hope that you will not refuse me this last request, permitting at least free burial to the body from which the soul will have been severed, since being united they have never been able to obtain liberty to live in peace while procuring it for yourself. For which before God I give you no blame: but may God cause you to see the truth of all after my death. And because also I fear the secret tyranny of some, I pray you not to permit that my execution take place without your knowledge; not for fear of the torment, which I am very ready to suffer, but for the rumour that would be spread about my death, without witnesses not suspected; which has been done, as I am persuaded, about others of different rank. To avoid which I require that my servants may remain spectators and witnesses of my end in the faith of my Saviour and the obedience of His church; and that all together carrying away my body, as secretly as it shall please you, they may withdraw themselves without there being taken from them either their movable goods nor that which in dying I may leave them, which is very little for their good services. A jewel which I received from you I shall send back to you with my last words, or sooner if it please you. I entreat you again, and require you in the name of Jesus Christ, out of respect for our consanguinity, and for the sake of King Henry the seventh, your ancestor and mine, and by the honour of the dignity which we have held and of the sex common between us, that my request may be granted to me. For the rest I think you will well have known that in your name my canopy has been taken down, and afterwards I was told that it was not by your command, but by the advice of some of the council: I praise God for such cruelty, it serving only to wreak malice, and to afflict me after having made up my mind to death; I fear that there may be many other such things.

$1\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French. Extract. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1586.

Dec. 20.

203. JAMES VI. TO LORD SCROPE.

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 44.

“Trustie and weilbelovit cosing, we greit yow hartely weill. After we had anis appointit our cousinge the erll of Angusse our Lientenante ower the haill Marches of our realme foranempt England, uppon occasioun of sum speciall and wegthy causses occurrand that necessarlie requierit the presence of the principallis of our nobillity and estattes, we callit him backe againe from the Borderis, and for the better furtherance of justice and quietinge of the West March of our realme owt of the presente disorder, we have appointed our right traist cousinge and counsaloure the Lord Hamilton our Justice and Lientenaunte in our West March, quha intendis with all gudelie dilligence to be at Dunfreis for that effect.

But because his travell cannot be greatlie effectuall without your good concurrency and assistance, we have thought convenient by our awne letter hertely to requier you that he maye fynde the same indeit at your handis, incaise he salhave to do with your ayde to the punishment of ony our rebellis and fugitives: and speciallie that nane of them find ressett or refuge within the boundis of your office, and that ye will certefy him by your letter what he maye lippin for in that behalfe, accordinge to that gude affection quhilk ze have alwyse declarit to the furtherance of justice and continuawnce of the gude anytie betuix the realmes, and will do us thanckfull pleasure.” Holyrood.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Scal.*

Dec. 21. **204. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS AND WILLIAM KEITH TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

“Pleis your honour, throw occasion of letteris ressavd from Scotland, whearin sum mater is contened necessary to be delivered to hir majestie, we haif thocht it convenient to pray your honour so to move hir hyenes that it may be hir pleassour to lat us haif knowledg when hir hyenes best lesare may serve for this effect.” London. *Signed: A. Douglas, W. Keithe.*

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *In Mr. Archibald Douglas's hand, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 21. **205. MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XX.

Sending you now the papers here inclosed for the Queen of Scotland my mistress, I have presumed to add thereto some little notes for myself, upon which I beseech you to let me know your answer. If, as it has pleased you to promise me already, you continue in this resolution to send for my goods hither, I entreat you to despatch to the place some one of your people at my expense to receive them in order, according to the list that I will deliver to him thereof, in order that nothing may be wanting. I recommend to you with all the affection that I may this permission, to be able to send instructions to my brother-in-law for the recovery of some moneys which are due to me, whereof the delay matters no less to me than the loss of the said debts. From your house. *Signed: Nau.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.

1586.

footmen—do greatly and manifestly threaten some dangerous device against this country, or at the least for the disquieting of these Borders, and therefore, for the better preservation thereof from apparent perils, and to stop or discover any enterprise or incursion that may suddenly be attempted by him, I think it very requisite that some fifty horsemen to be levied in this country were for some time “laid” on these Borders and be always in readiness, “which for the better strengtheninge of some weaknes and execution of requisyte services heare, for whose mayntenance till yt might be seene what these thinges would turne unto,” I most instantly desire that they may be allowed 12*d.* “le ppeece” *per diem*. And for the effecting whereof I most heartily pray you earnestly and effectually to move her majesty herein. For which purpose also I have written to my lord lieutenant, who, I trust, in considering the necessity thereof, known to his lordship, will advance and further the same. And thus heartily praying your lordship to send me her majesty’s resolution herein as soon as opportunity may serve you to procure the same, I wholly commend this matter to be advanced by yourself. Carlisle. *Signed*: H. Scrope.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Dec. 25. **208.** MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSLINGHAM.

Thought good by these few lines to let him know of his “hithercuming” from his majesty, having in commission with him Sir Robert Melville, whom he awaits here at Stamford. If he comes not, will “abyd” him at Ware. Their instructions are so modest that her majesty will think the King’s meaning otherwise than it was thought by her to be in his letter to William Keith.

Omitted that point in his letter sent to him by James Hudson, but now swears that the King’s meaning in his letter was modest, and not menacing. Knew nothing of it till it was written, and then, indeed, showed his majesty that it might likely be misconstrued, as afterwards fell out. His majesty meant so simply in it that he would not “reforme” it.

For himself, saw only the copy, but the Secretary saw his majesty write the letter. Thinks his majesty’s last letter satisfied that point fully, and there only remains to confirm his [the master’s] own purgation.

If it ever prove true that at any time these two years past, since he was in England, he wrote to any man in France or elsewhere suspected to be her majesty’s “unfreind,” will stand content on a “schaffald” to have his “haud cout afe,” provided that if it prove false—as it will—her majesty say that she has twice wronged him.

If this offer be not taken, remembers her majesty’s promise to him that before ever she trusted [*sic*] him she would acquaint him with it, which was not performed, and his promise never to alter his course or goodwill to her majesty, without acquainting her first with it, which he has duly performed, and minds to perform.

Prays he may have her majesty’s mind, for is loth that any Prince should cast him off. Whenever a Prince “lichtest” a poor man the world esteems the poor man to be in the wrong, and to have done some notable fault in that service.

Elizabeth.
1586.

If ever he committed any it was not for either having used any other way or for having left any undone that might advance her service, but rather for having gone further than good reason would he should.

As for his commission, her majesty shall find it honourable and modest, and hopes to her contentment. Stamford. *Signed*: Master of Gray.

2 pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 25. **209.** WALSINGHAM TO [].

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 613.

My lords mean to take order with the seminary priests by banishment of some, executing others, and by committing the rest to Wisbeach or some suchlike place under an honest keeper. I have thought good to send you a register of their names that you may confer with the party you wrote of, and desire him to set down their abilities to do harm in their several kinds. I take it there will be found very few of them fit to do good. Barnes. *Signed*: Fra : Walsyngham.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph. No address. Written above in a clerk's hand, "Babingtons treasons."*

Dec. 31. **210.** MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XX.

This note will be only to accompany the papers here enclosed, which lately, through too great haste, were omitted to be sent to the Queen of Scotland, having been unwilling to fail to address them to you in order that you may, if you please, send them to her, forasmuch as they are very necessary to her. I await in true devotion the answer to my last supplications when your convenience will allow, for otherwise I wish not to be importunate to you about it. Only I will entreat you, Sir, in case it please you—as I have requested you—to grant me some one of your people for the recovery and conduct hither of my goods, and to provide for the payment of the portions which are to be restored upon the moneys found in my keeping to some officers of the said Queen, whereof I have sent you a list, you will do me this favour to commit the charge thereof to some one understanding French, forasmuch as I cannot prepare notes or information in any other language, and the said officers are all French. Saving your better direction, to which I refer myself entirely, I think that this bearer would acquit himself very well therein if you were agreeable, whereof I beseech you very humbly, and to pardon me the boldness that I use in proposing him to you. From your house in London. *Signed*: Nau.

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. **211.** MEMORIAL [ADDRESSED BY MM. BELLÈVRE AND DE L'AUBESPINE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH; WITH HER ANSWER.

Cott. Calig.,
B. VIII.,
fol. 160.

Madam, We have made

Her majesty having well known to the King our master considered the whole content of your good brother the answer

Elizabeth.
1586.

the things set forth in this declaration, has occasion to think that my lords the ambassadors have not fully made known to the King their master the answers made by her.

For she considers that if the King had been duly advertised of the state of the cause touching the true matter of the Queen of Scotland, and of the manner of proceeding whereof her majesty has made use, in all honour and sincerity, for the examination and proof of that same matter, and of the sentence subsequently given against her, with the public intercession of all the estates of the realm that justice might be done, without which there had been neither order nor means that could be advised upon for the preservation of the life of her majesty or of the tranquillity of the realm, the said lord the King would not have willed his ambassadors to use so many exhortations and urgent requests as they have done to save the life (against all reason and justice) of her who was so criminal, and to continue the danger to the life of her majesty who is quite innocent; and by the same means to risk the subversion of the realm, as by some notes following concerning the details contained in this declaration will manifestly appear; and that her majesty has good reason to think that those ambassadors have either made an error, or used partiality in their advertisements given to the King.

It is a thing quite agreeable to justice and honour that more regard and favour should be had to the preservation of the life of the Queen, being the innocent party and the one who has been,

which it pleased you to make to us upon that which we had prayed and set forth to you on his behalf, touching the Queen of Scotland, in two audiences which your majesty has given us.

His most Christian majesty has been in extreme pain on seeing that which we wrote to him thereof, not only in respect to the said lady the Queen of Scotland, who is his kinswoman, his ally and his sister-in-law, but also in respect to yourself, madam, of whose friendship the said lord makes, and desires all his life long to make, much account, having it in high regard and esteem.

He begs you once more, madam, that you will take into your wise consideration the prayer which he has made to

Elizabeth.

1586.

is, and always will be in evident peril by the continuation of the Queen of Scotland, than to that lady the Queen, being the guilty party and condemned for having horribly contrived and practised the death of her majesty in her own kingdom, and for whose sake the most wretched and most inhuman practices that can be devised will not be omitted in order to take her majesty's life.

It is well said in all truth that her majesty has many times declared her goodness and clemency, in that she has sought no vengeance. Yet if her majesty had been willing to believe, and to consent to judgement at the advice and earnest request made on the part of her whole realm, that punishment might be inflicted for the public injuries previously done against her estate, this offence and crime had not now happened.

It is very easy to say that the King judges that the death of the Queen of Scotland befalling would be infinitely more prejudicial to her majesty than her life. But there is no reason adduced. Whereas on the contrary, after long and mature consideration had by the whole

you thereanent, which he deems full of justice and honour, and to be no less for your good than for that of the person in favour of whom he returns to entreat you not to refuse.

When the King your good brother speaks in order to preserve the life of the Queen of Scotland his sister-in-law, when his majesty speaks for the cause which is common to all kings, he does not at all deem that you should thence derive opinion that it is desired to speak to your prejudice. The said lord acknowledges you as a queen and sovereign princess, who has in this matter a common interest with other kings and sovereign princes, and a particular one, inasmuch as the said lady the Queen of Scotland is also your nearest kinswoman.

And as to the offence that your majesty professes to have been done to yourself, your goodness has many times declared that you seek no vengeance therefor, and thus we believe it. But as to the doubt which remains to you, that in preserving the life of the Queen of Scotland your own may be in danger, for which alone you desire provision to be made, the King your good brother enters into this thought with your majesty, as is very reasonable; and considering whence more evil and danger might befall you, or repose, safety and contentment, as well in regard to your person as to your affairs, he judges that without any doubt the death of the Queen of Scotland befalling thus as some counsel you, would be infinitely more prejudicial to you than her life can inconvenience you. I do not wish to dwell upon what some say, that

Elizabeth.

1586.

council of the realm in the assembly of the estates, the said council having been many times enjoined by the Queen (who had in no wise any desire that the life of the Queen of Scotland should be touched) that they should advise how, by some other means, both the life of her majesty and the kingdom might be secured, it has been concluded, judged, and solemnly declared to her majesty herself, that whereas the Queen of Scotland was justly condemned for attempting the death of her majesty by violence; also seeing the enormity and horror as well of this action as of her other previous attempts against the most legitimate and royal title and peaceable possession of her majesty of this crown (which the said Queen has never yet renounced as she ought and was bound to do); and considering also her frequent pursuits and solicitations to draw foreign forces against this realm; the said estates have judged it to be a thing more than necessary that justice be done upon her, and that without prompt execution of such justice neither could the life of her majesty be in safety, nor the kingdom out of danger of being wholly overthrown: and that this sentence has been conceived and pronounced only upon very good grounds, and after mature deliberation by those to whom, by ancient right and custom of the realm, the cognisance and consideration of such important affairs properly appertains; as likewise in all kingdoms and republics, the public causes which concern their estates are by their common council known, ordered and judged, according to the laws and affairs of those kingdoms.

it is to be feared that the said lady may make some fresh attempt against the person of your majesty. We deem that there is far less to fear for your majesty while she is living and in your hands than if she were dead.

Elizabeth.
1586.

The experience that has been had of previous dealings, originally and directly proceeding from the said Queen herself, and by herself, when she was yet (as is pretended) a prisoner; and the continual practices of her accomplices and abettors, bear only too certain witness to the contrary of that which is here said, as of a thing very far from the truth, to wit, that she could not harm the least of the servants of her majesty, seeing that she is so straitly detained.

For assuredly not only the least servants, but also the highest personage, who is the chief of the realm, and the principal parties under that same, would be in continual danger of their lives, in whatsoever place and manner the said Queen might be detained, so long as her wretched accomplices, the rebels of this realm, should be fed and nourished with a hope of her exaltation, through the ruin and destruction of her majesty and of her most faithful servants and good subjects.

When she first came into this kingdom she was not made prisoner, but only arrested that she might not leave it, and she lived in the estate and rank fitting to a queen, with her own train and household, in the houses of great lords, as first in the house of my lord Scrope, an ancient baron of the realm, having the service and free recourse of all her servants whosoever they were, even of those whom she ordained to be her ambassadors to her majesty, to wit of the bishop of Ross, of my lord Boyd and my lord Levington, all three yet living, my lord Herries and the lord of "Skerlin," comptroller of

God has given such ability and understanding to your majesty, that if the said lady should be free, within your realm or elsewhere, you would know well how to defend yourself from her. But she is so straitly detained, that she could not harm the least of your servants.

Hardly had she attained the age of 25 years, when she was retained as your prisoner, and deprived of communication with persons of counsel, which has made it more easy for those to deceive her, who have maliciously desired to bring about and facilitate to her some v. imprudent counsels.

Elizabeth.

1586. Scotland, the lord of Hamilton, master of the household, the lord of Fleming, the lord of Whitelaw, besides many other lords of the Scottish nobility.

And in this liberty she continued until it was afterwards discovered that she had secretly practised to corrupt the duke of Norfolk (who was not then married) by means of a secret offer of marriage, the which duke was then chief of the deputies at the town of York (near to the place of the sojourn of the said Queen) to hear the differences between her and her subjects. Which gave occasion to cause her to be thereafter withdrawn to a castle of her majesty named Tutbury, whereof the earl of Shrewsbury had then the custody, one of the oldest earls of the realm, to whom the said Queen was then given in charge.

And in this place she continued, enjoying her former liberty, until there was again discovered and manifestly verified a new practice and design to accomplish the afore-said marriage with the said duke. And this wholly without the knowledge of the Queen, even by way of force and violence against the will and pleasure of her majesty.

Whereupon the said Queen of Scotland did so much that a rebellion was raised in the north country by some lords of the nobility, adherents of the said duke, who had secretly been parties to the practice which had been made for the said marriage. Which rebellion by the grace of God was promptly extinguished and quelled, and the leaders dispersed, whereof one was the earl of Westmoreland, who had then married the sister of the said duke, and now goes to and fro in France.

Elizabeth.
1586.

Then also the said Queen and duke sent secretly to the pope, to the King of Spain and to the Duke of Alva, soliciting them with all entreaty to cause this realm to be invaded by foreign forces. For the which crimes of *lèse majesté* and other the like manifestly proved the said duke was justly condemned and executed.

But notwithstanding all these most dangerous and more than evident enterprises and dealings, there was yet nothing done nor undertaken judiciously against her, contrary to the deliberation in the assembly of the three estates, and to their very great regret.

Another construction must be put upon this, than being delivered to ransom, inasmuch as the Queen of Scotland had attempted to possess herself of the crown, under a titular pretext which she has not yet renounced as she was bound to do. And such an injury continuing cannot be redeemed by any ransom.

As to that which is here said, that until this present my lord ambassador has neither heard nor been able to understand any reason whatsoever whereby it can be maintained that she is under the jurisdiction of her majesty, it is very strange that he who has made a profession of law, and is well versed in the history of such matters and occurrences, and who is a chief counsellor to a sovereign king (as also the Queen of England is a sovereign princess) should be willing to make such an assertion.

For herein, that at the beginning of this declaration he has acknowledged her majesty as a sovereign princess, he cannot make any other person equal

If, while ruling in Scotland and being obeyed there as queen, she had entered into this your realm to deprive you of estate and life, and it had happened that she fell into your power, she could not by right of war expect any harder treatment than to pay a good ransom.

For until this present I have not heard nor been able to understand any reason whatsoever whereby it can be maintained that she is under your jurisdiction.

The said lady entered your kingdom as a suppliant,

Elizabeth.

1586.

to her in her own kingdom. And whereas he wishes to give the name of sovereign princess to the Queen of Scotland (which is a title which can with difficulty be attributed to her and to the King her son both together and at one and the same time, he reigning at present as sovereign prince) so it is, that neither she nor any other person in the world can be taken or reputed as a sovereign princess here in England during the life of her majesty. It follows then necessarily that the Queen of Scotland, being no sovereign princess in this realm of England, must be an inferior person. For there is in this place no equality or sovereignty.

Moreover, my lord ambassador, as a person who understands the laws, and has made profession thereof, and who owes his obedience to the laws, ought to remember the law which follows in the code, *Ubi de crimine agi oporteat*, where it is said:—*Quia in provincia quis deliquit aut criminum reus sit, sive de terra, sive de alia qualibet occasione vel de qualibet re fuerit reus, illic etiam juri subiaceat*. And for answer to that which might be objected in respect of her rank and quality, this is also held for a law: *Quod delinquens in alieno territorio, et ibi repertus, punitur in loco delicti, nulla habita ratione dignitatis, honoris aut privilegii*.

But it will be said that no mention is here made of queens. In truth there is none made especially of this Queen of Scotland. But there are many examples as well of kings as of queens who have conformed and who agree to these laws, as in the matter of Robert, King of Sicily, Bernard, King of Italy,

persecuted by a very great affliction. A sovereign princess and your nearest kinswoman, she has been here long, in hope of being restored to her kingdom by your goodness and favour. All these great hopes have up to this present yielded her naught but a perpetual prison.

Moreover, it having lately pleased your majesty to tell us that you desired only to find means whereby it might be done, that in saving the life of the Queen of Scotland you would not put your own in danger, we made it known to the King our master, your majesty's good brother, in order to receive his command thereupon. His majesty would desire above all things in this world to be able to devise some good means which should be to your contentment, although the thing seems to him to be entirely in your hands, who are detaining the Queen of Scotland prisoner and have her in your power.

That noble princess is now

Elizabeth.

1586.

Elizabeth Queen of Hungary, Charles the second King of Naples, Conrad also King of Naples: and for greater antiquity, the King Deiotarus, King of Armenia, had not his cause pleaded by Cicero, as my lord ambassador alleges, because he was a king, but really because he was in no wise guilty of the crimes imputed to him, but had only been suspected, as appears evidently by the thread of the oration.

The beginning of this sentence is needed, as it was uttered by Cicero, for he said:—*Quod primum dico pro capite fortunisque regis, quod ipsum etsi non iniquum est in tuo duntaxat periculo, tamen est ita inusitatum*, etc. And it must be noted that there is a great difference between the cause of the King Deiotarus and that of the Queen of Scotland. For it appears that there were no proofs against him, but only some suspicions, as it is easy to see by these words following in the oration:—*Arguitur domi te sue interficere voluisse, quod tamen nisi eum furiosissimum judicas, suspicari profecto non potes*.

And then afterwards in another place:—*A viro optimo et ab homine non stulto cogitatum esse confingitis, at quam non modo non credibiliter, sed ne [susp]iciose quidem*.

History sets forth the cause wherefore Porsena removed the hand of Q. Mutius from over the fire, which was, because Porsena having found him in no wise amazed that his hand was to be burned, and being much astonished thereat, said that, although Mutius should not die

so and humiliated, that her greatest enemies might have compassion upon her. Which makes me hope the more from the clemency and generosity of your majesty.

For, what more remains to the Queen of Scotland than a very wretched life of very few days? Never in the world has such a judgment been given against a sovereign queen. Nor has such an idea ever entered our minds as that your majesty could resolve upon so rigorous an execution.

Cicero said to Julius Cæsar, speaking for the King Deiotarus:—*Est ita inusitatum regem capitis reum esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum*.

If the Queen of Scotland is innocent, it is just that she be discharged from this accusation; if you deem her guilty, it is honourable to you, it is useful to you to pardon her.

If your majesty shall do it, you shall do what good princes have been wont to do. King Porsena removed the hand of Q. Mutius from over the fire, and pardoned him who confessed and boasted that he had entered his army in order to kill and assassinate him.

Elizabeth.

1586. [*sic*], yet Porsena could not escape, Mutius being only one of the three hundred who had vowed to kill Porsena if he would not raise his siege, and he did not think fit to put Mutius to death. Thus this cause of Porsena cannot serve as an example to the Queen, to save the life of the Queen of Scotland.

These words contain a too general prohibition of the shedding of blood. For there are precepts which limit when it may be done and when it ought to be done. The most ancient precept was given by God to Noah, *Quicumque sanguinem humanum effuderit, fundetur sanguis illius*. But to all the prohibitions against the shedding of blood which are mentioned in the holy scriptures these words are for the most part added, *sanguinem innoxium*, and in this sense these admonitions may well have place. And for the result which follows from a too liberal and immoderate shedding of blood, unsparingly and indifferently done, even to thereby offending God, my lord ambassador can but judge in his conscience that, both before the bloody day of St. Bartholomew and also since, this sentence has been only too often verified, that one bloodshed leads to another.

The offers in the King's promise of the signatures, bonds and oaths of the kinsmen of the Queen of Scotland, which one might well think to be understood of the house of Guise, cannot in any wise assure the life of her majesty, far less make compensation for it, in case she be deprived of it. True it is that the King will be able to ordain that nothing be undertaken against her majesty, and

The greatest precept for reigning well and happily is to abstain from bloodshed. One bloodshed leads to another, and such executions usually have a sequel. We are now at the feast of Christmas, when it pleased God, instead of avenging himself upon the iniquity and ingratitude of men, to send His only son our Lord Jesus Christ into this world to serve as victim and propitiation for our sins. Since we are at the feast of the nativity of our life, we must remove from our eyes and chase from our thoughts all terrible and odious things. If your majesty shall resolve upon extreme counsels against the Queen of Scotland, those who belong to her both by blood and friendship will be extremely offended thereat.

If, on the contrary, it shall please you to show kindness towards the said lady, all Christian princes will deem themselves bound to watch over your preservation. Which in the first place the King our master your good brother offers you on his part, and promises you that he will to the best of his power hinder such attempts from being made as those which are thought to have been here-

Elizabeth.

1586.

that no such attempts be made, and yet nevertheless they have twice been hatched in his realm of France without the knowledge of the King, and by the goodness of God been discovered in England; so others similar may be renewed, and that in a more secret manner that one will not be able to discover either in France or in England.

For it is not in the power of any prince to obviate the beginnings of all secret conspiracies, especially of those, the execution whereof is intended to be made outside his realm. And if afterwards it should happen that an act so horrible took its origin and was contrived within his realm and achieved in England, what would it profit to charge the King with his promise, when in truth he will have known nothing of such conspiracies, and hence will not have been able to hinder or curb them?

And put the case that for want (as may be pretended) of sufficient order given by the King (as is said) in accordance with his promise, who would be able to charge him therewith? Or if any one could charge him therewith, yet this would not be any remedy for the realm of England for the loss of so dear a queen; and also neither the nobility nor other good and faithful servants of her majesty would be able to remedy the tyranny which would ensue through her for whose sake the life of her majesty would have been taken.

And as to the signatures, bonds and oaths of those of Guise, from the greatest to the least, what assurance could England promise herself therefrom for the preservation and

tofore made against your majesty. And moreover he will give order to the kinsmen of the Queen of Scotland who are in his realm, and will cause them to bind themselves, and to sign upon their faith and honour, and to undertake for the said lady the Queen that that neither she nor any other for her will undertake anything against your majesty. Wherein his said most Christian majesty will do to you in his kingdom and everywhere else the good offices of a true brother and perfect friend.

And if your majesty, as most prudent and well-advised, shall think good to advance some other means which you judge more fitting for your safety and satisfaction, deigning to let us know them, we will employ ourselves to the best of our power most faithfully, and will serve you therein with a very good heart towards her said majesty; entreating you for these causes, madam, to be willing of your goodness to take in very good part and to consider what we have set forth to you by the very express command of the King our master, your good brother, and in no wise to deem it to be the means to secure yourself if you shall put the Queen of Scotland to death.

Your fortune is a very happy one in this your kingdom, and your renown glorious among the potentates of the world, which makes us feel sure that no one will persuade you to resolve upon a thing which would be so contrary to your previous life.

Elizabeth.

1586. safety of the life of her majesty? This is a doctrine of those whom the house of Guise nourishes and maintains, to wit, that it is a work of merit to kill the Queen, to destroy all the faithful subjects of England who do not yield to the yoke of the pope in all things. Therefore, either these oaths are of no force, or they will easily obtain dispensation therefrom.

But suppose that their oaths were firm, who would there be of the English nation who would charge them therewith in case their cousin (who is the glory of their house) chanced to obtain the crown of this realm by the assassination of her majesty's person? Who would make the pursuit thereof by justice in England against the murderers when they themselves would be the judges, or would be assisted by her for whom the murder had been perpetrated?

Much more might be alleged to overthrow and annihilate the assurances spoken of, to which in truth one can give no colour or shadow of safety whatsoever by means of them.

And no creature whatsoever will be able to find a remedy when the deed has been perpetrated, for that neither signatures, nor bonds, nor oaths can restore life to a dead person, and there seems and remains no appearance in what way the guilty could be punished. Hence these offers are but words, although on behalf of the King they ought to be taken in very good part.

It is ever repeating the same thing to say that the Queen will live in greater safety, the Queen of Scotland remaining alive, than if it should happen that she be put to death. But there

Your majesty will live in greater safety, the Queen of Scotland remaining alive, than if it should happen that she be put to death, the reasons whereof I will not dilate upon,

Elizabeth.

1586. is no reason adduced for this proposition, but only some general words reiterated afresh that bloody remedies would be rather the beginning of many ills, *etc.* To which words answer is made as before, that for the blood of innocents or martyrs it is very true, but as regards the guilty and criminal quite the contrary happens.

This conclusion embraces two points which one cannot pass without finding them strange.

The first is that my lords the ambassadors say that the judgment is rigorous and extraordinary. Wherein the said ambassadors (who have seen neither the process nor the proofs) have sufficiently harshly accused a great number of persons of nobility, honour, virtue, prudence and piety, representing on their part the whole estate of the realm, of whom it might well be said that such a manner of speaking and accusing was not at all well advised.

The second point concerns the Queen herself and the estates of the realm jointly, as if it were desired to put her majesty and the realm in fear by such words, so bitter, proffered in the name of the King, to hinder or delay their proceeding to establish the safety of her majesty's life, for which not one single sufficient reason has yet been alleged, nor offer made to obviate the dangers alleged above, still less to remove them.

9½ pp. *French.*

because your majesty can understand them better than any other.

Bloody remedies would be rather the beginning of many ills than the end of those which people say they wish to remedy. Sleep is a very necessary thing to the sick, and there is nothing which brings it sooner than the poppy, but it is only bad doctors who order it to their patients.

His most Christian majesty hopes that your goodness will reject a counsel so foreign to your sweet and benign nature which is given you against the Queen of Scotland. But if it should not be the good pleasure of your majesty to have regard to so many and so great considerations, for the sake of which we make unto you this most urgent and most affectionate prayer on behalf of the said lord the King our master, but to cause the execution to proceed of so rigorous and extraordinary a judgment, he has given us charge to tell you, Madam, that he cannot but resent it as a thing (beyond the common interest of all kings) which will greatly offend him in particular.

[Dec.]

212. ANSWER TO ALLEGATIONS OF MONSIEUR BELLIEVRE.

Cott. Calig.,
B. VIII.,
fol. 314.

"The project of an answer to the allegations of M. Bellicure as touchinge the Scottishe Quene."

"First, where they say that the Kinge their master is in great

Elizabeth.

1586. perplexity for the speciall good will he beareth to the Quenes majestie on the one syde, and for the strayte knott of alliance that is betwene hym and the Scottish Quene on the other syde."

" Her majestie dothe hope that the Kinge her good brother will have more regarde of her just cause, being in evident danger of her life, then of the Scottish Quenes case, that hath so horribly practised the destruccion of an innocent prince, her nere kinswoman, and the frenche Kinges confederate.

" Item, where they saye that the french Kinge their master, and all other soveraigne princes and the Quenes majestie her self hath interest that no example should be given that a prince soveraigne sholde be called in question of life."

" It is a more daungerous example and president on the other side wherein the French Kinge and all princes Christian, and namely the Quenes majestie, whose death hath bene so many waies practised, but that such haynous and detestable treasons sholde be punished with all severity, to discourage and staye other from the like attempts: *expedit enim reipublice ne malefacta mancant impunita*; namely such wicked attempts against the sacred persones of an anointed and innocent prince."

" Item, whereas they sayed that forasmuch as the Quenes majestie dothe seeke only to be satisfied how her majesty may be in saftie of her life, the Scottish Quene being spared; and that it is more dangerous for the Quenes majestie that the Scottish Quene sholde be taken awaye:"

" This kinde of answer is a conninge pointe of rethoricke; to drawe the question purposed absolutely by the Quenes majestie, how her majestie may be in saftie, the Scottish Quene remainynge, in a simple and plaine question absolutely and easilye to be resolved by the judgement of anie man, to a question comparatyve, which may receive argument on bothe sides, that is which of bothe is more, ether to suffer the Scottish Quene to remaine or to be taken awaye: which question her majestie hath not proposed, nether is meete to be proposed, grauntinge (as yt must nedes be done) that her majestie is undoubtedly in daunger (the Scottish Quene lyvinge) and the other parte of the question hanging uppon conjecturall future events which may happen ether waye. For where they saye the Scottish Quene hath no meane to attempt anie thinge against the Quenes majestie thonghe she were at liberty, what force this reason hath the former doinges of her and other for her do declare, at what tyme she was kept under as provident garde as mans will coulde reasonably devise, namly, the Quenes majesties daunger (as the case nowe standeth) being infinitely increased by what imminent daunger wherein the Scottish Quene and her adherentes may perceave that she dothe presently stande by justice. For avoydinge of which daunger, the Scottishe Quene and her complices can thinke of no hope of remedy, but by the

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death of her majestie (whome God longe preserve) as yt did evidently appeare at the tyme when some of the traytors were discovered, who then founde no other devise for them selves but only the present attempting of the destruccoon of her majestie. And yf the Scottish Quene, being before tyme undoubtedly without daunger of her owne life, coule finde in harte to attempt such a wicked deede, in what daunger is her majestie now that the Scottish Quene and her divilishe instruments shall imagine that the sayde Scottish Quene cannot be out of danger from hower to hower, the Quenes majestie lyvinge, and shall discourse in their braines *aut ego illam, aut illa me.*"

"Nether can the fewe daies of the Scottish Quene, which as they ambassadours do pretende cannot be many for her weaknes and afflictions, be any reason to take awaye the danger of the Quenes majestie, for that the shorter tyme the Scottish Quene hath to lyve here in this worlde, the more haste her complices will thinke they have to atchive their wicked intentions."

"Item, whereas the Frenche ambassadours do excuse the Scottishe Quenes attempts, wherby she claymed the present possession of the crowne of England, by her minoritye and unadvised counsellors:"

"They answer nothinge to that which hath bene made manifest both by her majestie and her majesties counsellors that the Scottish Quene wolde never be contented to this daye to renounee that her present usurped title, although her ambassadours had promised that she sholde so doe by solemne intreatie in her name."

"Item, whereas th'ambassadors do saye that the Scottish Quene came unto this realme as a suppliant and that she coule at most be put to her ransome, and not be detayned prisoner as she hath bene; wherby yt semed they woulde enforce that she were not to be punished for the thinges done by her during her imprisonment:"

"First, yt is to be left to the consideracion of indifferent persons whether the treaties being as they were betwene England and Scotland, together with the usurpation of the sayde Scottish Quene to the present tytle of the crowne, the Quenes majestie might not very justly deteine the Scottish Quene untill she had renounced her unjust elayme, and although her stay had not bene lawfull, yet her ambassadors do knowe right well, that a prisoner being in prison for any cause whatsoever, and committinge a crime his imprisonment [*sic*] is to be punished as a cryminall, howsoever he came first to be a prisoner."

"Item, wheare the ambassadors do saye that the Scottishe Quenes ease is to be pittied, even by her ennemies:"

"Their wisdomes do well knowe that pittie is not to be regarded in cases of justice, being of such consequence, and that pittie in such cases is more injustice and follye."

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“ Item, where the ambassadors do saye they have not harde anie reason to prove that the Scottish Quene being a soveraigne prince shold be in any wise justiciable within this realme, and that there hath never bene given any such judgment in this worlde :”

“ It semeth straunge that les [*sic*] ambassadours, being both so learned men, sholde affirme a thinge so far from their learninge, readinge and experience, for they knowe right well :—*Quod delinquens in alieno territorio, et ibi repertus, punitur in loco delicti, nulla habita ratione dignitatis, honoris aut privilegii.* And that yt hath bene taken by the oppinyons of all men, and practised in the case of Robert, King of Sicily; in the case of Barnard, King of Italy; Elizabeth, Quene of Hungary; Charles the second, King of Naples, and of Conradine, and of King Deiotarus; which two last examples the ambassadors them selves have alleaged and taken for clere lawe, by the oppinions of all the writers upon the lawe, since the tyme that the sayde cases happened. Furthermore, forasmuch as the Scottish Quene is here in England, she is to be judged by the lawes of this realme, which are clere in this case, both by the judgment of all the realme and also by express positive statute lawe, which bindeth all persons within this realme.”

“ And whereas it pleaseth them to alleage the wordes of Cicero *de Rege Deiotaro* :—*Ita est inusitatum regem capitis reum esse, ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum.*”

“ It might have pleased them also to have taken the whole sentence of Cicero in that place, and the wordes that do goe immediatly before, which are these :—*Quod ipsum etsi non est iniquum, in tuo presertim periculo, tamen est ita inusitatum.* Whereby Cicero hymself speaking for his client, yet confesseth that the proceeding against Deiotarus was not unjust, namely being called in question for practising to kill Cæsar.”

“ And although Cicero wolde do no less for his client but to excuse him by all meanes as well as he might, yet he graunted that Cæsar might procede lawfully against King Deiotarus, notwithstanding he was king, and stood not uppon the priviledg and prerogative of the Kinges person, but uppon the deniall of the facte, as dothe appeare afterward in the sayde oration in thes wordes :—*Arguitur Rex domi suæ te interficeret, quod tu [*sic*] nisi cum furiosissimum judicans suspicari perfecto [*sic*] non potes.* And in these wordes following :—*Aut quam non modo non credibiliter, sed ne suspiciose quidem.*”

“ Item, whereas the ambassadors do use as yt were a dilemma in this maner; either the Scottish Quene is guiltles, and then cannot she be punished by justice; or els yf she be guilty yt is both honorable and profitable to the Quenes majestie to spare her; for an ensample whereof they alleaged the story of Porsena and Mutius Scevola :”

“ First, yt must be thought that they do thinke there are three

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hundred that have vowed to make an attempt against the Quenes majesties person, as yt was in the case of Mutius Scevola, nether do they perswade the Quenes majestie to spare the Scottish Quene for feare of her owne life, as the case of Porsena was, but for her majesties honor."

"Neyther do they yet consider that Mutius Scevola did that act in open hostility, and that Porsena raysing his siege and makinge peace with the Romans, was assured he shold not be in any further danger of his person. Which thinges are all contrarye in this case, neyther do they consider the consequence of the argument:—*Quod justum est, id honestum est, et quod honestum est etiam utile.*"

"And although the ambassadors do promise in the Kinge their masters name that he will endeavor to stay any attempte against the person of the Quenes majestie, and cause the Scottish Quenes kinsman to promise and confirme under their handes and seales that they will forbear such attemptes, and that the Kinge their master will doe all thinges for her majestie:"

"It is to be doubted whether any of thes thinges can be any assuraunce for the Quenes majestie, nether could her majestie hetherto, nor the whole nobility and the commons in this realme which have bene consulted in this case, finde either this or any other thinge to be any sufficient saftie for the Quenes majestie, the case standing as yt dothe, during the life of the Scottish Quene."

"Neyther is yt to be counted as an acte of bloode, howsoever yt pleaseth the ambassadors to take yt, which sholde procure bloode againe."

"That is justly done by the lawe for the safty of her majesties person, nether is the poppie or any other medicene violent that is given by just proportion to the disesease, nor the punishment bloody that is justly inflicted."

"And although the Scottish Quenes kinsman may pretende to be extreanely offended yf she be not spared, as the ambassadors do saye:"

"Yet the Quenes majestie must not have so much regarde to the displeasure of the Scottish Quenes kinsfolke as to the satisfaccion and contentment of the nobility and commons of her realme, of whose importunity and petitions, of [*sic*] the Kinge their master were fully advertised by his ambassadors, the Quenes majestie doth not doubt but that the King her good brother and so straye a confederate wolde not anywise *iam resscnter* but beare with her majestie in conforming her self against her owne nature towards her subjects in so just a request, knowing howe pretious a thinge the love of good subjects is for a prince never so vertuous, and to alienate and wounde the haries of his nobility and commons is dangerous.

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[1586.] **213.** A FRAGMENT RELATING TO AN EXAMINATION TOUCHING
[Dec.] THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.Cott. Julius,
F. VI.,
fol. 42.

There is no likelihood or probability that Babington or any man would himself both devise and impute to others a matter of so great importance and extreme danger.

Then it was added further that, besides these matters before mentioned, it was also manifest by the declarations and confessions of Nau and Curle, her servants and secretaries, subscribed with their own hands, without torture, and by their voluntary oaths, verifying that the Scottish Queen received the same letter from Babington and caused it to be deciphered, and after the reading and consideration thereof caused the said answer to be written to Babington in her name.

For proof thereof it was alleged that the copies of the said letters being shewn by the lords of the Council to Nau and Curle, after perusing them, they subscribed their names thereto, affirming the same and acknowledging that the Scottish Queen received the one from Babington and gave direction for the writing of the other unto him; which was "unrefused" by shewing forth the same copies so subscribed by them.

Also Nau sets down in his own writing, the 6th September, that the Scottish Queen did commonly hold this course in receiving and writing letters of secrecy and importance.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Copy.*

[Dec.] **214.** [GILBERT GIFFARD] TO [THOMAS PHELIPPES].

C.P., vol. XX.

I know not which way to turn me, nor how to answer yours, but I perceive "the ancient speech" will be verified in me that "betwixt both I shall lose both," as commonly men of my coat do that deal and bear sincere affection to our Prince.

Pardon me if I speak boldly, for, by God, you touch me near, and though I should lose all the friends I have in the world, by God, it is nothing in respect of that wherein most unjustly either you suspect or accuse me: wherein I defy all the world, and, by Jesus Christ, if there be any man alive that accuses me therein I will be in England, if I die a thousand times, either to purge myself before the world or to die ignominiously.

Therefore, sir, and if you were my friend a thousand times, let us not jest in such matters. And methinks if you consider all circumstances, either you must condemn me for the veriest ass that ever was, or else you can find no fault in me. For how would I have delivered their letters knowing that they wrote everything to the Queen of Scots, or how chance they named not me in their letters, *etc.*?

By Jesus, I wonder how you can conceive any such matter. But this is the truth, as you, and I, and we all shall one day be judged in the sight of the whole world. It is true that I always feared lest matters would be revealed, and I confess your understanding and experience in these points to be good. But yet I will never yield to deal with these men better than I myself, and I am assured it had been discovered if I had not dealt in such order.

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Therefore when Morgan examined me secretly touching the parties that conveyed letters I was forced to name two, whereof Barnes was one. And for that purpose I dealt with Barnes, never thinking, as Christ Jesus save me, "but to make him a colour for Emilio and his writing once or twice would cause all blame to be removed from myself when things should be opened," which I knew must needs be shortly.

And so, in truth, it is fallen forth, and otherwise it had been impossible to have continued. But, as God is my witness, I thought to have withdrawn him after that Morgan had fully perceived that the convoy was sure. And one thing I will tell you; if you handle the matter cunningly Barnes may be the man to set up the convoy again, for Paget and Morgan be never in rest inquiring for him.

I have feigned as though the matter is irrecoverable, and therefore I have speculated upon the point. If you have Barnes, keep him close. If you have him not, I would you had him in your hands. However it be, either bring him by promise or fear to write to Morgan, or if you have him not, feign his hand to me. His name was Pietro Maria. Write by the name of Pietro Maria, discoursing of the whole success. And yet, as chance was, your name never came in question, "and it now is time to begin again," which they desire beyond measure. And no doubt they will take hold of it, for they are about another practice, I assure you.

And I pray you use Emilio no more. Let him be one of them that were hanged, for, before God, they will suspect. After you have written to me they will leap for joy. I cannot devise any better course, and it is impossible but it should hit. I know they burn.

Paget has written to me twenty times, I show myself unwilling, but when you have written I will stir them. Besides, if Cordaillot be there tell him I left word with you to send me two doublets and two pairs of hose which I left with him at my departure, and a cloak and other little things. If he be not there speak to Peter Francis and desire him to deliver them, and I pray you send them to Thomas Evans, who is a good, simple instrument.

Immediately upon the revealing of the traitorous notion Paget could never rest till he was parted hence, and he requested me earnestly to go with him, which I did because it was on my way to Germany. We came to Chalons, where he spoke with Guise, to whom he uttered all the success, whereat Guise was marvellous sorry. But he comforted him that he would never give over. Don Bernardino [de Mendoza] was the greatest doer. He swore—as Paget told me—a thousand oaths that they should have help, and that help was set forth for them. But it was nothing so, whereat Paget and Morgan are angry. He sent also two several letters, as Paget and Gratley tell me, one in Italian, and another in Latin, to the conspirators. But as they think, the parties were discovered before they came to their hands, therefore Morgan sent for them again, and I think they are returned.

As Gratley tells me in his letters [they] were nothing but "Ammazzate la Bastarda excommunicata heretica," he promised

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But if I knew anything of these before, God confound me. Since I know all, and being one day all together, "Well, my masters," said I, "take me hereafter to deal in a matter I know not of, and hang me," and was very angry, and told them they loved me but little to send me in knowing the danger. They said they would hazard their own father's life for the good of their country. But in truth I must needs confess I had an inkling of something. But, by Jesus, I knew neither the matter nor persons, only I knew they had an enterprise, and so much I told Secretary Walsingham. And the greatest cause of my going away was that I feared to be brought to witness some matters concerning the Scottish Queen face to face.

And besides, I knew the matter would come forth, which I knew to be some villainous practice. Then if I, keeping company with them, and forced sometimes to speak and assent to their speeches, had not revealed that which in truth I knew, neither you nor any man in the world but would have thought me guilty, and you see it is so proved; and therefore I must needs be in great danger of death or discredit.

And I pray you consider whether I had not just occasion, besides that I knew not what they had written of me to the Scottish Queen. Perhaps they might have spoken some things in my commendation which might justly have bred jealousy in your head, and yet I nothing in fault. And if all this will not persuade you of my innocency, let Mr. Secretary send for me without any further warrant, and I will come in. And howsoever it be, there is no man alive that knows my heart to her majesty and Mr. Secretary. And then God confound me when I leave to honour Him. And albeit he would command me silence if I could by any means pleasure or serve him, otherwise I would do it till death.

Well, I can say no more, but let her majesty and Mr. Secretary command me. If I procure it not done, credit me not. I must needs proceed for my credit. All men desire it and look for it at my hands. After, I will wholly employ myself to Mr. Secretary's service, which I think I could best do in Italy, for there I could know what were in both, yea, often that which is here is better and more freely known there. And assure yourself for affection you shall never find me double.

As for the points recommended unto me, think that I esteem nothing more in this world than that her majesty and Mr. Secretary might see my affection. And whatsoever you hear to the contrary, know it proceeds that I must needs speak and talk as they do, and I wonder you considered not so much. And I know Savage thought I had detected him, with whom I kept company, in truth, only for that he was one of the best companions and best conditioned, besides a very good scholar, and practical, and as pliant and pleasant in company as ever I knew. But of no

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other practices of his till now, I never knew no other but that D. Giffard sent him in, as I thought, about particular affairs. But since they have confessed all, and in truth one night I lay with D. Giffard, and in truth he told me all the whole beginning. And in truth he but motioned the matter to D. Allen, who at the first answered nothing. After three days he asked him again, and then said he "*aggredere et prevalebis*," and, as I think, annoyed Savage as it were to be expelled the house for a colour.

Savage never knew that Allen was consenting. D. Giffard showed me the last day a letter of Allen's which he keeps for a testimonial lest others should condemn him for it. Savage vowed and received the sacrament upon it. And thus much I got with much ado of him. He is now Guise's scholar, and is likely to be sent into Scotland. Therefore I know not whether I were best "fall" out with him or no, but if you remember that I am made a traitor in the highest degree, I think if you spake them fair we might sooner get them in. But he being so openly accused, it cannot be. Therefore they would be sharply written unto, and let me have a degree above all.

One thing you must help. Cordaillot told Paget he had a letter for me, whereat he was glad. I fearing to show it, not knowing the contents, said I had lost my cipher, as indeed I had. Gratley also was present, and to avoid suspicion I left it with Gratley, taking good order lest my cipher should come to hands. Yet in my absence I was almost deceived. Now he thinks the cipher is come, therefore send me speedily a letter that I may show them and say this bearer brought it in your letter. Rail at me, and conclude that, nevertheless, you will expect to see what I can say for myself, and when you fall out with them, fall out with all together, not excepting myself.

I am content you tell my father that I dealt very ill with you, but you may say you are content to wink at it since it is past, hoping to get some service at my hands.

For Jardley, I think he went over only to get Westmorland some money. Meredith's first and chief occasion was truly necessity, and the licence he had was only to continue D. Giffard with Mr. Secretary, which he feared lest my coming away had broken. No doubt Morgan schooled him, as he does them all.

"Charles will never be granted." I think he may easily be cosened with a letter, or else there is no remedy but *lex talionis*; and I would I did but know her majesty would take it gratefully. We would have the one way or the other all the crew. Let her majesty look to herself. By God, one or two villains are left, and those very near to her. By Jesus, I know no more thereof but that I overheard Paget talking and comforting Gratley. "Well," said he, "and Sir Walter Raleigh's man scape I care not, he will pay her for all the rest. I dare not now be seen." Paget thinks I am at my book, and therefore I cannot do as I would.

Sir, I think by my others I have satisfied you in all points save touching the change of my cipher with Morgan, which was not mine, and therefore you are deceived about Barnes' cipher, myself having no other with him than that you know of. But it was agreed, for better colouring the matter, that I devised with myself

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that he should use all one direction of Nicholas Cornelys, and so are you to interpret anything doubtful, all being the better to beguile Morgan, who was unreasonably suspicious.

Paget and Gratley had great suspicion of the letter in cipher sent me by you, which came by means of Cordaillot, who in their presence told me he had a letter for me. If therefore hereafter—unless Mr. Edward break absolutely with me—you write to me; send also a letter that may “abide the view.” If Mr. Secretary break with these men let me be rebuked severely also.

D. Giffard, unless the matter be too evident against him, would easily be brought in by fair means. Paget has been “earnest” already to have him go into Scotland.

Look to it, I say still, for I assure, as I am a Christian, there is one very near to the Queen of England yet untaken, whose name, by Christ, I know not, nor any other description, only I overheard that he belongs to Sir Walter Raleigh. For these words spoke Paget, “Nay, by God’s blood, there be yet they that will kill her.” And I heard often named the gentleman’s man above named. Gratley is gone into Germany. Paget fears nothing now, but assure yourself he will not come into England without great broils, and that he reckons of. Therefore take some other course. I know no other course but to feign a letter from some of his friends, as Ned Windsor, desiring him to meet him in some place most convenient for the feat, either to conduct him into England or deal otherwise, as his good services towards her majesty deserves. And truly methinks it is a great reproach that such “insigniows” deserts should escape unrewarded, even in that sort, for want of a better, being an enemy to the Queen. No man doubts of the approbation.

And the same means would be used with Parsons, who will else never be had. For the Queen of Scots’ death, assure yourself most care not, for by that means they think the King of Spain nearer to the kingdom. I thank you for your good counsel to be a good husband, which I will, as things permit me, follow. I shall be further off for a time, and so be at more expense in going to and fro. All the world here looks that I proceed in degrees of learning, but I shall receive yours and answer them with speed.

Paget, Morgan, D. Giffard and Gratley write to me every day. I know that D. Giffard will easily be brought to the “beale.” But he is nothing in respect of Paget, whose taking would be hindered. I will so lay the plot as though I be absent from Paris. There shall not a tittle escape me, wether I remain there or in Italy. I will not abide at my study, but only till Lent.

What I have omitted I will consider at leisure and satisfy you, but I beseech you condemn me not hereafter before my answer—as you say indeed you do not now—but otherwhiles you seem to have that settled opinion of me in a manner wherein I must needs tell you you do me great injury before God and man, charging me by these suspicions for the wickedest man that is in the world, when you call me in question touching my duty to her majesty and Mr. Secretary, as, if I should break with them, I were. Wherefore, good sir, pardon me if sometimes I speak “of” choler, for truly you moved me.

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I cannot conceive to whom I should have uttered any such thing to, as touching the Earl of Leicester, unless it were *obiter*, not truly "for any particular whom I know," but that it is certain there may be many there that love him but a little. So, beseeching you still to have no other conceit of me than my affection deserves of end, *etc.* And I would to God my heart lay open to her majesty, and Mr. Secretary and you.

Whereas Morgan should say that D. Giffard meant not to deal sincerely with Mr. Secretary, I never doubted it but that he would not; "and so always I told you, only in truth against these others they are and meant sincerely." But I told you still that my credit could no otherwise have been kept but by pursuing the matter. And as for Ballard, Christ confound me if ever Gratley, Paget, D. Giffard or Morgan, or any in the world talked to me of him on this side, or if ever I had any other acquaintance with him or knew him "otherwise than man I never saw." Wherefore I told them that they failed not to make me privy thereof. They told me it was for my safety, and in truth Gratley and Morgan wrote to me expressly not to meddle with him, which letters I sent to Mr. Secretary, and I think you saw them.

7½ pp. *Fair copy of a deciphered letter. In Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsement illegible.*

215. THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADOR'S MEMORIAL.

"Memore of the heidis following."

1. "That it may pleis hir majestie to give ordour that we may have a copie of the decree gevin be the nobilitie and judges that went to Fotheringay against the Queen, our soveranis mother."

2. "If neid shall so require, that ordour may be gevin that we may haif conference with hir majesteis judges that did of lait confer with us upone eny mater that shall result upone the sight of the said decree."

3. "That it may be hir majesteis pleassour to geve suche ordour that ane declaration of the King our soveranis innocencie may be gevin the saidis judges and nobilitie foresaid, and that tharefore in decree nather eny proceedour in law usit against his said mother shuld prejudice enye titill or richt that he may pretend to this crowne, when it hes bene Godis pleassour to call upone hir majestie. And that the ylik may be done be the parliament in caice thay shall meddele in enye mater that may touche the proceedour against the said Queen."

4. "That hir majestie may be moved to cause sum gude ordour be takin for satisfeing of ane grit nombre of pwir Scottismen utterlie wrakkit and robbit be pirattis, and that ordour may be gevin for repressing of piraiceis in tyme to cum."

5. "That her majestie may cause sum conference be had upone suche instructionis as I haif oppened to Mr. Secretarie, concerning Bordour materis, the league, and suppressione of piraiceis."

6. "*Item*, that anssour may be gevin with expeditione convenient to this last lettir."

7. "*Item*, that her majestie may be moved to grant ane pardone at the dessire of the King of Scotland to the thrie brether callit

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1586. Wallace, duelland in Ingland for the slaying of ane Scottisman that wes also remaning thair."

1 p. *Indorsed in Thomas Randolph's hand*: "Diverse matters of Scotland."

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 673.

Copy of the same.

[1586.] **216. LAIRD OF POURY OGILVIE TO [WALSINGHAM].**

Thought good to advertise him by this present that after the lords' return to Scotland he was pressed to travail with the Master of Gray for James Stewart, sometime Earl of Arran, who is still in the King's favour, that, matters being taken up between them and a contract of friendship signed by both of them, he [Arran] might resort to his majesty's presence, and by his persuasion move the King to embrace the French course, and to take arms against England, if his mother were not set at liberty.

If the Queen, at the King's desire, would forgive his mother's offence, it would not now be sufficient unless she set her at liberty.

It is supposed that they dare do nothing against their Queen's life by reason of the accidents fallen out in the Low Countries, and that they purposed to detain her and dispose themselves to peace and quietness with Spain and France by her redelivery, when they should be "put to," and that the hard dealing of her proceeded only from him and others of her majesty's Council, who prefer their own surety to their mistress' life. But for them she might be moved to pity. Such was the discourse of the Scottish ambassadors with their King. There is no small jealousy between the Secretary and the Master of Gray, because the Master seeks to regain his former credit in France, and the Secretary, not willing to subordinate, presses to transfer the credit to his own person, so that the despatch of the ambassador into France is delayed till the coming of the English ambassador.

This emulation makes the Master more willing to deal with James Stewart that by his means the other may be debarred. If it take effect it will alienate the King from England.

Withholds the Master from taking any sudden resolution therein, and will hinder or further the same as his [Walsingham's] wisdom shall think needful.

Has not yet communicated with the Jesuits, but is advertised that they are to offer to his majesty any sum of money to push him to sue for his mother's liberty.

There is contention between the King and his ministry concerning his mother, but it is now agreed they shall pray for her conditionally.

Sends a packet of letters from Monsieur Courcelles to Monsieur Châteauneuf. Has so dealt with them that he is able to secure their secret letters for him. Therefore desires he will govern this matter with all kind of craft and secrecy. So it shall redound to his [Walsingham's] credit and advancement. Spoke with Mr. Archibald Douglas, before his coming away, in this matter. Prays he may therefore be pleased to advise with him as with himself.

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Assures him he shall find no lack of constancy in him, and will look for the same himself, with such other friendship as he has heard he is most liberal with.

The Master of Gray is to send George Gray, his page, shortly into France. Will advertise him in the next letter of what he goes for, with other things to his contentment.

2½ pp. *Deciphered copy. Indorsed*: "A deciphered lettre from Poury Ogilvy to the Secretary, wherin he wryts that the Master of Gray seeks to reconcile the K[ing] to Capten Jeames Stuard."

"Emulation betwene the Secretary and the Master of Gray."

"The Jesuits offer any somms the K[ing] will demawnd, to be imployed for procuring the Queen of Scottes libertye."

"It is thought the Queen dare not putt her to death."

[1586.] 217. A PEDIGREE OF THE SCOTTISH QUEEN.

[*Shewing her descent from Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., and James IV. of Scotland. Roughly drawn up on one sheet, in Burghley's hand. Indorsed*: "Erle of Anguss Cont. lastly [sic] Dowgl."]

1 p.

1586. 218. EARLS OF SCOTLAND.

"All the Earles of Scotland with their surnames and yeares by estimation for present lyvinge, anno 1586."

Duke of Lennox, a Stewart, 13 years, a malcontent; Earl of Angus, a Douglas, 26 years; Earl of Crawford, a Lindsay, 26 years, a malcontent; Earl of Cassillis, a Kennet, 10 years; Earl of Eglinton, a Montgomery, 24 years, a malcontent; Earl of Huntly, a Gordon, 26 years, a malcontent; Earl of Argyll, a Campbell, 12 years; Earl Bothwell, a Stewart, 24 years; Earl of Glenkerne, a Cunningham, 35 years, a malcontent; Earl of Atholl, a Stewart, 24 years; Earl of Murray, a Stewart, 24 years, a malcontent; Earl of Rothes, a Leslie, 60 years, a malcontent; Earl of Montrose, a Graham, 60 years, a malcontent; Earl of Monteith, a Greime, 6 years, a malcontent; Earl of Sutherland, a Gordon, 32 years, a malcontent; Earl of Caithness, a Sincklerey, 20 years, a malcontent; Earl of Mar, an Erskine, 24 years; Earl of Marshall, a Keith, 36 years; Earl of Morton, a Maxwell, 36 years; Earl of Arroll, a Hey, 30 years, a malcontent; Earl of Orkney, a Stewart, 55 years, a malcontent, who is base son to James V.; Earl of March, a Stewart, 70 years, who is brother to the King's grandsire the Earl of Lennox, who was slain at Stirling, whose wife Captain James Stewart, that late was Earl of Arran, and is now discountred, has married, by whom he has many children; the Laird of Arbroath, a Hamilton, 60 years, who is Duke Chateleroiz's eldest son, next to the Earl of Arran, his brother yet living, being lunatic, so that Captain James Stewart was but a usurper; Lord Gloyde [Claude], a Hamilton, 42 years, younger brother to the Laird of Arbroath.

1 p. *Indorsed*.

Another copy of the same.

Another copy of the same.

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219. NOTES OF LETTERS.

C. P., vol. XX.

“Original letters extant.”

9 October, 1584. A letter from the Queen of Scots to Sir Francis Englefield, and an answer of his in cipher, and deciphered by Phelippes.

12 January 1585. A letter from the Princee of Parma to the Scottish Queen, in Spanish, deciphered by interlines by Pasquier.

25 June, 1586. The Scottish Queen's letter to Babington, written by Curll to renew his intelligence that was discontinued without his fault, and requiring him to send two packets of his from Scotland and France, having remained with him. Other two letters in the same paper, of Curll's writing, to one Barnaby.

28th July, 1586. A letter from Curll to one named by him Barnaby, to convey certain letters from the Queen of Scots to Babington, if he be come into the country, or else to keep it for ten days until his coming, otherwise to keep it in his brother's house.

7 August and 29 July. A letter from Curll to one Barnaby to convey the Queen of Scots' letter to Babington, with other letters to the French ambassador, by Barnaby's boy.

27 July. The Scottish Queen to Charles Paget, written by Curll in English, confirming the contents of her plot laid down in her long letter to Babington.

27 July. A letter from the Scottish Queen to Sir Francis Englefield, written by Curll, and a part of a letter in the end thereof to Foljambe, in French, by Nau, and translated into English by Curll. In this to Sir Francis Englefield is expressed at length the contents of her letter to Babington.

27 July. The Scottish Queen's letter to the Lord Paget, written by Curll.

The same was first written by Nau in French, being extant and affirmed by his own hand.

“Letters deciphered.”

20 May. The Queen of Scots to Bernard Mendoza offering her interest to the King of Spain.

January, 1584. A letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow from the Queen of Scots.

27 May, 1586. The Queen of Scots' letters to Charles Paget to cause him to confer with Bernardino Mendoza for forees.

29 May, 1586. A letter of Charles Paget to the Scottish Queen mentioning Ballard's coming out of England to Bernardino Mendoza.

6 July, 1586. Babington's letter for answer to the Queen of Scots' first letter of the 25th June, of Ballard's repair and messages from Bernardino Mendoza and Charles Paget.

17 July, 1586. The long letter of the Scottish Queen to Babington to advise him to proceed according to a plot by her laid and expressed with many circumstances.

31 April, 1586. A letter to D. Lewis, secretary to the congregation at Rome, from the Scottish Queen.

2 July, 1586. Another letter to the same Dr. Lewis.

27 July, 1586. The Queen of Scots' letter to Bernardino Mendoza confirming the substance of her long letter sent to Babington, 6th July 1586.

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27 July, 1586. To Sir Francis Englefield confirming the same.
27 July, 1586. To the Bishop of Glasgow, of the like tenor.
2 pp. *Partly in Burghley's hand. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 340-404.

Copy of the same.

220. GOODS STOLEN FROM MARY.

C.P., vol. XX.

"A note of suche thinges as were taken awaye, which were the Quene of Scottes."

First, a glass garnished with two cyrstals, and two tables or covers on each side. Within the one is the picture of the Queen of England, within the other the picture of the Queen of Scots, and the said tables are enamelled and garnished with diamonds, rubies and emeralds.

Item, a little chest garnished with diamonds, rubies and pearls.

Item, a set garnished with diamonds, rubies and pearls, and emeralds in the midst.

Item, a pair of bracelets of agate garnished with little rubies.

Item, a jewel pendant garnished with diamonds, rubies and emeralds.

Item, one other jewel to hang, wherein is a sapphire garnished with small rubies.

Item, one other little jewel enamelled with white and carnation.

Item, one other little jewel of the fashion of an agate.

Item, a little pincase of gold, a chain to wear for a girdle for a woman, enamelled with white and red.

Item, a chain for a man, all plain without enamel weighing 6 marks 5 ounces and 5 pennyweights.

Item, in white money about a 7 score pounds.

Item, one piece of 20 ducats.

Two doublets, the one of russet satin, the other of "canves."

Item, one black velvet cap with a green and black feather in the same.

Three mufflers of embroidery, whereof 2 be of black velvet.

Item, 2 "carcanetts" or "bad" chains embroidered with gold and silver.

Item, other black set with pearls.

Item, 4 vessels of sweet powder.

Item, one pair of silk "stockes."

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Indorsed.*

[1586.]

221. PROGRESS OF HERESY IN SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 660.

"The contents of the discourse made by Mr. Walter Lindsey of Balgas put in Spanish and in prynt."

"*Imprimis*. He dois declaire the King his age, his religion and how far he is addicted daylie more and more to the Calvinane heresy."

"Next he doth discourse of the ministers of Scotland, of ther inclination to sedicious, of ther moyan and power in the country, of ther presbetryes and forme of government domocatticallie; of the difference in religion betwixt Scotland and England. The injustice acknowledging no supremacye nor visable had of the

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1586. church, quheras in the contrary the Queen of England wilbe acknowledged supreme head of the kirk of England."

"Of the King of Scotland his evill mynde towardis the ministers, bycause of ther great power and extraordinary presumptuous dealing, tending to thier owne preferment and the said King his wrak and overthrow."

"Of the acte of parliament made in Scotland to the imitation of England quher it is established for the cryme of *lese majestie* to heare a mass recett [by] any Jesuit preist or semynary."

"That the sea costes and burrowes of Scotland and ther indwellers are all heretykis, and that the most part of barrons and nobility, Catholiques, or at least favourers of Catholiques."

"That the Larde of Fentrye who was martyred in Scotland and the Barron of Balgas sonne to thierle of Crawford come neare of the Kingis blood were only constant in the Catholique religion and open professoris."

"Of the Barron of Balgas who keiped an open receipte for Catholiques and specially keiped an English Jesuit in his house long tyme, who was after martyred in England."

"The Barron of Balgas his excommunicacion and of the blank subscryved by the King to the ministry for ther warrant of his apprehencion."

"Of the devilish custome in Scotland and barbarous cruelty of deidly feadis taking ther revendge of any perteyning to ther enemy or of his name althocht never so inocent of the falt, quhilk was thocccasion that non durst mell with the said barron by reason of his great frendship in the country and good fellows he held about him."

"Of the Barron of Balgas his couragious dealing and open profession of the Catholique religion, and howe by his example thierle of Huntley, Erroll and Angusse did make open profession therof."

"Of the custome of Scotland amongst Catholiques to draw Saints on St. Valentyn's Daye, and how Huntley having drawne St. Lawrance, after they had celebrate the said St. Lawrance feast, confest and receaved devoutly, did defeyt a great number of Argyle's men quho was comed in the Gario to have killed his men and spoyled his country, and this the said erle did with a few number. More, how the said erle with all others that was within thocht themselves miraculouslie assisted by God, so that nothing could gainstand them that day."

"Upon this the said barron doth take occasion to discourse of my Lord Maxwell, howe an angell did appeare to him in the shape of a young man. In the meantyme he was pressed by the ministry to subscryve ther heresie, assuring him that if he did against his knowledge for worldly promocioun subscryve, that hand which comitted thoffence should be cutted from him, besydis that he sould die an ignomynious death, as having transgressed the angells comaund. Indeid it did follow."

Next he showes how my Lord Claud being persuaded by his lady for warldly respectis to subscryve the confession of fayth proponed to her by the ministry, being thereafter at mass and hearing that part of the Evangel red *qui me negaverit coram*

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hominibus, etc., crying out against the said lady and her informers, he took the offence so heavy in hart that he become at the presente in an moste highe and vehiment frenzie, quhilk doth continew with him to this day."

"Then doth he make a summar repeticion of the prosperity, reputacion and honour therle of Arrane was in at his being in France so longe as he was a Catholique, and how being persuaded therafter by the Queen of England uppon some highe preferment and worldly respectis to leave his religion imbraced that heresy profest by in England for the tyme and follow a course against God and his owne conscience, how nott only he but his father, Duke Hamilton, also who had imbraced that same heresie did fall in malicious disgrace, thone dying shortly therafter in great miserry left as it were by all men, and thother through great displeasure and feare of God's judgement becomes frenatyk as he did yet remayne to thexample of further offendours."

"Of Mr. George Carr his apprehencion by the moyan of Mr. Bowes, ambassadour for the Queen of England at the tyme, and knavery of Mr. James McKartney, apothecary, togither with the noblemen's blankis which he had receaved to have caried in Spayne."

"Of the King of Scotland his comaund that no Englishmen shalbe suffered to come in his country or goe out of the same by ship without the Queen of England's ambassadour's speciall lycence to that effect."

"Of the Pope his good affection to help the afflicted country of Scotland in sending to the King therof and in wryting particularly to his majestie."

"Of Mr. James Gordon with a messenger of the Pope's and some English prestes ther landing in Scotland at the new town of Aberdeyne. Of ther aprehencion togither with the mony they did cary by the magistratis of that towne, and how the said town and magistratis were not only compelled to deliver the said persons and mony by the noblemen Catholiques to ther former liberty, but also made particuler offer of all ther service to therle of Huntley."

"And last of all howe the said noblemen, by reason of the King of Scottes his extremity against them, were forced to mell with the said mony, quhilk was sent to the King for ther awin defence, as did appear therafter by prooffe."

2 pp. In a Scottish hand. No indorsement.

[1586.] 222. ADVERTISEMENT OUT OF SCOTLAND.

Letters have been written lately from "A. B." to the Duke of Guise and the Duke of Parma, complaining that they have not of late embraced the affairs of Scotland with such earnestness as was requisite to the good success of the common cause, but had suffered themselves to be carried away with common reports of the King's disposition. He is not so settled but that if he saw any sure foundation in them he might alter his course. The said "A. B." prays that both of them give better care to the Catholic cause than they hitherto have done, assuring them that if a sure ground is laid beyond the sea other effects will follow both in King and country than the world looks for.

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Similar letters were written by the said "A. B." to the Master of Gray praying him to be a solicitor of the former letter to the Duke of Guise, and before his return to know the Duke's "amisardare," advising him not to be carried away with the offers of friendship of those that seek but to serve their turn about the King, but rather to join with those who seek the welfare both of the Catholic cause and the King.

The letters to the Duke of Parma were sent by Colonel Symple.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *No address. Indorsed.*

[Dec.] **223. ANSWER BY MR JAMES HUDSON.**

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 35.

Answer to a memorial of certain heads delivered by Mr. James Hudson in the behalf of Mr. Secretary of England.

"I never did suspect that the not answering my letters did procede of any hard conceipt he had of me, but that it behuffed him [to] accomode his dealinge to the Queen his Sovereign's disposition and the course of matters then in hand, which moved him rather to use silence than give unpleasant answer."

I never thought any of so sound wit and so great integrity would be lightly drawn upon report growing out of faction to condemn or misconceive of me, but will always judge and esteem of me as I shall deserve and as my actions shall minister occasion.

Where factions through envy reigneth, as for the most part in all courts, few escape malice and misreport, from which I look not to be exemed, but that many things are given out of me far beside my desert and meaning. Equity and good reason craveth, and upon my part I do firmly promise that it shall stand for a constant and grounded rule between us not to condemn or misconceive one of the other upon any report until the same shall be reciprocally answered, whereby there may be a mutual and profitable intelligence between us for the public benefit of both the realms and the weal of the princes our sovereigns.

What moveth the wise and religious men here to press the King to deal so earnestly for the Queen his mother I am constrained by the sudden departure of this bearer to commit to his report, for that it will require a longer discourse than becometh in a memorial.

The late message sent by his Majesty and delivered by Mr. Keith has been misconstrued, which has moved the King to interpret himself in a letter sent by this bearer.

They do me wrong that supposed the said message to be penned by me, and whatsoever it was, good or bad, I neither deserve praise nor blame thereby.

I doubt nothing but ye will look carefully that all causes of offence between our two sovereigns may be avoided, as on the other part I shall always do my best endeavour to conserve and increase the amity between the two crowns, so necessary for better assurance of the true religion and both the states, and if the King my Sovereign shall find such correspondence and kindly dealing as his sincerity shall merit, evil affected persons will not be able to interrupt the course of the amity between the two crowns, nor to

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1 p. *Indorsed.*

[1586.] **224. AN INTELLIGENCER IN SCOTLAND TO WALSINGHAM.**

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 179.

That you may know my means not only to serve for making your lordship acquainted with such foreign courses as may be prejudicial to the King my master or to England, I advertise you that immediately after my lord's return to Scotland "I was pressed to travell with the Master of Gray for James Steward sometime Earle of Arrane—who continues still in the Kinges favor and good grace—that matters being taken upp betwene them and a sure contract and band of perpetuall frendshipp subscribed by them both he might frelye resort to his master's presence, and so that by his persuasion the Kinge might be the more easelye moved to embrace the French course and to take present armes agaynst England nnlesse that he have his mother sett at libertye."

"For suppose the Quenes majestie of England wold at the Kinges desire forgive this his mother's offence it will nowght be sufficient at this time onlesse she will putt her at libertye."

"For we suppose that ye dare not effectuate any thing agaynst our Quenes life in respect of those accidents that are fallen owt so farre by your expectation in the Low Contryes, so that ye are only purposed to kepe her and to dispone your selves [to] peace and quietnesse with Spayne and France by her redeliverye when ye sh[all be] putt to it. And soch was the discowise of owr Embassadors to the Kinge our master."

"There is no small jelowsye betwene the Seeretarye and the Master of Gray, for the Master presseth to have regresse to his former credit in France, and the Seeretarye, not to be subalternal, presseth to transfer the credit to his owne person, so that the de[parture of] the Ambassador into France is delayed till the incomming of the English Ambassador, and emulation makes the Master the more willing to deale with James Steward . . . * meanes the other may be debased."

Which, if it take effect, may alienate the King from England, therefore I await your advertisement whether I shall hinder or further this matter.

I have not yet had leisure to communicate with the Jesuits, but hear "that they are to offer any what somme of monye to his majesty" to push him forward in suing for his mother's liberty.

"There is a great contention betwixt the King and the Ministerye for pr[ayers for his] majesties mother; but now they are contented to pray for her eonditionallye."

"It may please yowr lordship to receave a paekett of Monsieur Courcelle's letters as . . . of yowrs to the French Ambassador Chasteauneuf. I have delt so with them . . . able by my moyen to make theyr secrett letters to . . . yowr lordship ha . . . desire—as you wold wishe matters to continue—that you governe this matter with all kinde of craft and secreeye,"—for your credit and the advancement of the cause.

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I spake with Mr. Archibald [Douglas] of this before my coming away; with whom you may advise. You shall find no lack of constancy on my part, and I look for such friendship from you as I shall deserve.

The Master of Gray is to send George Gray, his page, shortly into France.

$1\frac{1}{3}$ pp. *Copy. In Phelippes's hand. Indorsed.*

[1586.] **225. AN INTELLIGENCER IN CALAIS TO [WALSINGHAM].**

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 181.

About 20 April last past—new style—arrived at Calais from Scotland one James Seaton, a Scottish man, with three others attending on him. He landed first at Treuere [*sic*] in Zealand, and had letters of recommendation from the Scottish men there to John Petit of Calais, a factor for certain merchants and of the religion.

Petit was entreated to give Seaton some address for his safe passing to Paris, and advised him to go from Calais to Dieppe or Rouen by sea, and thence to Paris, because in Picardy lay the forces of the Duke of Guise and the King.

Seaton answered that he cared not, for he had letters from the French ambassador in Scotland to the Duke, and had also to deal with him by word of mouth before his access to the King; he also declared that he durst not pass through England for weighty considerations.

He told Petit that there were many Catholics in Scotland minded to be avenged of their Queen's death, and that the King had such a purpose likewise; and that he [Seaton] meant to return shortly to Calais and thence to Scotland, and asked Petit whether he could provide him with gunpowder and harquebuses: whereunto Petit answered "yea." Seaton entreated him to provide them against his return, saying he would bring a passport from the King for the transporting thereof, and so departed.

Seaton brought also letters of commendation from the French ambassador to Monsieur de Gourdan, governor of Calais, who feasted him at the "Maremayde" in Calais. He is a great Catholic and went to mass.

If it be thought fit to intercept Seaton in his return, at sea, it will be necessary that some person of discretion be sent to Calais to await him, and meanwhile to make the acquaintance of Petit, who is of the religion and very honest. Her majesty having vessels about Calais and Dunkirk, this person may discover in what vessel and at what time Seaton will embark at Calais, and give notice to the captain of the bark appointed to intercept him.

It is likely that Seaton is employed for some dangerous practice against her majesty and the realm. He is of good stature, big boned, a yellow beard, aged about 40, "having the left syde of his face full of blew spots made with gunpowder shott in his face, and a blemishe in one of his eyes."

$2\frac{1}{3}$ pp. *Indorsed.*

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[1586.] 226. VERSES BY MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 266.*"Semper eris pauper si."*

"If thou bee poore, poore shalt thou still remayne;
 Little growes less, but wealth more wealth doth gayne,
 [Such] as [a]re poore shall yett bee nearer driven;
 [For] only to the ritch are all thinges given."

"The ritch find freinds, the poore stand post [*sic*] alone,
 They wealth and honour gayne, the poore gett none:
 [Fay]lest thou of wealth, of wealth thou still wilt fayle;
 Now men grease none but fatt sowes in the taylor."

"[If] thou bee poore thou wilt bee poorer yett,
 [For] fatt sowes tayles now all the grease do gett.
 If thou bee poore, poore still thou'lt bee, thats flatt;
 No sowes tayles now are greasd but those are fatt."

"Nothing hangs now for poore men's mouthes at all,
 [But] all good haps in ritch men's mouthes do fall.
 [If] thou want wealth, fayth thou shalt want it more;
 [But] hast thou much, thou shalt have greater store."

"Honour and wealth are witt and vertues nurses,
 And witt and vertue wealth and honour merritt:
 But witt and vertue joyn'd with empty purses,
 [Nor] wealth nor honour in this tyme inheritt."

"[No] other burthen that doth beare the slaye
 [Is] half so sore a weyght as poverty.
 Want's like an Irish bogg wherein who thincketh
 By striving to gett out still deeper sinketh."

"Virtue and learning weare in former tyme
 Sure ladders by the which a man might clyme
 To honours seate: but now they will not hold
 Unless the mounting stepps bee made of gould."

"Virtue and learning, that were late neglected,
 Are now—O happy tymes—restor'd to grace,
 And nothing now in sutors is respected
 But that they have good guifts fitt for the place."

"Who seekes promotion now is not respected
 Except hee have good guifts fitt for the place."

"Haud facile emergunt."

"Virtue, thou canst not now to honour flee
 Except thy wings with gold well impéd be.
 If vertue's wings be clypt by poverty
 She cannot now unto preferment fly."

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“ *Funiger intorto ge[r]itur nunc fune levandus
Et jugulum qui abiit pectora funis obit.*”

“ A rope beares him who late a rope did beare,
And what his reynes late wore his neck doth weare.”
“ Who bare a rope now by a rope is borne,
And now his neck weares that his back hath worne.”
“ Who bare a rope now by a rope is borne,
And what his loynes wore by his neck is worne.”

“ *Tc speculum fallit, etc.*”

“ Gellia, thy glass extreamly flatters thee;
For if thy filthy face thou once shouldst see
In a true glass, doubtles thou wouldst refrayne
From ever looking in a glass ageyne.”

3 pp.

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Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 177.

227. SCOTTISH AMBASSADOR TO THOMAS TYRIE.

“ Thomas Tyrie, I receavit your letter, bot for therby I understand ze are not now in England, I forbeare to make any answeare till it; only I send you theize few lynes to let youe know quhat resolucion the King hes taken anent the Quene his mother uppon sycht of William Keythis letters: whilk he hes don in great suddently respecting the wyghtines of the cause.”

“ He hath only at this tyme written to William Keyth to see if he can protract tyme for a short space to the end some hounorable ambassade be sent to the Queen of England for the effect aforesaid.”

“ To the which ambassade he preasted [*sic*] my self, but at the first I refused, which his majesty tooke in no good part, so that now I have condescended; alwayes condicionally that two of the Queens especiall favourers accompany me.”

“ For I was ever in feare if her lyfe had ben tane that men should have thought me an especiall occasion of it: and that made me chuse the Earle Bothwell and Sir William Melvill, who favours her baith, conjunctely in commission. And I protest before God and the world both, they shall see me do my duty honestly.”

“ If the Earle Bothwell will be as ready as Sir William and I, we shalbe gon within eight daies. Therefore faile not but ye meete me at London so sone as is possible to youe, and bringe with youe any thing that youe know propre for me so farre as your money extendis, but all black, as feathers, hattis and silk shankis, etc.”

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Copy. Indorsed.

1586-7. **228. MONSIEUR DE L'AUBESPINE TO MONSIEUR D'ESNEVAL.**

Jan. 1.

I send you a packet from Courcelles which the ambassadors from Scotland brought me, who arrived the day before yesterday; to wit, Mr. de Gray and Sir Robert Melvin; Keyth was there before, with whom I have negotiated several times. We have not yet seen the said Gray and Melvin, who are waiting to have audience of the Queen; and in the meanwhile Monsieur de

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Bellièvre is departing without seeing them, for which I am very sorry. By his return you will hear news enough from this quarter, where all things go as ill as ever. God grant that no tragedy arise from it.

If after your return some order had been taken in the matter of Morgan, as I conceived, we should not now be in trouble how to rid ourselves of the entreaties made to us about him.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *French. Extract.*

Jan. 1. 229. MONSIEUR DE L'AUBESPINE TO MONSIEUR BELLÎÈVRE.

Yesterday evening very late arrived the courier from Calais, who brought three letters for you, which I send you in my packet. There was one for you from Monsieur Villeroy, which he told me to open if you had departed, and then to burn it. I hesitated to open it, because you were so near, but at last I made up my mind to see it before sending it to you, fearing that you would likewise have been troubled to send it back to me by my coachman, which is not so fitting as by Monsieur de Trappes. Also, it is better that it should remain with you without being sent back to me; this consideration will, if you please, excuse that which I have done therein.

I send you that which Monsieur de Villeroy wrote to me, which I beg you to burn.

As far as I can see all is lost, and they will decide to precipitate themselves in one direction, since they cannot agree as to the other.

This war of Sedan will be of consequence with respect to Germany if the King does not cause it to cease, and will astonish this princess not a little.

As regards our Scotchmen, they are going to the audience today, whither I will send, and Des Trappes will bring you news thereof, if they come out early.

The Master of Gray boasts that he will tell news; whereof having advertised me yesterday evening by one of their men, I said that it would not do to give offence in the first instance. I am told that the said Gray also boasts that he will obtain that which has been refused to us. I think that he knows more of the secrets of this Court than we, and has better credit there: it is best that he serve for something.

You will see by this note what news I have. If Pasquier goes to his mistress I will cause him to advertise her of the trouble that you have taken for her life, and of the great efforts that you have made about it; and will advertise her to write letters to the Queen of England full of humility and supplication, if he can have means of serving her.

The audience of our ambassadors from Scotland has been put off till tomorrow, the Epiphany, on account of the indisposition of Mr. Gray, who is ill.

This morning Diamant told me that as fast as the Queen [of England] is appeased, the enemies of the Queen of Scotland immediately embitter her; witness the taking of these four last. That of herself she desires to preserve her life. That she is much offended at the words that you said to her on behalf of the King, to

Elizabeth.

1586-7. whom she is writing that she desires to know the interpretation of the said words. It is a delay which she is making in order to beguile the world, and not to give a decision upon this matter.

For certain Keyth had charge from the King of Scotland to renounce the friendship of the Queen at the time that he told us so; but Douglas hindered him from saying it, setting forth that this speech must be kept for those who should come last.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *French. Extract.*

Jan. 1. **230.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS AND WILLIAM KEITH TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

" Pleis your honour, it hathe beyn the King our soveranis pleasour to drect the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melweill, knycht, his ambassadouris to deale with her majestie in such materis of importance, for performing whearof thai ar dessirous to know when it shalbe her majesteis pleasour that thai may be admitted to her presens. Most hartlye we must pray your honour to mowe her hienes that hir said pleasour heiranent may be signifeid ather to ws or to thame selfis. And so levand to trouble your honour with longar letter, we humblye take our leave. From Londone this first of Januar, 1586." *Signed:* " Your honouris most assured freindis at powar, A. Douglas, W. Keithe."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 2. **231.** SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XXI.

Whereas by your letters of the 22nd of the last you signified to me that you had received a privy seal for 100*l.* bestowed by her majesty in reward upon the soldiers serving in this castle, and that you reserved the same in your hands to be delivered to any such as I would appoint to take order for the receiving and conveying thereof hither, it may please you to deliver the said privy seal to this bearer, my servant, Thomas Knight, who is appointed to take order with one of his fellows remaining always in London to receive and convey the said money hither.

I send this said bearer and three of his fellows to London at this present, for no other cause than to bring hither 500*l.* in money for the use of her majesty's household here, this country yielding no mean to receive it by exchange.

This lady finds fault that her papers of account for this last year, which include all former years, are kept from her, as indeed I can say they are not sent, because I perused those which were sent before they were delivered. And the same may also appear by this copy inclosed of Nau's letter, sent with the said papers. I have in my hands some books of account found in Nau's chamber at the time of the search, and doubting lest they might concern these causes, I have without this Queen's privy perused them, and find they contain certain accounts of former years.

I wish unto you all good means to increase your health, but it seems that this cold season of the year had need of hot and earnest solicitors. The delay is fearful. God send it a good and happy

Elizabeth.

1586-7. issue. So I leave to trouble you, committing you to the mercy of the Highest. Fotheringay. *Signed*: A. Powlet.

Postscript—I thank you most heartily for Mr. Davison's letter, which I return inclosed herein. Sir Dru Drury prays to be recommended to your good favour.

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 3. **232.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS AND WILLIAM KEITH TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

“Pleis your honour we haif understand be suche as caryit ane lettir from ws to my lord Chamberlayn for the obteneing of audience to the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melweill, ambassadoris from our soverane, that it hath beyn hir majesteis pleasour to geve ansser that she thocht at thair departure from Scotland that thai had beyn diredect to hir, bot be thair slow expeditionn in cuning, together with that she hathe beyn informed of thair dealing with the Frenche ambassador at this present she doeth belewe that thai ar directed to him and thairfoir that hir majestie will advise when she will geve tham audience.”

“According to our dewetye we delivered this ansser to the saids lordis ambassadouris. Thai do afferme to ws that thai haif had no maner of dealing with the said ambassadour, this onelie excepted, that having ressavd information that Monssier de Belleure was to departe upone the nixt morrow, to whome of dewetye thai war obliged to gif thankis for the panis he had takin to requeist in that mater wherfoir thai war directed, thai send one of thair companie to him for accomplishing of that complement whiche thai culd not performe be thair awin personall presens, be ressonne thai had not as yit obtenit audience of hir majestie, wherwithe thai think hir hienes will nowise be offended, speciallie in respect of our soveranis approwit gude meaning in all suche mater as may onywise concerne hir weifare, upone consideration wherof, as of befoir, we most pray your honour to mowe hir majestie that hir hienes pleasour may be certefied ather to thame or to ws, anent the contentis of our formar lettir, craving audience for thame.”

“And so we commit your honour to the protectione of the Almightye from Londone this thrid of Januar. 1586. Your honouris most assured freindis at power. A. Douglas, W. Keith.”

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 5. **233.** MONSIEUR DE L'AUBESPINE CHÂTEAUNEUF TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.
C.P., vol. XXI.

It is with regret that I have not written to you for a long time past, for many reasons which I leave to your prudence to consider. And even now I can tell you no good of the Queen your mistress, to whom Monsieur de Bellièvre has done all possible service without any fruit appearing up to this time, as Monsieur de Bellièvre will tell you, who is returning to those parts from hence, having served so worthily in this affair that I can testify to you that the said lady and all her servants are under an extreme obligation to him. He will relate to you all that has passed there, which will keep me

Elizabeth.

1586-7. from making a longer discourse to you : I will only tell you that I shall continue to serve her as far as may be, and shall avail myself of all means without sparing any money. I have caused the ten thousand crowns of Christmas to be taken, not to be wanting in case of need ; the whole will be so well managed that none of it will be employed except for her service, and I shall risk as little of it as I can. She is at Fotheringay, so strictly guarded that there is no means of writing to her. The Master of Gray has come with Sir Robert Melville ; they have not yet had audience of the Queen, which was the cause that they did not see Monsieur de Bellièvre at all, for which I am very sorry. Keith and Douglas were already there, so that it is a very odd embassy. I shall see them after their audience, and will govern myself with them as I shall see best to be done, knowing them well all four. Nau and Pasquier have been caused to write to me that I should tell what money I had in my hands for the Queen of Scotland ; to which I have made answer that I had none, and that she owed me much, and that I had received nothing at all for the terms of Midsummer and Christmas. London. 15 January 1587. *Signed*: De l'Aubespine Chasteauneuf.

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 5. 234. [MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS] TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

“ Sir, yesternycht eftir my returning from Court I was ernestelye pressit be Mr. George Yowng, derected from the Master of Gray, to vryte these few wordis off excuse, wherof I send yow the cople, to my lordis Tresoreir and Chamberlayn. Albeit the requeist apperis to cary litill effect, yet onderstanding be sum secret whispering that the motion thayrof doothe proceid from the French ambassador, I can think no uthervaise bot that it tendeth to sum fordar mater than I can yit onderstand.”

“ Because men cannot be to curious in this perrellus age to presserve that which doeth conserwe the honestar sort of Europe in apparent securitye, I can not forbear to acquaynt you wythall, to the end yow may—be such moeyen as yow haif—essay to knaw from what grownd this doeth proceid, and be the moyr deligent to cause the apparencis of that day be observed. I shall do what I can to knaw what this mater meaneth eftir my returning from Bern Hellnes, whethir I mynd to go to vesite Sir Frances this efter none. And so I tak my leawe this Thursday. Youris whose ill vrytinge is knawin.”

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same : —

(George Young to Burghley.)

“ Pleis your lordship, upone sum accident of seiknes fallin to the Master of Gray sen my departure from yow, he hes prayed me to requeist your lordship to move that her majestie may be pleased to delay thair audience quhill Fryday, wherof I thocht gude to mak yow adverteist, with hartie prayer that it may be your lordship's

Elizabeth.

1586-7. pleasour to trawell that his requeist may be performed. And so I commit your lordship to the protectione of the Almightye."

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Copy. No indorsement.

Jan. 6. **235. SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON AND MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO BURGHEY.**

S.P. Dom.
Eliz., vol. 197,
No. 6.

May it please your good lordship. This evening we have had Moody before us, with whom, notwithstanding we have dealt very roundly, yet can we draw nothing of substance from him. We have therefore thought it convenient to send to Mr. Randolph for his prisoner to be brought hither tomorrow very early in the morning, to the end that if we find this man to persist in his denial, he may be confronted with him as one that opened matter enough to touch them both by his own confession.

We have likewise thought it fit to send very early in the morning for the keeper of Newgate and one Romane, his servant, with two other prisoners named by Stafford to have been by at his access to Moody, to examine them touching the point of Du Trap's resort to him, wherein, as in the rest of our proceedings, we will use that care and secrecy which both the matter requires and her majesty expects, and in the meantime beseech your lordship to advertise us whether you think this course of confronting the parties fit or no for this first meeting, that we may proceed accordingly.

If in the morning we find any further matter worthy the advertisement, we will not fail immediately to make your lordship partaker thereof, otherwise at our return to the Court in the evening to bring the report ourselves how we find the same. So we humbly and hastily take our leaves. *Signed:* Chr: Hatton, W. Davison.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Jan. 10. **236. MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO THOMAS PHELIPPES.**

S.P. Dom.
Eliz., vol. 197,
No. 11.

Has order from her majesty to send for him expressly. His man having been, as his [Phelippes'] father's heard, at Barn Elms, therefore despatches this messenger thither. Prays him to fail not to be here this evening and bring all those things he has.

The French ambassador has written to the Lord Treasurer complaining of the apprehension of his servants and detention of his packets. Her majesty would therefore that they be made up ready to be delivered to him, but that he first let the Lord Treasurer and himself "visit" in what sort the packets are before they are delivered. In haste, from Ely House. *Signed:* W. Davison.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Addressed. Indorsed: "Delivered at Ely House about half an hower after 2 of the clock in thafternone."

Jan. 12.

C.P., vol. XXI. **237. MEMORANDA OF LETTERS.**

Charles Paget to the Queen of Scots, 29th May 1586, 10th April, 1586, 25th July, 1586. Decipher under Curll's hand.

Elizabeth.
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Queen of Scots to Charles Paget, 20th May 1586, in answer of two of his of the 14th June, 16th May, 24th and ult. July 1585, and 4th February 1586. Another of the 27th July 1586. Received his of 29th May.

Queen of Scots to Thomas Morgan, 27th July, 1586, in answer of his of the 13th June. The original and minute in Curll's hand. The 9th May 1586, and one of the 20th July 1585, sent by Blunt's means, and in answer of his of the 4th and 9th July 1586. 20th May, in answer of his old ones, and of the 8th March and 29th April 1586. Minute of Curll's hand upon notes of the Queen his mistress.

Morgan to the Queen of Scots, ult. March 1586, the original in cipher, in answer of hers of the 17th January 1585. The decipher verified by Curll, 28th July, 1586. 17th December 1584, 23rd April, 1585, 8th May 1585. A postscript of one of these letters of the 24th April 1586, the original in cipher. The 26th July, the original by Babington. 9th May 158[], decipher of Curll's hand. 28th January, 1586, the decipher, etc., of Curll's hand.

Queen of Scots to Mendoza, 27th July, 1586, in answer of his of the 29th May 1586. 2nd August 1586, in answer of his of the 5th July 1586. 20th May, 1586, in answer of his of the 10th February and 26th July 1585.

Mendoza to the Queen of Scots, 4th April 1586, 19th May 1586.

French ambassador to the Queen of Scots, 15th August 1586, in answer of letters of the 10th and 7th July, 1586. The original found deciphered among the Queen's papers and testified, etc., 9th April, 1586, ult. April 1586.

Fulgeam's letter to the Scottish Queen and Curll. Nau to Fulgeam, 27th July 1586.

Queen of Scots to Sir Francis Englefield, 27th July 1586, in answer of his of the 3rd May to Nau. 20th May 1586, in answer of his of the 13th December 1584, and 12th January 1585.

Sir Francis Englefield to the Queen of Scots, 13th December, 12th June 1584. To Nau 3rd May 1586. Nau to Fontenay May 1586.

Queen of Scots to Courcelles, original signed with Curll's own hand.

Queen of Scots to the Bishop of Glasgow, 27th July 1586, in answer of his of the 20th May 1586, 28th May in answer of his of the 24th and 27th February and 10th March 1585, and last of March 1586.

The French ambassador to Du Ruisseau, 15th January 1586.

Cordaillet to the Scottish ambassador, Bishop of Glasgow, 12th January 1586.

Queen of Scots to the French ambassador, 31st May, in answer of his of the 10th April 1586, 13th July 1586, minute of Nau's hand.

Pasquier's confession under his own hand, original.

La Rue to the Queen of Scots, 18th May and 24th October 1585, 24th August, December 1585. Queen of Scots to La Rue, 13th July 1586, the minute of Nau's hand.

Queen of Scots to her son, a minute of Nau's hand, 1581, with an address to Tirrell who carried it.

Barnes' letter to the Queen of Scots dated 10th June, and

Elizabeth.

1586-7. confession by Curll and Barnes, the original decipher of Curll's hand.

Emilio or Barnaby to Curll, 16th June 1586, the original decipher of Curll's hand.

Fontenay to the Queen of Scots, 15th August 1584, the original in cipher. Decipher of Fontenay's negociation with the King of Scots, verified by Pasquier.

Martelly to the Queen of Scots, 1584, the original in cipher.

Bishop of Glasgow to the Queen of Scots, March 1584, 12th July 1586, 20th May 1586. Without date, 1584, three letters.

to the Queen of Scots, 1584.

Father Parsons to the Queen of Scots, 1584, two letters.

Liggon's to the Queen of Scots, 2nd September, 24th December 1584.

Cherelles to the Queen of Scots, 2nd April 1586.

Cherelles to Nau, 30th March 1586.

Alphabets with the Lord Paget, for Emilio, with Charles Paget, testified by Curll, for Gabriel Browne [William Grene]. Addition to the alphabet with Morgan. Alphabets certified by Curll with Chaumont, French ambassador, with Pietro, with Don Bernardino de Mendoza, with Liggon's. Alphabets sent Morgan for , with Gabriel Dennis, with Barnes, with George Douglas, with Abington, with the King of Scots, with Earl Huntly, with Cavaillon, Cherelles, Tassis, the Earl of Leicester, "Earl" Fentry, E , Claud Hamilton, Liggon's, Courcelles, La Rue.

Reasons for the surceding against the Queen of Scots.

Extracts of Morgan's and Paget's letters made by Curll.

2½ pp. On small paper. In the hand of Gilbert Curll.

Jan. 12. 238. MONSIEUR CORDAILLOT TO MONSIEUR DU RUISSEAU.

C.P., vol. XXI.

It would be but lost time to dilate to you what has passed here in the matter of the Queen your mistress during the time that Monsieur de Bellièvre has been here, forasmuch as I could not acquit myself sufficiently thereof, and also I know that on account of the rank that you very worthily fill in the council of the said lady there will be nothing left for you to desire therein. And thus I will no further intermeddle therewith than to tell you that he has done marvellously well in his negociation, but it has not succeeded as was hoped, so that he departs to-day without fail to return hence, awaiting only his passport, which he has sent to fetch for the last time, his goods being all packed, and awaiting only that to start on his way. Monsieur Nau is still well: he is well entertained at the house of Mr. Walsingham, but I much fear that it will cost him dear at last: God grant that I may be mistaken. This good entertainment disquiets me: I would prefer less kindness and a little more liberty. I sometimes hear news of him, and he is well, thank God. It seems to me very long since we had any news of you; this will be when it shall please you. I will write to you at once if the Master of Gray and the lord Melville, who have again been sent lately by the King of Scotland

Elizabeth.

1586-7. about this matter here, are able to make any progress. London.
12 January 1587. *Signed*: Cordaillot.

1 p. *French*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: 13 Jan. 1586.

[Jan.] **239. INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING CATHOLICS IN SCOTLAND.**

You must, according to the direction and credit you have received of the good father at London to Mr. Lawson, Mr. Swinburne, *etc.*, in the north parts, address yourself to such Catholics in Scotland of experience and understanding as they shall resolve fittest to be made acquainted with your voyage and intention thereof, with as much speed and discretion as is possible, letting them understand that you are expressly sent into those parts for three purposes.

First, to give them knowledge in what desperate terms the Queen of Scots who has been the only hope of both nations a long time is now brought, by the malicious practices of her cursed enemies: that no other thing is expected but death, for they have proceeded here against her so far as to proclaim the judgment given against her by the lords, and execution was deferred at the first only for ten days, at the instance of the ambassadors of France and Scotland: that some further delay has ensued and may perhaps ensue, but that any mediation shall prevail is unlikely, so that there is no reasoning to be made of her life, it being universally believed that she should be dead already.

Secondly, hereupon to understand how the young Prince of Scotland stands affected and disposed, both in general and the Catholic cause, and in particular towards his mother, and whether there be any hope that under this colour he should take our quarrel in hand and make himself head of the Catholic party of both realms; or otherwise to understand how the Catholic party in that country is disposed, what heads they have of the nobility and others to draw the multitude what strength to run them either in any resolute enterprise to be undertaken for our principal deliverance, which known, somewhat may be shortly advised upon for that purpose by good assistance.

Thirdly and lastly, to learn exactly and sincerely the truth of an overture made lately by the Master of Gray, as we understand, to our friends in France, whereby, pretending himself to be discontented with them of England, he offers hereafter to employ and apply all his credit with the King his master for the advancement of the Catholic cause, and to be wholly at the disposition and direction of the Duke of Guise and his adherents, having sent over into France, as we are advertised from them, a special man to that end. Whereof, as they have no small doubt, so can we not but be very jealous, considering his inwardness and intelligence with Secretary Walsingham and Archibald Douglas, now ambassador here, the two master workmen of all mischievous practices within this island.

And therefore we think we have cause to suspect that it is some plot laid between them by agreement, for better discovery of Catholic designs in that country, that he should play this part and so by this pestilent drift, our courses being known, to break and

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1586-7.

disappoint all plots that shall be laid within that realm against the tyranny of heresy, growing daily more and more, whereupon we desire to be informed from them thoroughly what reckoning every way is to be made of the man. And therein you must endeavour to have the judgment of such as be best able to look into these courses, it being a matter of great moment, as whereupon, if his overtures were sound, much good for the weal of Christendom might be wrought, as on the other side, if the foundation laid upon him proved false, a suitable ruin were to be expected of the whole cause.

These be the points in general, the particular discourse whereof is referred to your discretion. But for that which concerns the young Prince of Scotland, you must not forget to let them understand in Scotland what is conceived here among the Protestants, that the said Prince is without all question firm in his religion, and that the Catholics be in great doubt that there will never any good come of him, and that the older he waxes the worse he is like to be, and that it is feared here that as he could not without notorious shame and dishonour seem to abandon his mother quite, so he has made a show of entreating and working for her, but in truth for his reputation only, being glad his mother is out of the way, whom he greatly feared. And the heretics are content he should do that he does for a fashion, in the meantime resting assured of him to be at England's devotion by the means of Angus, Mar, Archibald Douglas, Gray, and such others, waged for that purpose. If they notwithstanding affirm the contrary, which God grant to be true, it were well you examined the grounds thereof to the end a good trial be made before anything be built thereon.

Otherwise mistrusting or despairing of the King it would be carefully considered whereupon their hopes may stand, and you may tell them what the most part of the English Catholics pretend by the Pope and the King of Spain's aid to take the crown off this Queen's head and place it by their authority upon some Catholic nobleman wishing them to advise whether it will not be expedient for them to do the like, at least way, to resolve of some course for interruption of the reign of heresy otherwise by the fall of the Queen of Scotland like to be established there for ever and aye.

Inform yourself for this purpose of all states and provinces of Scotland, namely, all the noblemen. Enquire particularly which you may set down, their alliances, ability of mind and body, disposition and inclination in religion, faction or otherwise, their power and wealth, as also the disposition of the boroughs and common people in the north, west, *etc.*, what numbers of able men and how many armed they can assemble. To conclude, what comfort and advice any way you may return with to us here.

2¹/₈ pp. In *Thomas Phelippes' hand*. Indorsed: "Instrucions from M. C."

Jan. 15. **240.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"Sir, our ambassadouris because thay ar not mayde off remains verray ill dewoted, the one for pryde, the uthir for mater, and the thrid for folye, vill do the vorst officis thay can when thay shall

Elizabeth.

1586-7. com home. It is to be suspected that whosoewir shalbe send be her majestie in that cuntrey efter thayr cumming home shalbe mayde be thayr moyn ungracious. I leave it thayrfore to her majesteis consideration whether to deale favorablye wyth tham heir, or to send sum fitt personnage in that cuntrey to confirm the King in gude assurance befor thayr returning."

"Tomorrow if thay shal haif audience I think they shal crave to be mayde acquaynted wyth the process against the Queen mother be our soverayn and to the hoile procedingis against hir. As ever the mater shalbe used, thay haif no commission to leawe materris in ill termes, but I think thay shall travell, so far as thay can, to bring thayr dealing presente to produce the vorse effectis thay can heireftir. And so I tak leave this xv of Januar. Yowr honoris alwayis to be commandit. A. Douglas."

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address:* "To the ry^t honorable William Davison, Secretayr to her Majestie and of the Prevye Consale."

Jan. 22. **241.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"Sir, this day the Master of Gray hath prayede me that her majestie may be mayde acquaynted that he wold it mycht be her hyenes pleasser publictly to gyve such ansser to thayr petitionis as shalbe most agreable to her majesteis pleasser."

"Thayreftir he is myndid in pryvate maner to humblye pray her majestie that it may be her favorable pleasser to send sum grave personnage and of contenance towartis the King his maister for opening of her majesteis mynd whatsoever onto him. In this mater he wold be glayde to be satisfeid and the rather because I think he wold be contented that his colleague shuld onderstand that he is not altogether discredited at her majesteis hand."

"This kynd of dealing, so far as I can persave, can wyrk no great ill effectis, bot alwayis I most leave the mater to her majesteis moyr grave consideration, which I belewe shall not think it expedient that ane man of gud desserving shuld perish wytheowt sum gretar cause than as zit is knawin against him. And so I tak my leave. This xxii of Januar. Your honouris alwayes to be commandit, A. Douglas."

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

[Jan.] **242.** [] TO [MONSIEUR BELLIÈVRE].

I think that this new cause* will not in the end come to any great thing. But, yesterday evening, one named Felton was taken; his father was put to death for having brought the pope's bull, and they think that he has been persuaded by him.

Her majesty hears that the lord Richard [*sic*] Melvin, one of the ambassadors of Scotland, has been to you, and says that, perhaps, his commission was to you and not to her. Also, eight of the men of Sir Amias Paulet have arrived in London to seek the court and Pacquier, two of his men to help him to do his accounts, who will,

* *Marginal note:*—"He means of these last 4 taken,"

Elizabeth.

1586-7. I think, depart in two or three days. I have spoken with some of them, and they say that the Queen [of Scots] is gay and in good health, and undaunted. They say that her ordinary is delivered to her cooks, and no other person touches it, for the command of her majesty is that she be well and honourably treated without any fraud.

Also there is news that the King of Spain is come to Lisbon and is preparing his army. There is some controversy between the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham concerning the will of his son-in-law, and hard words have passed.

In another hand: If you please you will burn the present memorial. The arrival of the King at Lisbon is confirmed by the Portuguese.

1 p. *French. Copy. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same. [*With No. 230.*]

Jan. 22. **243.** HENRY III. TO MONSIEUR COURCELLES.

Your despatch of the last of December was delivered to me a few days ago, wherein I have seen the resolution that has been taken by the King of Scotland my good nephew to despatch ambassadors to the Queen of England with good and ample instructions to employ themselves on his behalf in saving the life of the Queen of Scotland his mother; whereof I had before had advice, but not in such detail of the manner wherein things have passed. Whereupon I can say nought but that I perceive a great testimony of the goodwill of my said nephew towards his mother, for which I praise him greatly, and recognise that in time of need he shows her that he is of a good nature: praying you to encourage him on all occasions in this laudable intention, and to set before his eyes that he could not by any other generous act which he might do render his memory more commendable to posterity than by persevering in rendering all the assistance and help which shall be possible to him to the afflictions of his said mother, without wearying thereof in any wise whatsoever. Otherwise he would be much blamed for all the ill which may happen to her, and would do great prejudice to her reputation, which ought to be dearer than any other thing; and that, moreover, his own private interest is at stake.

As to the state of the affairs of my kingdom, I will tell you that I am yet awaiting what the Queen my lady mother may conclude for the pacification of the troubles of my kingdom, and do not know what I may expect, those of the new opinion having hitherto shown themselves far enough from satisfying my will. Nevertheless, time, and the necessity in which they stand, may make them at last recognise what is reasonable and what they owe to their king. Paris. 1 February 1587.* *Signed: Henry; and Brulart.*

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

Elizabeth.

1586-7. **244.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

Jan. 26.

Lansd. 982,
fol. 80b.

"What thinge, madame, can greatlier touch me in honour, that is both a kinge and a sonne, then that my nearest neighbour, being in straitest friendshippe with me, should rigourously putte to death a free sovereigne prince and my naturall mother, alike in estate and sexe to her that so uses her, albeit subjecte I grante to a harder fortune." "Holyrood. 26 Jan. 1586."

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Extract.*

Jan. 26. **245.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 192.

"Madame and dearest sister, if ye coulde have knouin quhat divers thochtis have agitat my mynde since my directing of Williame Keith unto you for the sollisting of this matter quhairto nature and honoure so greatly and unfeynedly bindis and obleissis me, if I say ye kneu quhat dyveris thochtis I have bene in and quhat just greif I hadd veying the thing itself if so it shoulde proceide, as Godd forbidd, quhat eventis micht follou thairupon, quhat number of straitis I volde be drevin unto and amongst the rest hou it micht perrell my reputation amongst my subjectis if thaise thingis I yett say againe vayre knouin unto you, then I vot but ye wold so farr pittie my cace as it volde easely mak you at the first to solve youre ouin best intoit. I doubt greatlie in quhat facon to vritt in this purpois for ye have allreaddie takin sa evill with my playnness as I feare if I shall persist in that course ye shall rather be exasperattit to passions in reading the vordis then by the plainness thairof be persuadit to consider richtlie the simpill treuth. Yett justlie prefferring the deutie of ane honest freind to the suddaine passionis of one quho hou soone thay be past can vyslier vey the reasons then I cann sett thaimne doune, I have resolid in feu vordis and plaine, to gif you my freindly and best advyce, appealing to youre rypest judgement to discern thairupon. Quhat thing, madame, can greatlier touche me in honoure, that both is a King and a sonne, then that my nearest neihboure being in straittest freindshippe with me shall rigouruslie putt to death a free sovereigne prince and my naturall mother, alyke in estaite and sex to hir that so uses her, albeit subject I grant to a harder fortune, and touching hir nearlie in proximitie of bloode? Quhat lau of Godd can permitt that justice shall strikke upon thaimne quhom he hes appointid supream dispensatouris of the same, under Him, quhom He hath callid Goddis, and thairfore subjectid to the censure of none in earth, quhose anointing by Godd can not be defylid be man unrevenged by the Authoure thairof, quho being supreme and immediatt lieutenant of Godd in heaven cannot thairfore be judgit by thair equallis in earth?"

"Quhat monstrouse thinge is it that souveraigne princes thaimne selfis shoulde be the exemple giveris of thaire ouen sacred diademes' proplaining? Then quhat shoulde move you to this forme of proceeding—supponin the vorst quhiche in goode faith I looke not for at youre handis—honoure or profite? Honoure vaire it to you to spaire quhen it is least lookid for, honoure vaire it to you—quhiche is not onlie my freindlie advyce but my earnist suite

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1586-7. —to take me and all other princes in Europe eternally beholdin unto you in granting this my so reasonable request, and not—appardon I pray you my free speaking—to putt princes to straittis of honoure quhair throuch youre generall reputatioun and the universall—allmost—mislyking of you may daingerouslie perrell both in honour and utillitie youre persoun and estate.”

‘Ye knou, madame, vell aneuch hou small difference Cicero concludis to be betuixt *utile* and *honestum*, in his discourse thair of, and quhiche of thaim oucht to be framed to the other, and nou madame, to concludie, I pray you so to vey thir feu argumentis that as I ever presumed of youre nature, so the quhole worlde may praise youre subjectis for thaire deutfull caire for youre preservation and youre self for youre princelie pittie, tho doing quhair of onlie belangis unto you, the performing quhair of onlie apparteynis unto you, and the praise thair of onlie will ever be youris. Respect then, my goode sister this my first so long contineuid and so earnist request, dispatching my ambassadouris vith suche a comfortable ansoure as may become youre persone to give, and as my loving and honest hairt unto you merit to resave. But in caice any do vaunt thaim selfis to know further of my mynde in this matter then my ambassadouris do, quho indeid are fullie aquented thairvith, I pray you not to takk me to be a cameleon, but by the contraire, thaim to be malicious impostouris as suirly thay are. And thus praying you hairtly to excuse my to ruide and longsum lettir, I comitt you, madame, and dearest sister to the blessing protection of the most Hie, quho mott give you grace so to resolve in this maitter as may be most honorabill for you, and most acceptable to Him. From my palless of Holyrudhouse.” *Signed*: “Your most loving and affectionat brother and cousin, James R.”

3 pp. *Holograph, also address*: “À Madame ma très chere sœur et cousine la royne d’Angleterre.”

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 190.

Copy of the same.

Jan. 28. **246. MONSIEUR PASQUIER TO THOMAS PHELIPPES.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

I have indeed seen by the letter that Sir Amyas Paulet writes hither what the Queen my mistress requires. But if it does not please my lord the ambassador to give a clearer knowledge of that account than is borne by the writing which I have seen, it is not in my power to make it more complete than I did by my first to Monsieur Nau, so that if her majesty finds fault therewith, as certainly she has very great occasion to do, seeing the difference there is between the two sums, the fault should be imputed to Monsieur Cordaillot and not to me, who can only answer for that which has passed through my hands in doing my office, during which, although I sent many notes, I nevertheless only received accounts of four hundred and seven crowns; nearly three hundred whereof having been employed for her majesty herself, I was reimbursed for the rest by her officers, and that was employed as appears by the account which I rendered thereof last month. There have since been other stuffs received in the months of June,

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1586-7. July and August, as well for her said majesty as for divers of her servants, whereof having never seen the price, I was not able to keep any account, nor to reimburse a single penny, as it is very reasonable that I should do, rather than remain charged therewith. And hence it is necessary that Monsieur Cordailot represent the price of every one, if he wish to have it allowed, all that I can do in this respect being to testify whether what he sets down in the said accounts has been received there. For the rest, he may well have employed in the year that he says the sum which he alleges, but the better part thereof must have been disbursed by him before I entered into office, during which I would almost dare to affirm that he has not advanced five hundred and fifty crowns on her account, even including that wherewith he may have assisted me in my trouble (which is not above ten pounds), as will be verified by his papers and mine. This is all that I can say on this head. Saturday 28 January 1587. *Signed*: Pasquier. *P.S.* Do me the kindness, if you please, to look among the papers which you have of her Majesty, whether the account that I left at Charteley may be there, and to send it to Mr. Paulet to show to her Majesty.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 28. **247. MONSIEUR DE L'AUBESPINE TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

My lords of Gray, Melvin and Keith are returning hence to seek the King their master. I think that by this you will know what they have negotiated here for the matter of the Queen of Scotland, wherein I can tell you that they have all three done their duty very well, according to the command of the King their master, as I have heard from them, and by common report of the town, for, for the last three weeks I have been, as it were, a prisoner, for they have raised up against me two men who say that I have dealt with them to kill the Queen; and he who says it is the young Staford, a man of the quality that you know, with one named Moude, who also belongs to Staford the ambassador.

Thereupon they took one of my men, named Des Trappes, who had, they say, communicated with the said Moude, and drag him to prison in the Tower, without my knowing what he had said or deposed or having means of speaking to him.

Moreover, I can have no audience of the Queen, who has sent Vnude to the King to complain of me and to demand justice. And in the meanwhile the passages have been closed for a fortnight, without my having been permitted to write to the King to advertise him of this calumny, which has been expressly prepared to ruin the Queen of Scotland, to hinder my speaking to the Queen, who was incensed by the words of Monsieur de Bellièvre, who was not yet at Canterbury when Des Trappes was taken at Rochester, going to seek the said Sieur de Bellièvre to cross the Channel with him; and, nevertheless, they hindered me from being able to advertise the said Sieur de Bellièvre of this matter, before whom they could have verified the whole.

Those gentlemen the ambassadors know well the truth of the matter, and who is the author thereof, a thing to which they have

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1586-7. promised me to bear witness so soon as they shall arrive in Scotland.

I await news from France to-day or to-morrow, deeming that the King will wish to hear me upon this matter, which I have related to these gentlemen as the truth befell: but you know well enough the artifices of this country: it is God who will judge thereof. London. 7 February 1587.

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 29. **248.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Sir, be reassured of sum accident I am all this day constrennit to keipe my lodging, and thairfor be lettir am forcit to trouble your honour wythe that which be speach I wald uthir vays haif deliverit."

"Pleis your honour be informit that of layte I tuk such hardresse as that hir majeste be lettir mycht understand such mater as in apperance vas lyk to follow upon the contentis of ane lettir derected be the Queen mother to the King of Scotland to her said sone if the trew meaning thair of suld be rychtely collected and understand to the parteis interessit, and that the samin tendit to no uther end bot that her majeste and all uther Princis mycht be movit to think that her intention vas as it var to proclayme her saide son, and all that ar dealaris in his effairis, oppen leyarris and dowble dealarris, whiche culd not faile to produce these effectis—if the saidis parteis deserit to leif wythe credit—that thay vald seik thayr justification before her majeste and such as thay shuld think mycht conserve this opinion of thaym."

"And if her majeste shuld think it expedient to send this letter in Scotland according as vas desserit I offerit myself redye to lat the saidis parteis understand both her intention and thayr deute if so mycht be agreable to her majesteis gud pleasser, which I was determinat to obey in all tym to cumin, and never heireftir to meddle in ony mater that mycht concern the said Queen mother oneles it war be hir majesteis knowlege or derECTION, whiche wythe all sincerite I vald perform at leist so far as mycht lye in my powar."

"This beand the sum of that which I tuk boldnes to lay oppen befor her majeste be lettir, I am constrennit be the ylik hardresse to adde this farre of my opinion to your honour, which I pray vytt all humilite may be knawed onto her majeste, that I think the letter forsaid can not be veile performeit oneles the principale or copy shalbe send onto sum of thaym, which of the tuo presently I most leif to vysar consideration. Bot in my simple opinion the seurast way shalbe that first I may send the copy of the said lettir to the Maister of Gray vytt declaration of her intention and meaning towardis thaym, vytt advise also how inconveniencis may be awaydit, which beand first opennit be him to the King his soverayne the principale lettir beand send eftir apperis to haif the bettir and moir seur effect."

"I am most hartely sorye that evir I presumit to trouble hir majeste vut the reding of so ill favorit hand vrite, vherin I most crave your honouris helpe that this my falt may be pardonnit, as it

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1586-7. hes plesit her majeste to do unto me most graciously in gretar offensis. And so leving to trowble zour honour vytt longar lettir I humblye tak my leif, this xxix of Januar. Youris honouris most humble to command vytt service, A. Douglas."

1 $\frac{1}{3}$ pp. *Holograph, also address:* "To the ry^t hono^{ble} Sir Frances Valsinghame, principale Secretair to her majeste and one off her Prev Consaile." *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 184.

Copy of the same.

Jan.

249. THE POLICY AND JUSTICE OF THE PROPOSED EXECUTION OF MARY.

S.P. Dom.
Eliz., vol. 45,
p. 106.

"The question is, whether it were behoovefull for her majestie to putt the Scot: Quene to death or to keepe her in prison."

1. Her quality and sex of like calling to her majesty, from which may be drawn arguments of commiseration and compassion.

2. How this kind of proceeding might be subject to slander.

3. What note it might be to her majesty's renown both for the present and time to come, that the histories might report after so long and strait imprisonment, from which every creature living naturally seeks and is allowed to free itself, in the end to deprive her of life.

4. How other Princes may be interested, and how far touched and moved in respect of her calling, affinity and alliance with them.

5. The Scottish King to be considered, not only how he may be hereby affected in respect of nature and honour and other interest, but whether it may not be supposed that he, by removing of her now a degree nearer unto his hope, is not like to be as much or more redoubted and suspected hereafter than the mother, whereunto the taking away of her shall minister unto him both opportunity, matter and pretence to work upon.

6. It may be said that the papists and evil affected of this realm, that now living in some hope are more easily contained in some good terms by the taking away of her, seeing their expectation frustrated and estate desperate, may take upon them some sudden resolution that might be of great danger.

7. Divers other respects may be thought on, whereby it may seem expedient to preserve her life after she shall be condemned and pronounced unprofitable to succeed her majesty, whereby all hope being taken from her she shall persuade herself that her own life depends only on her majesty's welfare, and perhaps shall be as safe in durance from working any mischief as if she were not at all, whereby she may be forthcoming to any good purpose that there may be an Oliver for a Rouland.

These allegations may well be answered thus:—First for the quality and sex of the lady. She having most wickedly sought the unjust deprivation and destruction of the Queen's most excellent majesty, of a like sex and quality, why should our sovereign be moved with any compassion to regard that "in her being of justice, which she most cruelly respected not in her majesty with a murdering mind?" What compassion is to be had of her who has transgressed the bounds of that modesty and meekness that her

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sex and quality prescribes, especially she having sought by the murder of a most sovereign Queen the destruction of the principal of the nobility and all well-affected subjects, subversion of the state and suppression of religion. Indeed mercy and the rules of charity are most royal to be exercised, but not to be claimed by them.

Is it not mercy to take away by justice a deprived and titular Queen, for the necessary preservation of a sacred Queen, to preserve the lives of so many thousands, to preserve the realm from miserable shipwreck, to preserve our faith and religion?

If nature permits a particular man for the safeguard of his own life to offend another, if the law acquit him that in his own defence slays another, shall any difficulty be alleged in executing her that so heinously has gone about to procure the murdering of the Lord's anointed, a lady, a Queen, a virgin? Yea, the fact is not so foul in itself as the ground they build upon is most pernicious, which though it be avoided yet those principal dangers remain, and cannot be taken away but by her deserved death.

He that does not let and hinder one that offers violence to another is judged accessory and is in as great a fault as he that commits the outrage. Of what quality and decree then shall be the offence to dispense with the trespass of this woman and save her whose preservation imports the destruction of her majesty, of us, of the whole realm and of religion? Questionless, if the profession of our faith be dear to us, if the prosperity of her majesty be precious to us, if the love of our country be of any account with us, if the welfare of our posterity any whit move us, if all these things that are nearest and dearest to men have any force in us. All these desire and wish a speedy execution.

If it then be most necessary and just for her majesty to take herein the course that stands best with her security and our safeguard, what scruple should be moved how it may be thought of in time to come?

When this flood of mischief should happen—which God give her majesty a mind to prevent—all which her life of necessity and consequence must bring, then should just occasion be given to that age and all others, to say we wanted wisdom and grace. That day was never so fair that had so foul an evening!

What shall stories record but that her majesty's eyes, so clear to discover these hidden treasons, were suddenly sealed to see what was to be done to meet with them, and to make our misery more heavy, to let us foreknow it and not be able to shun it, yea, to deface all the happiness of her former government which should end in so miserable a confusion, to make us buy so dearly our good time with the loss of our lives, the vessel of our country perishing with the good pilot, consequently bringing all slander to her majesty, as though her funeral should be celebrated with the ruin of religion, the State, nobility and best subjects of the realm.

If you put in balance her unhappy life, with the counterpoise of these mischiefs, who but an unsound spirit would think it should outweigh? Therefore let the gall of our happiness be cut off, that there be no let in the course of this most prosperous government, to be assured by nothing more than the death of the disturber of the same.

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What shall we make doubt how other Princes stand affected herein? Look into their doings and thereby gather their opinions. Shall their pity be extended to the guilty, and not regard the innocent? She is a lady, she is her majesty, she is a Queen, all this our sovereign. What she is or has been I forbear for respect to say. What our gracious sovereign is long may we enjoy. God forbid therefore that her majesty's life, preservation and welfare should not be tendered with execution and punishment of whatsoever, how many soever, of whatsoever calling they may be that seek the abridgement, destruction and hurt of the same.

Shall you hereby give just occasion of discontent to any Prince? Shall you yield matter, occasion or opportunity to them to offend her majesty and the realm? Shall you whet the tusks of their malice? Nay, you shall take from them the greatest means they can have to annoy her majesty.

If you consider them particularly, the Pope needs no provocation, neither can he have more will or devise more means than he has to annoy her majesty, which all end in this lady. The King of Spain can ill find fault with so just proceedings, having made away his own son, how or wherefore no man is able to say, unless it were that he seemed too forward to expect that patience which nature laid upon him. The King, Don Antonio, here in the realm can witness how he has sought his life, and already has so sufficiently declared his affection as we need rather to take away all those means whereby he may take advantage, than to put the case how he may take anything her majesty shall think fit to do for her own safety.

Was anything ever devised abroad or at home to the trouble of her majesty's estate, but this gentlewoman was the only way, means and cause? Were it not then more than time to remove that eyesore?

As for the French King, such good offices have passed between her majesty and him that he considers how necessary it is for them both to entertain the good amity between them, and already her faction grows so great and insolent that it shall not be prejudicial to him. They want that countenance they hoped hereafter in her, which no doubt should have brought the King greater trouble and danger than ever he felt.

And in whose behalf—this woman being gone—should any of these Princes attempt aught against her majesty? They have no cause for revenge, for if they consider the quality of her offence they shall find all Princes so interested in the same that it behoves them for the example and their own security to see this act most severely punished. For the Scottish King? That carries no policy. He may not in modesty and in nature set aside the duties of a child. So are there other bonds of duty to weigh with him, in respect of his father, the quality of her offence, her unnatural proceeding against him, doing what she could to deprive him in respect of the constant favours he has received of her majesty. And in his own respect he will be driven more and more to depend on her majesty's favour and to show that he will not participate in that cruel design of his mother. He may be sorry for her fall, but he cannot but abhor the fact.

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He cannot in any understanding persuade himself to be assisted against her majesty by any Prince to his own advancement, for whatsoever might seem to move him thereunto, far greater shall lead them to leave him. And even in that he is come a degree nearer to his hope, he shall find their assistance further off. Besides, her offence has so blemished her chiefest pretence that it behoves him to behave himself so that his offices may efface her bad deserts, wherein her example must be to him a warning, which not thoroughly punished in her might otherwise embolden him. Moreover she has set that distrust between him and those that are likeliest to give him furtherance in such actions as he should be very evilly advised to trust to them. So in all discourse of reason he shall be driven more entirely to depend on her majesty's favour, and stand upon his good "abearinge."

To be short, let the question be propounded whether her life or death gives more occasion to her majesty's enemies to displease, offend and annoy her majesty, and any indifferent man will resolve.

The person of this lady may perhaps be safely kept under restraint, but the royal person of her majesty shall not by that means be safe at liberty. As long as life is in her there is hope: so long as they live in hope, we live in fear. So long as you afford her hope there will be practices, and as the Italian proverb is, "It that hath time doth escape." It is the only thing all criminals demand.

It will be said either you cannot by justice, or dare not, take her away. So means of her delivery and advancement will be sought by more mischievous, sudden and desperate attempts, wherein they shall consider, as they think on the errors committed in the former designs, to conceive and weave others more artificially, desperately and wickedly.

If therefore her eyelids were quite shut up, the day these men harp after should go down in a black cloud whence all hope of its arising again should be taken away. They would be advised to bear themselves with less boldness, and others shall not be so apt to be seduced and "nuzled" with ambition, hope, preferment, revenge and all those respects that miscarried the most part. In such sort, I see no sound reason to induce this perilous preservation of so dangerous a person. Seeing by proof that all evil humours have recourse to that issue or distil from that head, there is no way to divert the effect of them but in shutting up and take the same away.

If, on the other side, you gather together arguments to persuade the necessity of this execution, you shall find there is more danger in the delay than doubt in the matter.

Consider her inclination and disposition both towards her majesty and generally. I will take no pleasure to discover the veil of her secrets, nor do I wish that which is too apparent to be concealed or cloaked. Therefore I may well note in her imperfections an engraven malice, revenge, aspiring mind, which nothing can appease and satisfy but her majesty's life, a life wherein consists that sequel that never on the welfare of any yet depended.

If the person of that woman, restrained and afflicted with the

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1586-7. unsoundness and so many diseases as it is hard to say whether the body or the soul are more infected, so as there is as little cause in her as may be to hope for any long life, can conceive such ambition and mischief; and as this Pope says, because he is sure he cannot live long, he bestirs himself apace to do more in short space than others could do in many years. This lady is bound to her majesty for her life, her life has been as many ways most graciously preserved by her majesty as she has gone about most wickedly to conspire against her highness. And even at this present when she made most sound protestation to assure her majesty of her sincerity, when of her own offer she would yield that further pledge of her fidelity to subscribe to the association devised for the preservation of her majesty's person, even at that instant she hatched these uncouth treasons, breaking all bonds of honour, faith, humanity and Christianity.

What shall I then say? Shall we likewise violate the oaths taken by us, to incur withal that infamous note to be objected to our profession and country which we impute worthily to some other nation that of late dispensed with their solemn vows? We are doubly bound to prosecute her, first for the offence committed by her, then in that she being one of the associates in slander of the rest has not only discovered from the rest foreswornly, but herself most treacherously has contrived and conspired her majesty's death. Should she then be spared to bring an infamous slander upon all the most noble personages, gentlemen and others that yielded that honourable testimony to her majesty of their devotion towards her preservation?

That all those that have done her majesty most faithful service in the discovery and bolting out of these treasons should live in perpetual fear, that all her majesty's best affected subjects may live in extreme perplexity, to think that when all the means that could be thought of or devised for her majesty's safety have been taken and offered, and now when we find whence the peril comes, and may assure the same, it shall be neglected, to her majesty's more imminent peril and evident danger and our undoubted ruin! What may you or can you hereafter think of or devise by any Act of Parliament or other ordinance, that these men will account of? What can be said, but that *ipsa salus servare non potest hanc rempublicam*?

It is in a manner to confess she has right or reason on her side, and to insinuate guiltiness in ourselves, wherein they will in a short time play, in their discourses. This course shall not so much daunt us as give scope to her and her ministers—seeing our want of courage, will or resolution—to make parties, intimidations, new means and practices in such sort as hereafter, when it would be wished she were taken away, it shall not be so easy or sure.

Considering therefore in truth all circumstances, nothing shall be found more sure expedient and of necessity than with all expedition to cut off all further practices and prevent these most devilish devices. What can be more just than to prevent the most wicked purposes that ever were invented? And how can they be prevented but by this execution? Yea the execution consists only in celerity. This creature opposes herself against God, she seeks

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1586-7. the destruction of her majesty, she goes about the destruction of all the principal of the nobility, her majesty's servants, and best subjects, she seeks the overthrow of the estate and whole realm. All these things should be executed with that blood and tyranny after the manner of modern models.

What argument can be brought to dispense with or defer an evil that threatens such mischief. Whatsoever show it may have to be strewed over with some savour of reason, it proceeds from a corrupt and unsound heart. It is but time they seek to gain, which brings advice, device, accidents, casualties, shifts, resolution and alteration—one matter breeds another.

Let not her majesty be persuaded with the inevitable peril of her own dear life to hazard any longer the ending her happy government in so miserable a confusion and desolation, which shall be no less imputed to her negligence than to their malice. The Church, whereof her majesty is a defender, mother, nurse, craves it at her hands. The whole realm challenges it, all the well-affected with all humility, instance and earnestness expostulate it. Yea, necessity itself inforces her majesty to it, in whose hands it lies now alone to save or cast away herself and us. God grant her highness may take that resolution that may be to His glory, her preservation and our safety.

If you look into the examples of other Princes of this realm, her majesty's predecessors, how they have carried themselves towards their competitors or those that were dangerous to them, may not the history of Henry the First towards his eldest brother Robert Curtois [*sic*]; Edward the Third, or rather his mother, towards Edward the Second, called of Carnarvon; Henry the Fourth towards King Richard the Second; Edward the Fourth towards Henry the Sixth, and of Prince Edward son to Henry the Sixth. Especially Henry the Seventh, the Solomon of our Kings, yielded to the taking away of the Earl of Warwick, son to George, Duke of Clarence, second brother to Edward the Fourth, though an innocent child, because Ferdinando King of Aragon would not agree otherwise to the marriage of his daughter to Prince Arthur.

9 pp. In the hand of Burghley's clerk. No indorsement.

[1586-7.] 250. THE SAFETY OF RELIGION, ELIZABETH, AND ENGLAND.

[Jan.]

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 652.

"What meanes may be devised for the contynuance and safetie of religion, the Queen's majestie and the State of this realme, if the Scottish Queen be suffred to lyve."

Objection. The great favour showed to her in remitting her offence and sparing her life will alter her former disposition and draw her to bear a hearty love and affection to her majesty.

Reply. Her majesty has heretofore protected her life and honour, being justly pursued by her own subjects, and has given her life to her after she was justly condemned for her sundry treasonable practices against her majesty, by the consent of both the houses of parliament in the 14th year of her reign. Notwithstanding, she has continued her traitorous malice, and therefore [has] no hope to win her by these means.

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Objection. She will solemnly vow and swear that she will not hereafter attempt anything to the hurt of her majesty's royal person.

Reply. She has already sundry times falsified her word, her writing and her oath, and she holds it for a firm principle of religion *Non est fides servanda cum hereticis*, and as heretics she esteems her majesty and all her true subjects. Therefore by this means there can be no assurance of her majesty's safety.

Objection. She may be kept in straiter imprisonment, and so be restrained from doing or practising hurt.

Reply. She has been heretofore sufficiently guarded, but that will not serve. There can be no guard against craft, corruption, malice and treason. Her favourers who are all popish traitors, will never cease to practise her enlargement, whereof they have no means nor hope but by her majesty's death. Therefore they will still shoot at that mark.

Objection. She and her allies will put in hostages for assurance of her majesty's safety.

Reply. All the hostages in the world cannot countervail to us the life of our most gracious sovereign. And the hostages would be delivered by the same means as the Scottish Queen will be enlarged, which their continual practice is to compass by the destruction of her majesty. That being performed—which God forbid—who shall then keep the hostages?

Objection. Other foreign Princes, her allies, will give assurance by their bonds, or in the word of a Prince, for her majesty's safety.

Reply. This will be kept as it was in France, with the admiral and the other lords there of the religion. And if her majesty's life be taken away, who shall sue the bonds, or charge them with breach of promise?

Objection. She may be banished, and so we shall be delivered of this imminent and inward mischief.

Reply. So the traitorous papists shall have their desire, and a present head set up to direct their proceedings—which they have long sought for.

Objection. She will cause the pope to revoke the excommunication against her majesty, and so the ground of all the practices against her highness will be taken away, and thereby she will hereafter continue in safety.

Reply. This can serve but as a mask to disguise their practices for a time, until they can compass their traitorous purpose, even as Pope Gregory XIII. dispensed with the bull of excommunication *quoad subditus*, until he should otherwise dispose of it. There are many notable examples in the histories of all ages, what other Princes, as well Christian as profane, have in their wisdoms and civil policy done in like cases, which may serve as good precedents to direct and inform her majesty in this action. Besides, in the Holy Scriptures, sundry severe and fearful examples are left to us how God in his justice took grievous revenge and punishment of such Princes as did negligently or "securdlie" pass over with impunity such horrible crimes and offences. Therefore in these cases human policy can provide no sufficient safety, for it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

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It is also most manifest by the words and writing of the Scottish Queen herself and her accomplices, that her majesty, our religion and State cannot continue in safety so long as that lady lives.

In her letter to Babington she writes that she shall be always ready and most willing to employ her life herein, and all that she has or may ever look for in this world. In the same letter she writes also, "if the mishap falls out that you might not come to me—being set in the Tower of London or in any other strength with greater guard—yet notwithstanding leave not, for God's sake, to proceed in the rest of the enterprise, for I shall die at any time most contented, understanding of your delivery forth from that servitude wherein you are held as slaves."

In open speech at Fotheringay, she wished to spend her life to procure ease and relief to the distressed and afflicted Catholics. Now, since she vows and offers to spend her life in these practices, what hope of safety can her majesty have while she lives?

Babington in his letter to the Scottish Queen writes thus:—"These things are to be advised upon in this great and honourable action, upon the issue of which depend not only the life of your most excellent majesty, but also the honour and welfare of our country, far less our lives, most dear to us, and the last hope ever to recover the faith of our forefathers." By this it appears that so long as she lives this hope continues, and when she is taken away their last hope fails.

Babington says in his examination that immediately assurance came either of the Queen's majesty's death, or of the strangers' arrival, he proposed to have proclaimed the Scottish Queen and made no doubt of desired success. So it appears his hope of success was by proclaiming her, which matter of hope remaining, her majesty cannot be in safety.

3 pp. *Indorsed.*

[Jan.] **251.** DISCOURSE TOUCHING THE EXECUTION OF MARY.

C.P., vol. XXI.

"The daungerowse alteratyon lykely to insue bothe in England and Scotelande in case the executyon of the Scottish Queen be stayed."

The alteration in England.

Such as are worldly affected that have been used as instruments as well in the later proceeding against the said Queen as at other times will seek to make their own peace, to her majesty's danger. The best affected that have heretofore showed themselves careful of her majesty's safety, seeing their care frustrated, will give over and provide for their own safety by retiring themselves out of the realm.

The number of papists, atheists, and malcontents will marvellously increase in respect of the hope they will conceive that the said Scottish Queen shall come to the Crown as a thing fatal. The Jesuits and seminaries and their confederates that build only the hope of alteration of religion upon her person, doubting in respect of the infirmity of her body that a more strait keeping of her will hasten her death, will use the greater expedition for the prevention thereof, in putting in execution such practices as may shorten her majesty's days.

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The alteration in Scotland.

The number of the evil affected both to the religion and amity of this Crown will increase. Such as now stand well affected both in religion and in the amity will be enforced for their own particular safety to change their course.

The King himself, when the well-affected shall be removed from him and he shall see the number of the ill-affected increased in his realm, whereby he need not doubt any English party, it is to be looked for will be carried—through the persuasions of the ill-affected at home and the encouragement he shall receive from the Catholic Princes abroad—to attempt somewhat both for the liberty of his mother, as also for the pursuing of his pretended title.

And lastly, it is also to be looked for that, besides the provocation of his own subjects at home and the Catholic Princes abroad, he will be greatly provoked to attempt somewhat by the ill-affected of this realm, especially when he shall see the number of them increased.

A consideration of the perils that may grow by the executing of the said Queen.

Forasmuch as both the King of Scots, the King of Spain and their favourers pretend to have some present interest to this Crown, it may be doubted that somewhat may be by them attempted after her death, to the peril of her majesty's person. It is therefore to be considered whether the perils likely to grow that way are of like danger as those that may ensue by the preservation of the said Queen.

First, the matter being considered in generality, it will appear very manifestly that, by the conservation of her, the perils that may grow either by the King of Spain or the King of Scots will be redoubled for the causes ensuing:—

1. For that she is already a Catholic, and so stablished in the opinions of the Catholics of this realm.

2. For that she has already by her practice and long continuance here won a great party within the realm, which number will greatly increase when they shall see her preserved fatally, contrary to all reason.

3. The Catholic Princes in respect of the opinion of the zeal of her religion will, according to their promise, concur and join with the King her son both in the seeking of her liberty and putting him in possession of this Crown.

4. And whereas it may be objected that they will not attempt anything, in respect of the peril that may grow unto her, it may be answered that there is no likelihood that there will fall out any impediment that way; firstly, for that she herself encourages them thereto, praying them to have no regard to her peril, but to the advancement of the common cause; secondly, for that it is to be doubted that, being kept more straitly than heretofore she had been, she cannot long continue, and therefore that her friends will rather attempt some desperate remedy than suffer her to perish without attempting anything; and lastly, they will hope, and not without cause, that when the wise men of England shall see her party increased within the realm, and a general combination without the realm for her delivery, they will make "dayntie" to advise any violence to be attempted against her.

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Now, touching the perils that are to ensue either by the King of Scots or the King of Spain, by a particular consideration of them it will appear they are nothing equal with the peril that is likely to grow from her. And first, if the perils be considered that may ensue by the King of Scots, it will appear that there is no cause to doubt of any danger to ensue from him so long as he continues to be a Protestant, his own weakness being sufficiently known. The danger that is like to grow is by the change of his religion.

5½ pp. Draft. Corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed :
"A project of a dis-coors towelching the Scot. Q."

Cott. Calig.,
C. 1X.,
fol. 671.

Copy of the first part of the same.

Copy of the second part of the same.

Ib., fol. 702.

252. LETTERS TO MARY.

[Jan.]

C.P., vol. XXI.

Letters to the Queen of Scotland from divers persons.

1. A letter from Thomas Throgmorton to the Queen of Scotland. 10th May, 1583, touching the apprehension of Morgan, one of her servants in France, procured by letters from the Queen of England.
2. Bernardino de Mendoza, July 25, in Spanish.
3. Extract of letters written to the Queen of Scots and Nau by Mauvissière and others.
4. The Countess of Lennox, a private letter.
5. From a Jesuit by the name of Martelli, 1584. French.
6. From a Jesuit by the name of Jeronimus Martelli, 1584. French.
7. From a Jesuit by the name of Martelli to the Queen of Scots' secretary, 1584.
8. Fontenay to the Queen of Scots and Nau, D. Allen, Mr. Denis to the Queen of Scots. Not deciphered.
9. Fontenay to the Queen of Scots, 1584. French.
10. Fontenay to the Queen of Scots, 25th August, 1584, in cipher.
11. La Rue to the Queen of Scots, 24th August 1584.
12. Anthony Standen, 8th May 1584.
13. Standen, 24th October, 1584. In cipher.
14. Fontenay, 24th November 1584. French.
15. From [] to the Scottish Queen.
16. Charles Paget, 14th January, 1584. His conference with the Spanish ambassador, who dislikes much of the proceedings of the King of Scotland for taking the supremacy of the Church, and other things contrary to the Romish religion. A device for the Queen's escape, etc.
17. Don Bernardino de Mendoza, 4th April, 1584. Spanish.
18. Morgan, 9th April, 1585. In cipher.
19. Thomas Morgan, 23rd April, 1585. In cipher.
20. Charles Paget, 7th May, 1585. In cipher.
21. Charles Paget, 7th May, 1585. He laments for the dissension between the Queen and the King her son; he advises that some trusty person might be sent to him to dissuade him from such courses as he intends.
22. Fontenay, 1585. French.
23. Thomas Morgan, 8th May, 1585. In cipher.
24. Liggon's, 10th May, 1585. His request to the Prince of Parma for the delivery of 12000 crowns, for the Queen of Scots, with the Prince's protestation of his readiness for advancement of her affairs.
25. Liggon's, 25th May, 1585. The many abuses offered by the Queen of England to the King of Spain, but especially that of the Low Countries, for which he hopes that the King of Spain will never rest till he have revenge.
26. Letters from Morgan, 15th December, 1585.
27. Thomas Morgan, 16th July 1585. The Earl of

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1586-7. Leicester intends to send presents to the King of Scotland. He hears that Blount shall be employed in the service wherefore he charges him. 28. The Bishop of Glasgow, 28th July, 1585. 29. From Paget and Morgan, 28th July, 1585. 30. Charles Paget, 28th July. 31. Paget and Morgan, 20th July, 1585. 32. Gabriel Dennis, 24th October, 1585. 33. Articles of letters from Morgan and others extracted by Curll, 24th January, 1585. 34. Morgan to the Scottish Queen, 20th February 1585. 35. Morgan, 15th January, 1585. 36. Morgan, 25th February, 1585. 37. Bishop of Glasgow, March, 1585. 38. Morgan, 8th April, 1585. 39. The French amabassador, April, 1585. 40. Charles Paget. 41. Thomas Morgan, 4th July, 1585. 42. Thomas Morgan, 1585. Poley to the Queen of Scots. 43. Sir Francis Englefield to Nau, Charles Paget to the Queen of Scots, 29th May, 1586. 44. Lord Paget and Liggons to the Queen of Scots, 4th May, 1586. 45. Morgan, 9th May, 1586. 46. Don Bernardino de Mendoza to the Queen of Scots, 29th May, 1586. 47. Bishop of Ross, 25th July, 1586. [*Crossed out*:—48. The Queen of Scots to Morgan, 2 July 1585.] 49. Don Bernardino, 5th July 1585. 50. Don Bernardino, 5th July, 1586. 51. The French ambassador, 6th July, 1586. 52. Morgan, 9th July, 1585. 53. Nau to Babington, 13th July 1586. [*Crossed out*:—54. The Duke of Florence to the King of Scots, 28th July, 1586.] 55. Lord Claud Hamilton to the Scottish Queen. 56. Courcelles, 30th August, 1586. 57. Bishop of Ross, 8th August, 1586. 58. Bishop of Ross to the Queen of Scots, 8th August, 1586. 59. Fontenay to the Queen of Scots. 60. The French ambassador, 15th August, 1586. 61. The French ambassador, 15th August, 1586 [*sic*]. 62. Lord Claud, 20th August, 1586. 63. Charles Paget, 5th October, 1586. 64. Charles Paget, 1st October, 1586. 65. Fontenay, 7th October, 1586. 66. Don Bernardino, 10th February, 1586. 67. Morgan, 28 January, 1586.

3 pp. *In the hand of Burghley's clerk. Indorsed.*

253. [] TO WALSINGHAM.

Jan.

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 46.

I have forborne to write many things that I have dealt with in the Scottish designs, leaving those discourses to him whom you have chosen to receive and deliver, only now I seek a direction from yourself.

This last night Restalrig [Lesterrick] had great talk with me about certain persons who he saith are apprehended for a new conspiracy, some French, some English, whereof two are closely kept and examined at Mr Vice-Chamberlain's house in Holborn. Of the manner of whose proceeding he much misliketh, holding for a principle that as long as they practise in pluralities they shall "scandal" the cause, miss the mark, and wreck themselves. "For"—saith he—"the man that must do the deed ought to be so single and resolute as not to let his left hand know when his right hand striketh." He telleth me that he greatly doubteth the Scottish Queen was put to death on Wednesday last, which opinion I confirmed. In conclusion he required me to venture a journey as near Fotheringhey as

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possibly I could, to learn the truth thereof; "for"—quoth he—"were that once known assuredly we would take another way and the Council of England should first smart." They think all is safe, if by policy they may strengthen the King of Navarre, on the one side, and the King of Portugal on the other. But mark the end. These are Lesterrick's speeches. The man is wonderful glad of my acquaintance, promising to conduct me through all the principal capitals of Scotland. He is desirous to bring me to the Master of Gray, whom secretly to me he confesseth to be a papist. I have deferred answer for my going to Fotheringay until to-morrow night, that in so doing I might the better know your pleasure for the whole course. *Signed in cipher.*

Postscript—I beseech you remember the old man imprisoned for venison; he is sick and like to die.

1 p. *Indorsed.*

Feb. 1. **254. WARRANT FOR THE EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.**

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 203.

Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *etc.*, to our trusty and well beloved cousins George, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshal of England, Henry, Earl of Kent, Henry, Earl of Derby, George, Earl of Cumberland, Henry, Earl of Pembroke, greeting. Whereas since sentence given by you and others of our Council, nobility and judges against the Queen of Scots, by the name of Mary, the daughter of James the Fifth, late King of Scots, commonly called the Queen of Scots, and Dowager of France, as to you is well known, all the Estates in the last Parliament assembled did not only deliberately by great advice allow and approve the same sentence as just and honourable, but also with all humbleness and trustiness possible sundry times require, solicit and press us to proceed to the publishing of the same, and thereupon direct such further execution against her person as they did adjudge her to have duly deserved, adding thereunto that the forbearing thereof was and would be daily a certain and undoubted danger not only to our own life but to themselves, their posterity and the public estate of this realm, as well for the cause of the Gospel and true religion of Christ as for the peace of the whole realm. Whereunto We did (though the same were with some delay of time) publish the same sentence by our Proclamation, and yet hitherto have forborne to give direction for the further satisfaction of the foresaid most earnest request made by our said Estates of Parliament, whereby We do daily understand by all sorts of our loving subjects both of our nobility and Council, and also of the wisest, greatest and best devoted of all our subjects of inferior degrees, how greatly and deeply from the bottom of their hearts they are grieved daily and afflicted hourly with fear of our life, and thereby, consequently, with a dreadful doubt and expectation of the ruin of this present godly and happy Estate of this realm if We shall forbear the further final execution, as it is deserved, and neglect their general and continual requests, prayers, counsels and advices; and thereupon contrary to our natural disposition in such a case, being

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2½ pp. Copy. Indorsed.

Facsimile, Tytler, Vol. III.

Copy of the same.

Harl. MSS.
4663, vol. II.,
fol. 84b.

Feb. 1. **255.** AN INTELLIGENCER IN FRANCE TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 213.

Many Romanists laugh at the report of the Scottish Queen's escape, but the French ambassador never thought her dead till now, supposing the rumour to be spread by policy. "Yf she yet lyve, she lyveth two longe, and threatneth losse."

If she be dead the thing must be handled with severity, with show of grievous offence towards those who had charge of her, and search throughout the realm "as never a mylke mayde—esspecyally in Northampton shire—must be lefte unexamyned, lest otherwise the subtile enemy discover the drawght."

The French ambassador rejoices at the revolt of Stanley and York, presuming that great matters will follow in the Low Countries or Ireland. "I once wrote unto you that a right papist is a rancke traytour: I am sorye you fynde yt true."

"Theare is one Jaques that longe tyme followed Standley and was *secundus ipse*. Yf he may be gotten, yt weare good rather to

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1586-7. hange hym upp till the next wynter then to suffer hym mannage any martiall matters this somer; for beleve me he is woursse then badde, and highly favored of dangerous Catholiques." *Signature in eipher.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 3.

256. PRIVY COUNCIL TO SHREWSBURY.

Lansd. 982,
fol. 78b.

This bearer, Mr. Robert Beale, whom your lordship knoweth to be honest, wise and trusty, cometh to you with a commission under her majesty's hand and seal, having been directed to show it to the earl of Kent, because his abode is in his way, and he is second in the commission, and your lordship the principal. And that Sir Amias Paulet may be acquainted therewith, the bearer is to come by him, and after to confer with your lordship how Mr. Paulet may know your mind to repair to you if his health allow. So also the earl of Kent shall be ready to attend you at your convenience. Greenwich. 3 Feb. 1586-7."

2½ pp. *Copy. Indorsed:* "Brought by Mr. Beale with the commission the 6th of February 1586 at Orton Longueville; with him came Sir Drew Drury, and the 7th day went to Fotheringhay, and the 8th of February executed the Scots Queen according to my commission. Mr. Andrews the sheriff of Northamptonshire I sent to bring her down to execution, and so I charged him with her body living, and with her dead corps."

Feb. 3.

257. PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF KENT.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 204.

After our very hearty commendations to your lordship. Whereas her majesty has presently directed her commission under her hand and great seal of England to our good lord of Shrewsbury, your lordship, and others for her special service, tending to the safety of her royal person and the universal quietness of her whole realm, as by the said commission shall appear to your lordship, we have thought good to send the same by this bearer, Mr. Robert Beale, a person of great trust and experience, first to be shown to your lordship, and afterwards to be carried by him to the Earl of Shrewsbury, from whom we doubt not but your lordship shall also very speedily hear at what time his lordship and you may most conveniently meet together for the execution of the said commission. And in the meantime your lordship shall understand by this bearer how needful it is to have the proceeding herein to be kept very secret, and upon what occasion no more of the lords in commission are at this time used herein. Referring your lordship therefore to his sufficiency for the rest, we heartily bid your lordship farewell. At the Court at Greenwich.

½ p. *Indorsed:* "Copie of a letter from the lords *etc.* of her majestie's counsaile to the Erle of Kent, touching the execution of the Scottish Queene."

Feb. 3.

258. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"Pleis your honour, yesternycht I ressawed ane pacquett from Scotland efter ten of the clock, wherain is contened ane letter to

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1586-7. her majeste. I wold be glayde to knaw when hir majeste may be pleased that I may present the samin wyth such drection as I have ressaved. And so awayting upon ansser, I tak my leave this 3 of Februar. Your honoris alwayis to be commanded. A. Douglas."

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 6. **259.** [LAIRD OF POURRY OGILVIE] TO WALSINGHAM.

"My guid lord, having found the commoditie of this scorte space of tyme, I haif taen the harties to visit zowir lordship wit thir few lyns, not sua mekill for aeny guid or fecfull purpos I can comit to paepeir for the present, as to rander zowir lordship maist haertlie thanks for the graet undesserwit cwrtesie it plesit zowir lordship to bestow on me at my first and last ranconter wit zowir honour, quhilk sall be maeit according to my simpill and mein aestaeit if ane trew hert and ane faithfull mynd to do zowir lordship's service maey in ouy wayss conterpoiss the saminge, bot in speciall for zowir lordship's tokine, quhilk I will kept in perpetwall memorie of zowir lordship's freindchipe and affectione towards me, qwhairof I mak moir accownte than aether of gowld or jwellis, and that in respect of zowir lordship's infiniet wertewss and singwlar repwtatione blowine abroict throche owt all pairts, assuring zowir lordship that thaer sall be no les simpathe and correspondens betwixt zowir lordship present and my natwrall than the gentillman berar simit to reqwoire in zowir lordship's naem and behalf."

"Ass occasione is offerit I will wreit unto zowir lordship owte of Scotland, and sall mak zowir lordship forcein of all forein cowrrsis and attemptis that may aether prejuge the religione we haif imbraesit or zeit disquoyet the aesteit of the twa contreis. Ass I am villing to do qwhait gwid officis in me lyis for the preservatioun of hir majeste royall persone and aesteit—as within schort space sall be knawine in effect—sua dowt I not bot the same will be considerit, accordine to hir majeste benewolens and my merit, and that he zowir lordship's discretione, to the quhilk I will refar all things, beseikine zowir lordship to lat me haif zowir lordship instructions of thir twrns in wreit sua sone ass maey be possibill, for I will take sik ordwre that I maey remaen still one Cowrt for that occasione, and God willing sall spaer no trawel nor paens in maekine zowir lordship frequent advertisments, and sall resolve zowir lordship in all it sall pleiss zowir honour till inqwoyr of."

"I will pray zowir lordship till appardone this my rwict letter, in respect of the schortness of tym and the impeschement I haed, being trwblit in sum aeffaers of my lord imbassadwrs, for in ye rest of my letters I will chaenge my forme of wretine accordine to zowir lordship's directione. Sua howpine for zowir lordship's ansueir remittis the rest till the nixt advertisment wit my affectionat commendations of service unto zowir lordship's self, committis zowir lordship in God's Holy protectione. From Berweik. Signed: "Zowir lordship's awine to be commendit wit service." Signed: 8764.

Postscript—"It will pleis zowir lordship understande that thir fowre figwirs and charecteurs sall be sufficient to signifie my naem unto zowir lordship at this present and in all tymes to cume."

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1 p. *Holograph, also address:* "To my werrie gwid lord Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretarie to hir Majestie of Inglande." *Indorsed by Thomas Phelippes:* "From Poury Ogilvye."

Feb. 7. **260. JOHN CRANSTON TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

A letter was brought to the King, subscribed by Huntly, Crawford, and Montrose, desiring that he would put hand to his own delivery out of the bondage he was in, and they would take arms with the rest of his loyal subjects to that effect, otherwise they would attempt it by themselves of their own duty. The Secretary uttered it to the rest of the fellowship that came in at Stirling, and moved his majesty to believe that they presaged it, wherefore it was meetest he should declare it himself to them, which he did. And thereafter, as it appeared to all that are about him, he repents himself of that dealing, so at this present the Secretary leans only to the faction of Stirling, and esteems Archibald [an] irreconcilable friend, and has almost undone the laird of Johnston from his master's cause, but that the King "holpe" his affairs by Bothwell, *etc.* William Keith has put Archibald in evil opinion with the King. The other two have spoken little to his praise.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In Thomas Phelippes' hand.* [With No. 304.]

Feb. 7. **261. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHELEY.**

"Pleis your lordship, albeit I was myndit to haif maid small accompt of this indignatione used against me in breking uppe and saeing of my ludgeing evin the verrye tyme when I was at Courte onder cullour of ane decreit of the chancellarie, the strenthe wherof I am not disposed, as appering *curiosus in aliena republica*; to querrell, thocht when the mater shalbe examinat to muche wilbe founde that may be said against the valeditie of the samin. Yit the indignitie of the fact that I feir shalbe reported in the worst forme to my Soverane be ane nombre of Scottish gentilmen and capitanis attending upone me, that did sea and heir the unworthye dealing wsed, togither wit sclanderous reportis that hathe risin and may fordar aryse anent the using of his ministeris that the multitude doeth think hathe committed the ylik offens as did the ambassadour of France, hathe constrainit me to lay the mater and proceeding oppin onto your lordship, and to pray that suche considerane may be provided as may remove theis inconveniencis, at the leist so far as may be done, laifull ordour being observed."

"Beand landit at the Tour Where the servandis of the house, evin suche as did service me, did complayne that thai war violentlie put owte of thair chalmeris, thair durris brokkin wpe, the silver platt that did service me with the naprye that was destinat for my service and silver prowdyt for the provisioun of my house was intrometted with be the secundarye of the counter and his officeris to the number of four persons that presentlie did possesse the hous. The capitanis wold haif remedeit this mater be way of actione, bot forseing the inconvenience that micht haif ensewit, I went to Sir Francis Walsingham and exponit the case, who as ane grawe counsellour and cairfull of her majesteis honour that he

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thocht heirbye to be interessit, send for the Shereff of Londone, and gawe suche ordour that the mater wes reparit be voyding of the saidis intrusit personis and restitutione of the housis, whiche I think shall not be able to tak away the sclauder that is lyk to follow upone the occasionis forsaidis oneles sum fordour shalbe done that may declair hir majesteis miscontentment agains so indisorderit personis that so inordourlie did proceid agains the hous of one that is placeit in office that is estemed to be sacred during thair charge."

"Fordar it may pleis your lordship that becaus Mallerie the lawer, who is counsallour to Sebastian Hervie, and that did dewise the grounde of the indentouris to Sir James Herwie wherupone this present contentione doeth grow, can not be moved to come to your lordship for your informatione in this caus oneles he shalbe commanded, be ressonne it is against his broder, I haif send onto your lordship the berare, freind to the said Sebastian, who, althocht he be na lawer, yit the parteis persuadis thame selffis is able to satesfie your lordship of the veretie in this cause."

"And so leawing to truble your lordship wit forder letter, I humblye tak my leawe. From Londone. *Signed*: "Your lordship's alwayis to be commandit at power, A. Douglas."

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Addressed*: "To my veray gude lord my Lord Burleigh, Lord Heighe Tresaurare of Inglande." *Indorsed*.

Feb. 7. **262.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

[*As in the first part of No. 261, concerning the breaking up of his house.*]

"I can not forbere to mak your honour acquaynted that I think it shalbe the casten away of Rodgeir Aschetone, and his wtter discrediting at his maisteris hand, wherbye he shalbe unhable to do her majestie service heir efter if he shall carye onye letter to the King his master in this perrellus tyme, beand ane strangeair subject to onderlye the opinione of the ill dewoted, suche as it shall pleis thame to mak constructione of."

"I think it shalbe weill done to reserve him to sum better tyme within the compasse of eight dayis heirefter. In this midde tyme I shall caus the letter gevin to him be conveyed be one of my companie, if so shall be her majesteis pleaser, that shall procure the anser thair of to be returned to hir hienes. Awating to knaw hir majesteis directione in theis materis I humblye take my leiff. From Londone." *Signed*: "Your honouris at all powar, A. Douglas."

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Addressed*: "To the richt honorable Mr. Wm. Davison, Secretare to her majestie and of the previe counsall." *Indorsed*.

Feb. 7. **263.** MONSIEUR DE CHÂTEAUNEUF TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1., fol.
126.

Mr. de Gray, Melvin and Keith are returning to seek the King their master, and I think that you will know through them what they have negotiated here on account of the matter of the Queen of

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Scotland; wherein I will tell you that they have all three done their duty very well, following the command of the King their master, as I have heard from them and by the common talk of the town; for for the last three weeks I have been as it were a prisoner, for they have produced against me two men who say that I dealt with them to kill the Queen; and he who says it is that young Stafford, a man of the quality that you know, with one named Moudes who also belongs to Stafford the ambassador. Thereupon they took one who belongs to me named Des Trappes, whom they assert to have communicated with the said Mouds, and they are keeping him in prison at court, without my knowing what he has said or deposed or having means to speak to him. Moreover I cannot have audience of the Queen, who has sent Vuade to the King to complain of me and demand justice: and meanwhile the passages have been closed for a fortnight without my having been permitted to write to the King to advertise him of this calumny, which has been set up expressly to ruin the Queen of Scotland, in order to prevent my speaking to the Queen, who was disturbed by the words of M. de Bellièvre, who was not yet at Canturbery when Des Trappes was taken at Rochester, going to seek the said Sieur de Bellièvre in order to pass the Channel with him: and yet they will prevent my being able to advertise the said Sieur de Bellièvre of this matter, before whom they could verify the whole. These gentlemen the ambassadors well know the truth of the matter and who is the author of it; a thing which they have promised me to testify as soon as they shall arrive in Scotland. I am awaiting news from France today or tomorrow, believing that the King will wish to hear me about this matter, the which I have related to these gentlemen as it happened in truth, but you know well enough the artifices of this country: God is he who will judge thereof. London.

1 p. French. Copy.

Feb. 8. **264.** SIR AMIAS POWLET, SIR DREW DRURY AND ROBERT BEALE
C.P., vol. XXI. TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Sir, it may please you to let me know from you what shall become of the families of this castle and Chartley, and in what sort, and for what places, passports shall be made for the Scottish train when they shall be discharged, thinking that, considering the nearness of London, both the French and Scottish will desire to pass that way, which was so appointed long since by Mr. Secretary Walsingham for those remaining at Chartley, and their passports made to that effect and left with Mr. Richard Bagot, because it was then intended that they should have been discharged within four or five days after the removing of this lady from thence.

It seems meet that some watch and ward be kept about this house during the continuance here of the Scottish company, which may be supplied by my 30 soldiers if you shall like it, and the 40 soldiers taken out of Huntingdonsbire may be discharged.

Although Mr. Darell, master of her majesty's household here, has been destitute of money of late, yet I have forborne, upon consideration of the uncertainty of our abode here, to trouble my

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Lord Treasurer therewith, and having no ready mean to bring money from London, I have supplied the want out of Nau's money remaining in my hands, which may be repaid hereafter at London, as shall be appointed by the lords of her majesty's Council. I trust I shall not need to put you in remembrance for order to be given touching her majesty's plate and other household stuff here, as likewise for the coffers and trunks belonging to Nau and Curll.

Sir Dru Drury, with his hearty due commendations to you, prays your favourable mean for his revocation, which he would not desire—notwithstanding his great and urgent occasions—if the cause of his abode were not, through the mercy and favour of our good God, clearly removed, to the great comfort of himself and all other faithful Christian subjects. I will say nothing of his careful service in this place, because his zeal to religion, duty to his sovereign, and love to his country are very well known to you.

The children of God have daily experience of His mercy and favour towards such as can be content to depend on His merciful providence, Who does not see as man sees, but His times and seasons are always just and perfectly good. The same God make us all thankful for His late singular favours. And thus I leave to trouble you, wishing you all felicity in Our Lord Jesus. Fotheringay. *Signed: A. Powlet.*

Postscript—We may not forbear to signify to you that these two Earls have showed a very singular and faithful affection to her majesty's service in this action, as you shall be informed more particularly by me Robert Beale at my return to the Court, which shall be shortly, by the grace of God. *Signed: A. Powlet. D. Drury. Robert Beale.*

2pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.

Feb. 8. **265.** SIR AMIAS POWLET TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

C.P., vol. XXI.

Sir, the rule of charity commands to bear with the impatience of the afflicted, which Christian lesson you have learned, as I find by experience, to my great contentment, in that you have been content to bear with my "malapertnes." wherein you bind me more and more to love you and to honour you, which I will do with all honest faithfulness.

If I should say that I have burned the papers you wrote of, I cannot tell if everybody would believe me, and therefore I reserve them to be delivered to your own hands at my coming to London. God bless you and prosper all your actions to His glory. Fotheringay. *Signed: A. Powlet.*

½ p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Feb. 8. **266.** EARL OF KENT, ROBERT BEALE, SIR AMYAS POWLET AND SIR DREW DRURY TO [THE COUNCIL].

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 214.

On Saturday the 4th instant Robert Beale came to the house of me, the Earl of Kent, in the county of Bedford, to whom your lordships' letter and message was delivered and her majesty's commission shown. Whereupon I sent precepts for staying such hues and cries as had troubled the country, and all persons who

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It was also resolved that I should on the Monday following come to Lifford to Mr. Elmes, to be the nearer to confer with my lord of Shrewsbury.

Sunday at night I, Robert Beale, came to Fotheringhay, "where after the communicinge of the commysion, *etc.*, unto us Sir Amice Pawlett and Sir Dru Drurie, by reason that I, Sir Amice Pawlett, was butt late recovered and not able to repayre to the Earle of Shrewesburie, beinge then at Orton sixe myles of, yt was thought good that wee Sir Dru Drurie and Robert Beale should goe unto him, which wee dyd on morninge [*sic*]."

With her majesty's commission and your lordships' letter we imparted to him what the Earl of Kent and we thought meet to be done, praying his lordship hither the day following to confer with me, the said earl, which he promised.

"And for the better coulouringe of the matter I, the Earle of Shrewesburie, sent for Mr. Beuill, a justice of peace of the countye of Huntingden;" to whom I communicated your lordships' warrant to Robert Beale for staying hues and cries, requiring him to give notice thereof to the town of Peterborough and the justices of peace of Huntingdonshire, and to cause the bringers of such warrants to be brought to the justices of peace, and to bring us word to Fotheringay Castle on Wednesday morning what he had done, and what he should learn of the authors of such bruits. Which order I, Sir Amice Pawlett, had taken on Monday morning in this town and places adjoining.

The same night the sheriff of Northampton, upon receipt of your lordships' letter, came to Owndell, and letters were sent to me, the Earl of Kent, of the Earl of Shrewsbury's meeting here on Tuesday by noon, and letters were sent with their assent to Sir Edward Montagu, Sir Richard Knightley, Mr. Thomas Brudenell, *etc.*, to be here on Wednesday by 8 a.m., "at which tyme yt was thought meete that the execucion should be."

"So uppon Tewesdaye wee the Earles came hether, where the shrieffe mett us, and uppon conference betweene us yt was resolved that the care for the sendinge for the surgeons and other necessarye provision should be commytted unto him agaynst the tyme."

"And wee forthwith repayred unto her, and first in the presence of her selfe and her folkes, to the intent they might see and report hereafter that shee was nott otherwise proceeded with then accordinge to lawe and the forme of the statute made in the xxvijth yere of her majestes raigne, yt was thought convenyent that her majestes commysion should be redd unto her, and afterwarde shee was by soundrye speeches wyllid to prepare her selfe agaynst the next morninge."

"Shee was also putt in remembraunce of her faulte, the honorable manner of proceedinge with her, and the necessarye that was ymposed uppon her majestie to proceede to execucion, for that otherwyse was founde [*sic*] that they could nott both stande together: and how even sythence the Lord of Buckhurst his

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"Wherefore synce shee had now a good whyle since warninge by the sayd Lord and Robert Beale to thinke uppon and prepare her selfe to dye, wee doubted nott butt shee was before this settled, and therefore would accept this message in good parte."

"And to the intent that noe Chrystyan dewtye might be sayd to be omittted that might be for her comfort, and tend to the salvatyon both of her bodye and soule in the world to come, wee offered unto her that yf yt would please her to conferr with the bysshopp or deane of Peterboroughe shee might, which deane for that purpose wee had appoynted to be lodged within one myle of that place."

"Hereto shee replyed, crossinge her selfe in the name of the Father, the Sonne and the Hollye Ghost, sayinge that shee was readye to dye in the Catholycke Romaine faythe which her auncestours had professed, from which shee would nott be removed."

"And albeyt wee used manye perswasjons to the contrarye, yett we prevayled nothinge; and therefore when shee demaunded the admyttaunce of her pryest we utterlye denyed yt unto her."

"Hereuppon shee demaunded to understande what aunswere wee had touchinge her former petitions to her majestie concerninge her papers of accomptes and the bestowinge of her bodye."

"To the first wee had none other aunswere to make butt that wee thought if they were nott sent before the same might be in Mr. Wade's custodie, whoe was now in Fraunce; and seeinge her papers could nott anye waye pleasure her majestie, wee doubted nott butt that the same should be delivered unto such as shee should appoynte. For for our partes wee undoubtedlie thought that her majestie would nott make anye proffytt of her thinges, and therefore—in our opynyons—shee might sett downe what shee would have done and the same should be ymparted unto her majestie, of whome both shee and others might expect all courtesye."

"Touchinge her bodye wee knewe nott her majestes pleasure, and therefore could neyther saye that her petition should be denyed nor graunted."

"For the practise of Babington, shee utterlye denyed yt, and would have inferred that her death was for her religion, whereunto yt was eftsoones by us replyed that for manye yeeres shee was nott touched for religion, nor should have byn now, butt that this proceedinge agaynst her was for treason, in that shee was culpable of that horryble conspiracye for destroyinge of her majestes person; which shee agayne denyed, addinge further that albeyt shee for her selfe forgave them that were the procurers of her death, yett shee doubted nott butt God would take vengeance thereof; and beinge chardged with the depositions of Nawe and Curle to prove yt agaynst her, shee replyed that shee accused none, butt sayd that hereafter when shee shalbe dead and they remayne alyve yt would appeare how indifferentlye shee had byn dealt with and what measure had byn used unto her: and asked whether yt

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"Uppon our departure from her, for that yt seamed by the commyssion that the chardge of her was in the disposytyon of us the Earles, we required Sir Amice Pawlett and Sir Dru Drurie to receave for that night the chardge which they had before, and to cause the wholle number of soldyers to watche that night, and that her folkes should be shutt upp, and tooke order that onely fowre of them should be at the execucion, remayninge aloof of, and guarded with certayne persons, so as they should nott be suffered to come neare unto her; which were Melvile her stewarde, the phisition, surgeon and apothecarie."

"Wednesdays morninge after that wee the earles were repayed unto the castle, and the shrieffe had prepared all thinges in the hall for the execucion, he was commaunded to goe upp into her chamber, and to bringe her downe to the place where were presente wee which have signed this letter, Mr. Henrye Talbott, esquier, Sir Edward Mountegewe, knight, his sonne and heire apparant and William Mountegewe his brother, Sir Richard Knightley, knight, Mr. Thomas Brudenell, Mr. Bevill, Mr. Robert and John Winge-field, Mr. Forrest, and Raynor, Benjamen Piggott, Mr. Deane of Peterboroughe and others."

"At the stayre foote shee pawsed to speake to Melvile in our hearinge, which was to this effect: 'Melvile, as thou hast byn an honest servaunt unto me, so I praye thee to contynue to my sonne, and commend me unto him. I have nott impugned his religion nor the religion of others, butt wyshe him well. And as I forgive all that have offended me in Scotland, so I would he should also, and beseeche God that he would send him his Hollye Spirytt and yllumynate him.' Melvill's aunswere was that he would so doe, and at that instant he would beseeche God to assist him with his Spirytt."

"Then shee demaunded to speake with her priest, which was denyed unto her, the rather for that shee came with a superstitious payre of beades and a crucifix. Shee then desired to have her women to helpe her, and uppon her earnest request, and sayinge that when other gentlewomen were executed shee had redd in cronycles that they had women allowed unto them, yt was permytted that shee should have twoe named by her selfe, which were Mistris Curle and Kennedie."

"After shee came to the scaffold, first in the presence of them all her majestes commyssyon was openlye redd. And afterwarde Mr. Deane of Peterboroughe, accordinge to a directyon which he had received the night before from us the earles, would have made a godlye admonityon to her to repent and dye well in the feare of God and charytye to the worlde. Butt at the first entrie shee utterlye refused yt, sayinge that shee was a Catholicke, and that yt were a follye to move her beinge so resolutelye mynded, and that our prayers would lytle avayle her."

"Whereuppon, to the intent yt might appeare that wee and the wholle assemblye had a Chrystian desire to have her dye well, a godlic prayer conceived by Mr. Deane was redd and pronounced

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by us all, that yt would please Allmightie God to send her his Hollye Spiritt and grace, and allso yf yt were his wyll to pardon all her offences, and of his mercye to receave her into his heavenlye and everlastinge kingdome; and finallye to blesse her majestie and confounde all her enemyes. Whereof Mr. Deane myndinge to repayre upp shortelye can shewe your lordships a coppye."

"This done shee pronounced a prayer uppou her knees to this effect. To beseache God to send her his Hollye Spirytt, and that shee trusted to receave her salvatyon in his bloud, and of his grace to be receaved into his kingdome; besought God to forgive her enemyes as shee forgave them and to tourne His wrath from this lande. To blesse the Queenes majestie that shee might searve him; lykewyse to be mercyfull unto her sonne; to have compassyon of his churche; and allthoughe shee was nott worthie to be heard, yett shee had a confidence in his mercye, and prayed all the saintes to praye unto her Savvour to receave her."

"After this—tourneyng towards her servauntes—shee desyred them to praye for her, that her Saviour would receave her."

"Then uppou petytyon made by the executioners, she pardoned them, and sayd shee was glad that the end of all her sorrowes was so neare. Then shee mysliked the whininge and weeping of her women, sayinge that they rather ought to thanke God for her resolutenes, and kyssinge them willed them to departe from the scaffold, and fare-well."

"And so resolutelye kneeled downe, and haveinge a kerchief banded about her eyes layed downe her necke, wheruppon the execucion proceeded."

"Her servauntes were incontynentlye removed, and order taken that none should approche unto her corps, butt that yt should be embalmed by the surgeon appoynted. And further her crosse, apparell and other thinges are retayned here and nott yelded unto the executyoner, for inconvenientes that might followe: butt he is remytted to be rewarded by such as sent him hether."

This hath been the manner of our dealings in this service, whereof we have advertised your lordships as particularly as we could for the time; and for avoiding all slanderous reports have caused a note thereof to be conceived to the same effect in writing, "which wee the sayd earles have subscribed with the handes of such other the knightes and gentlemen abovenamed that were presente at thactyon." Fotheringhay Castle.

5 pp. *Copy.*

Feb. 8. **267.** ACCOUNT OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS' DEATH.

"A true report of the death of that rare and princely martyr, Mary Stuarde, late Queen of Skottlande, executed for her conscience at Fotheringhey Castell, in Northamptonshire, the 8 of Februarii 1586."

First, in the hall of the said castle was a stage raised of 7 foot square every way, and about 5 foot of height upon the same; at the two upper corners were two stools set, one for the Earl of Shrewsbury, another for the Earl of Kent. Directly between the said stools was placed a block of one foot in height, covered with

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black, and before it stood a little cushion stool for the Queen to sit on while her apparel was taken off. Round about the stage stood the high sheriff of that shire with divers others appointed for the purpose.

About 9 o'clock in the morning came that sweet saint and martyr, led like a lamb to the butchery, attired in a gown of black satin embroidered with a French kind of embroidery of black velvet, her hair seemly trussed up with a veil of white lawn, which covered her head and all her other apparel down to the foot. Being come into the hall she stayed, and with a smiling countenance asked Shrewsbury why none of her own servants were suffered to be present at her death. He answered that the Queen his mistress had so commanded.

"Alas!" quoth she, "Far meaner persons than myself have not been denied so small a favour, and I hope the Queen's majesty will not deal so hardly with me." "Madam," quoth Shrewsbury, "it is so appointed to avoid two inconveniences, the one for that it is likely your people will shriek and make some fearful noise in the time of your execution, and so both trouble you and us, or else press with some disorder to get of your blood, and keep it for a relic, and minister offence that way." "My lord," answered she, "I pray you, for my better quietness of mind, let me have some of my servants about me, and I will give you my word that they shall not offend in any sort."

Upon which promise two of her women and five of her men were sent for, who, coming in to the hall and seeing the place of execution prepared, and their sovereign mistress expecting death, they began to cry out in most woeful and pitiful sort, wherewith she held up her hand, willing them for her sake to forbear and be silent. "For," quoth she, "I have passed my word to these lords that you shall be quiet and not offend them." And presently there appeared in them a wonderful show of subjection and loyal obedience to their natural Prince, whom even at the instant of death they honoured with all reverence and duty. For though their breasts were seen to rise and swell as if their wounded hearts would have burst in sunder, yet did they, to their double grief, forbear their outward complaints to accomplish her pleasure.

As soon as she was on the stage there came to her a heretic, called Doctor Fletcher, now Dean of Peterborough, and told her a long "circumstance" how the Queen his sovereign lady, moved with an unspeakable care of her soul, had sent him to instruct and comfort her in the true word of God; at which speeches she somewhat turned her face towards him, saying "Mr. Doctor, I will have nothing to do with you nor your doctrine," and forthwith kneeled down before the block and began her meditations in most godly manner.

Then the doctor entered also into a form of new-fashioned prayers; but, the better to prevent the hearing of him, she raised her voice and prayed so loud that he could not be understood. The Earl of Shrewsbury then spoke to her, and told her that he would pray with her and for her. "My lord," quoth she, "if you will pray for me, I thank you, but in so doing pray secretly by yourself, for we will not pray together."

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Her meditations ended, she rose up and kissed her two gentlewomen, and bowed her body towards her men and charged them to commend her to her sweet son, to whom she sent her blessing, with promise to pray for him in heaven, and lastly to salute her friends whomsoever, and so took her last farewell of her poor servants.

Then came one Bull, the common hangman of London, with his bloody and unseemly varlet attending upon him, and began after their rough and rude manner to disrobe her. And while they were so doing the Queen looked upon the noblemen and smilingly said "Now truly, my lords, I never had two such grooms waiting on me before." Thus being ready to the block, one of her women took forth a handkerchief of cambric all wrought over with gold needlework, and tied it about her face, which done, Mr. Doctor willed her to die in the true faith of Christ.

Quoth she, "I believe firmly to be saved by the passion and blood of Jesus Christ, and therein also I believe according to the faith of the ancient Catholic Church of Rome. And therefore I shed my blood."

Then the bloody butcher struck at her neck and lit upon the knot of the handkerchief, and scant pierced her sacred skin, after which stroke she spoke these words, "Lord Jesus receive my soul." At the second time he struck not her head quite off, and so giving the third blow, she finished her happy and blessed martyrdom, to the comfort of all true Catholics, and to the shame and confusion of all heretics.

2 pp. *Indorsed*: "A papist's report of the maner of the Scot. Q. death."

Another copy of the same.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 196.

Another copy of the same.

Feb. **268.** COMMISSION TO PROCEED TO MARY'S EXECUTION.

C.P., vol. XXI.

See No. 254.

2 pp. *Copy. Indorsed.*

[*Printed in Cobbett's State Trials, Vol. I., p. 1212.*]

Another copy of the same. [*In the hand of Thomas Phelippes.*]

Another copy of the same.

[Feb.] **269.** [LAIRD OF POURY OGILVIE] TO [BURGHLEY].

After Restalrig's [Lescarrick's] homecoming, his majesty was desperate of his mother's life, and all the country most willing to take arms for revenge of her execution, especially Lord Hamilton and Claude, who offered to make 5000 men of their own friends. If his majesty would furnish as many, they would offer to burn to the Newcastle and to fight England if need were.

Since John Nasmyth's being at his majesty's he is of better courage, but persists still of one opinion to divide them presently, if aught but good come to his mother.

Some of his [Burghley's] colleagues have written hardly of him. The King dislikes Sir Alexander Stewart's dealing and is highly

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1586-7. offended with him. The Master of Gray is in suspense what course to take him to. If France will not believe him quickly he is minded to go the English course, which he has granted to be the most expedient course for his majesty. He assured him [Poury Ogilvie] that if France neglected him so far as not to accept him in haste, he should decipher such secrets as should import them no less than their standing and cutting them off from all kind of regress to do any harm to her majesty of England.

Desires to be advertised in writing what he and Walsingham will have him do in that matter, with any other thing they think expedient, with the next messenger, and it shall be obeyed.

Presents hearty commendations of service to Walsingham, and prays excuse for his rude letter writing in haste because of the sudden departure of the bearer.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Copy. In Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsed: "From Poury Ogilbye."*

Feb. 8. **270. ACCOUNT OF MARY'S EXECUTION BY ROBERT WISE.**

Lansd. 51,
fol. 99.

"A reporte of the manner of the execucion of the Scottish Queen, performed the viijth of February Anno 1586 in the great hall of Fotheringhay; with relacion of speeches uttered and accions happening in the said execucion, from the delivery of the said Scottish Queen to Mr. Thomas Androwes Esquire, sherife of the county of Northampton, unto the end of the said execucion."

"First, the said Scottish Queen being caryed by two of Sir Amias Paulett's gentlemen, and the sherife going before her, cam most willingly out of her chamber into an entry next the hall. At which place the Earle of Shrewsbury and the Earle of Kente, comissioners for the execucion, with the two gouvernors of her person, and divers knightes and gentlemen did meete her, where they found one of the Scottish Queen's servauntes named Melville kneeling on his knees, who uttered these wordes with teares to the Queen of Scots his mistress: 'Madam, it wilbe the sorrowfullest messuage that ever I caryed when I shall report that my Queene and deare mistress is dead.' Then the Queen of Scots shedding teares aunswered him: 'You ought to rejoyce rather then weepe, for that the end of Mary Steward's troubles is now come. Thou knowest, Melville, that all this worlde is but vanity and full of troubles and sorowes. Cary this messuage from me and tell my frendes that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true Scottish woman and a true French woman. But God forgive them that have long desired my ende, and He that is the true judge of all secrett thoughtes knoweth my mynde, how that ever it hath been my desire to have Scotlande and Englande united together. Comend me to my sonne and tell him that I have not down any thinge that may prejudice his kingdome of Scotlande. And so good Melvin farewell.' And kissing him she badd him pray for her."

"Then she turned her to the lordes and told them that she had certayne requestes to make unto them. One was for a sonne of

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mony, which she said Sir Amias Paulett knewe of, to be paide to one Curle her servaunte; next that all her poore servauntes might enjoy that quietly which by her will and testamente she had given unto them. And lastly that they might be all well intreated, and sent home safely and honestly into their contryes. 'And this I doe conjure you my lordes to doe.' Aunswer was made by Sir Amias Paulett, 'I doe well remember the mony your grace speaketh of, and your grace neede not to make any doubte of the not performance of your requestes, for I doe surely thinke they shalbe graunted.' "

" 'I have,' said she, 'one other request to make unto you my lordes; that you will suffer my poore servauntes to be present about me at my death, that they may reporte when they come into their countryes how I dyed a true woman to my religion.' Then the Earle of Kente one of the commissioners aunswered, 'Madam, it cannot welbe graunted, for that it is feared least some of them wold with speeches both trouble and greive your grace and disquiett the company, of which we have had allready some experience; or seeke to wipe their napkins in some of your bloode, which were not convenient.' 'My lord,' said the Queen of Scots, 'I will give my word and promise for them that they shall not doe any such thinge as your lordship hath named. Alas, poore sowles! it wold doe them good to bidd me farewell. And I hope your mistress, being a mayden Queene, in regard of womanhood will suffer me to have some of my owne people aboute me at my death. And I know she hath not given you so straight a comission but that you may graunt me more then this if I were a farr meaner woman then I am.' And then (seeming to be greeved) with some teares uttered thes wordes: 'You know that I am cosen to your Queene and discended from the bloode of Henry the seventh, a maryed Queene of Fraunce and the anoynted Queene of Scotland.' Whereupon after some consultacion they graunted that she might have some of her servauntes accordinge to her grace's request, and therefore desired to make her choice of halfe a dosen of her men and women. Who presently said that of her men she wold have Melville, her poticary, her surgeon, and one other old man besides; and of her women those two that did use to lye in her chamber."

"After this, she being supported by Sir Amias' two gentlemen aforesaid, and Melville carying up her trayne, and also accompanied with the lordes, knightes and gentlemen aforesaid, the sherife going before her, she passed out of the entry into the great hall with her countenance carelesse, importing thereby rather mirth than mornefull cheare; and so she willingly stepped up to the scaffold which was prepared for her in the hall, being two foote high and twelve foote broade, with rayles round aboute hangd and couered with blacke, with a lowe stoole, long cushion and blocke couered with blacke also."

"Then having the stoole brought her, she satt her downe. By her on the right hand satt the Erle of Shrewsbury and the Erle of Kent, and on the left hand stode the sherife, and before her the two executioners. Round about the rayles stood knightes, gentlemen and others."

"Then, silence being made, the Queene's majesties comission

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1586-7. for the execucion of the Queene of Scots was openly redd by Mr. Beale, clarke of the council, and thes wordes pronounced by the assembly, 'God save the Queene.'" During the reading of which comission the Queene of Scots was silent, listening unto it with as smale regarde as if it had not concerned her at all, and with as cherefull a countenaunce as if it had been a pardon from her majestie for her life, using asmuch straungenes in worde and deede as if she had never knowne any of the assembly, or had been ignorant of the English language."

"Then mr. docter Fletcher, Dean of Peterborowe, standing directly before her without the rayle, bending his body with great reverence, began to utter this exhortacion following. 'Madame, the Queen's most excellent majestie,' etc., and iterating theis wordes three or fowre tymes, she told him, 'Mr. Dean, I am settled in the auncient catholique romayne religion, and mynd to spend my bloode in defence of it.' Then Mr. Dean said, 'Madame, chaung your opinion and repent you of your former wickednes and settle your'"

2 pp. *Unfinished.*

Feb. 8. **271. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.**

Arrived at Court the 7th of this instant. Found his majesty and all estates here very desirous to hear some news of contentment. Because their answer bore no certainty of his majesty's mother's life, he is little contented therewith. He shall be advertised of this at more length hereafter, as good occasion offers.

There has been a little jar between his majesty and a young minister called John Cowper for refusing to pray for Queen Mary's conversion and deliverance. Mr. Punt and other wise men of the ministers pray, and with such discretion, that both his majestie is contented therewith, and their conscience nowise hurt. There has been much ado here about this, and Cowper is warded in the "Blak Ness" for it, but all is well pacified now. His majesty has often received wrong by them that wise men would never have offered.

The King is now busied with the quieting of his country, and takes great pains thereupon. He has somewhat left his extreme following of his pastime.

There are good men here, well affected to the standing of the amity, who will do all good offices they can to that end. His majesty, who is best of all, carries that same mind, and merits most thanks for what is past. Hopes he will continue so.

Thought good to write this much because divers reports will pass hereupon, but this is the very truth for the present. At the Court. *Signed: J. Hudson.*

1½ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Feb. 9. **272. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.**

Sees that matters are likely to go very hard both with his majesty and all others if the execution go forwards. The King thinks, and many others also, that the offers made in disabling his

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1586-7. mother of all titles and dignities whatsoever, with such other reasons as were propounded, to be so reasonable that her majesty and wise Council should not refuse his request of her life only. Prays God this "gear" may come to some better end than appears for the present.

As the Master [of Gray] and Sir Robert [Melvill] received each of them a token from the French ambassador, so was there one prepared for Mr. Keith, who told him. Because he knew he was under the slander of a dishonourable practice, he made extraordinary haste out of the town to eschew that gift, and was gone before he [Hudson] returned. Perceives him to be very sorry for this coldness that may grow by these matters, for he is of an honest mind and good conscience.

The King has contented the people and ministry by his own mouth greatly at the High Church of Edinburgh the 8th of this month. As occasion presents will write to him, and requests him to keep his letters from Mr. Archibald [Douglas]. From the Court.

1½ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Feb. **273. DIRECTIONS FOR SIR AMIAS POWLET.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

A note of things to be resolved on for the direction of Sir Amias Powlet.

(1) Whether any of the Scottish Queen's train shall be discharged, if not whether it were not then convenient they should be reduced all to one place.

Thought meet that none shall be discharged for the space of one month, and that they shall all be reduced to Fotheringay.

(2) Whether it shall be needful to continue the soldiers to keep the house where they shall remain, and how many were fit to be continued.

There is no need to continue the soldiers, neither those of the west nor of Huntingdonshire.

(3) How he shall be supplied of money.

Out of Nau's money.

(4) What order shall be taken with her majesty's plate and other household stuff.

The plate to be sent up together with his own stuff, and the rest of her majesty's stuff to be laid up in some convenient place within the Castle under the custody of Mr. Cruys.

(5) The revocation of Sir Dru Drury.

Sir Dru to be revoked.

(6) Whether it shall be necessary to continue Sir Amias Powlet there, or whether he may not repair hither, committing the charge of the household to Mr. Darell and some discreet gentleman to be chosen out of that country.

Sir Amias may repair to London after the things abovementioned shall be performed, and may join Mr. Cruys with Mr. Darell to assist him until further order shall be taken.

(7) What order shall be taken with the Queen of Scots' jewels and goods, and whether it shall not be necessary to take an inventory of the same and to commit them to the custody of some of her principal gentlemen.

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It shall be necessary that an inventory be taken of the said jewels and goods, and afterwards to be committed to the custody of some of the said Queen's trustiest servants there.

(8) What shall be done with the Scottish Queen's body.

It shall be convenient that her body being well embalmed, the same be covered with lead and continued in the house, until further order shall be taken by her Majesty, in some honourable place.

1 p. *Resolutions written in the margin, in Walsingham's hand.*

Feb. 10. **274.** ALEXANDER MORISON TO JOHN NASMYTH.

"Brother, efter my verie hartlie commendationis, be reasoun ze ar thair far frome this, I could not of my bound deutie pretermit to write to yow ther few lynis, beseiking yow thairby in quhatsumever your adois thair to use your self—as I doubt not ze can—discreitle, and tak tent to all thingis weill as ze may, for thair is great danger quhair ze ar, and mekill gevin to your credite. Ze wait weill yneugh quhat I mein."

"William Keith, be reasoun of the heastie dispetche of this pacquet, and becaus he could not have mater to write to yow, desyrit me to write to yow that ze will not fail to have him appardonit at Mr. Duncan Andersoun minister at Aldersgait his handis, for that he spak not with him or he went as he promesit, for he wes in heast. And gang to Roger and get the dageris and beltis he hes of Wm. Keythis, and bring thame with yow."

"As also he prayit yow to speik the Earll of Leycestar if he will write any thing, or have any word to him, commending his service to the said earll. This far for Wm. Keyth."

"About the Kingis mother. Thair hes bene a litill contentioun betuix him and the ministeris for the prying for her, quhilk thei refused first and now hes promesit, and so prys for her. My lord our master and Sir Ro[bert Melvill] with William Keyth his bene verie weill receavit and hes gottin absolution eisterday befor the consall. I pray you be diligent and circumspect in all thingis. So commending me to Tho. Geddes and all our houshold quhair we remanit, and to Francis Hayis, *nosti ectera*, I committ yow to God. From Halyerudhous, this 10 of Feb. 1586." *Signed*: "Your loving freind and brother to the uttermast, Alexander Morisone."

Postscript—"Your trunk and basket I causit transport haill and sound in your chalmir, and for recompens causit Barron muf me. God be your good gyed."

1 p. *Addressed*: "To his loving brother John Nasmyth, chirurgen to his majestie." *Indorsed*: "Feall not to remember on William my l. brother."

Feb. 11. **275.** CONFESSION OF JOHN ALLEN.

C.P., vol. XXI.

Having understanding that during the time I had the custody and keeping of Nan committed to me it is informed that I have not duly behaved myself, but have entertained intelligence between him and others in matters of state, and have delivered letters and messages to and from him and others, and also am suspected to have some reward by or from him or by his means.

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In the name of God and by his assistance, so far as I can possibly call to my remembrance, I will hereby declare and set down the most heinous and weighty faults that during that time I have committed, most humbly beseeching my honourable good master to interpret the same to the best, and to know that, if I have thereby committed a fault, it will please his honour to expound it according to the simplicity of my wit and meaning, protesting before my Lord God that I did and do think that I made no fault, either to my sovereign or to the state, to my master or to the commonwealth.

First, as concerning intelligence to be given or received by or from others concerning any matter of state, I never used any such thing during the time of my being with him, except this may be called a matter of state. He would oftentimes acknowledge the great love he bore to Mistress Elizabeth Pierpoint, and that he had contracted himself with her and she with him, upon condition in the same contract mentioned, and that he would be glad to know if she continued in the same mind still, or no.

Upon a time I repaired home to my house, and there I found a servant of Mr. Pierpoint, then lately come up to London, and he said that Mistress Elizabeth Pierpoint was come home to her father's house in Nottinghamshire. And I jestingly said that there was great love between her and one Mr. Nau, but the fellow little knowing of that matter, as it seemed, there was no more then spoken thereof.

Afterwards, walking in the city, it was my chance to meet with Mr. Fowler, who talking with me about a lease of his house in Aldersgate Street, adjoining to my house there, prayed me that I would help him away with it, because he meant no more to remain there, inasmuch as Mr. Pierpoint and his wife—who always lodged with them—would from thenceforth abide in the country. Thereupon I told him that I perceived there was great love between Mr. Nau and Mistress Elizabeth Pierpoint. And he said that he heard so, and because he was a friend and well-wisher to her father and mother, he wished that Mr. Nau had never known her. But inasmuch as he heard that there was a contract between them, he could not see how they could release one another, if he should be at liberty again; whereupon I said that I had heard him confess the contract, and that for his part, if he shall receive grace at her majesty's hands, he will not fail to perform his part therein, and hopes that she would do the like, because of the great good opinion he conceived of her virtues and behaviour. Some such-like talk I had with Mr. Fowler.

I perceive I have been too bold in speaking of that matter, thinking it to be no matter of state, and that is all the intelligence that I have dealt in, God is my witness.

As concerning any letters to be written by him, I verily think it in my conscience he never wrote any, but only such as came to my master's own hands. And as concerning any letters written to him, I take God to my record that I never saw or heard of any during my being with him.

As concerning any messages to be brought to him or carried from him, for my part I am assured there was never any special

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1586-7. message concerning any matter of state ever once mentioned, otherwise than touching the love betwixt him and the gentlewoman.

He would sundry times ask me what I thought should become of him, and how long he should remain, and I answered him as it came in my mind, for in truth I was never made privy thereto, neither could I inform him anything therein. But always, so near as I could, I would hold him in a good vein, making him believe that I thought assuredly he should have favour and be very shortly released and "happely" sent home again into his own country. And this I did purposely to "avoid" from his mind any escape, but I did not use those speeches by way of intelligence, therefore always at my conclusion I told him I spoke these things according to my own opinion, and not otherwise.

Upon a time my master sending me to Mr. Archibald Douglas, he asked me how Nau did, and of the love betwixt Mistress Elizabeth Pierpoint and him. I told him that I thought he loved her well, but now he had other matters to think upon concerning his own life, and that he would be very glad to know what should become of him. And Mr. Archibald said that he deserved no friendship at his hands, and therefore let him be as he may, he cared not.

As concerning any money or reward given me by him, I think it may easily be proved that I never received any, for he had none to give, and that is well known. There is a bill of charges laid out for him, amounting to the sum of 15*l.* odd money, whereof Mr. Mylls laid out about 16*l.* and the rest was defrayed during my being there, and as I take it, I have the bills almost of all, except 13*l.* odd money laid out for a gown for Mr. Milles, all which shall be very well proved by the bills of the apothecaries and others, and by the men attending upon him. But as concerning anything given to me by him or by his means, God is my witness I never received one penny, nor any others for me. He always said that he would reward such as took pains with him if God should send him liberty. This he would and did protest both to myself and others.

These are all the faults that I committed during the keeping of Nau, so far as I can remember, and if any other matter be objected or informed against, I most humbly crave that I may understand the same, for I thank God I committed no such offence as I need to deny. Therefore in most humble wise I beseech my honourable good master not to give credit to my accusers before my just answer be received. By me, John Aleyn.

3 pp. *Indorsed by Thomas Phelippes*: "John Alleyn's justification of himselfe in the keeping of Nau, the Q. of Sc. secretary."

Feb. 11. **276. EXECUTION OF MARY.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 637.

"A true narracion of the execution of Mary, late Queene of Scotland, within the Castle of Fotheringhaie, the eight of Februarie, anno Domini one thowsand five hundred eighty sixe, and directed to the right honourable Sir William Cecill, knight,

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Lord Burleigh, Lord Highe Treasurer of England. By R[oger] W[ingfield]. The epistle dedicatorie."

Advertised him of the manner of the execution of the Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay 8th February 1587, and the proceedings concerning the same after the delivery of the said Queen to the high sheriff of the county to the end of the execution, that she was certified that she was to prepare herself to die, 6th February, of her lack of fear then, of her personal appearance and attire on the day of execution, her last words with some of her servants, her last request that her servants might be present at her death, the Dean of Peterborough's exhortation, her prayers at the end, *etc.*

21 pp. Printed, Ellis. *Original Letters, Series ii.*, p. 113.

Feb. 12.

277. MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 194.

"Sir, I have sent this gentleman, my servant, to my lord of Leicester to knou his mynd if he wil crave that men be leviat furthe of this country for his service thair. I wrot of befor to your honouris self, bot than I intendit only to have maid voyage withe sum of my auin privat freindis and serandis or a feu utheris. Bot nou I understaud by a letter wrottin from my lord of Leicester to my lord embassadour for hir Majestie, that he is desyrous for sum troupes in quantitie, so that I did tak deliberation to knou resolutly qubat numbere his lordship wil crave for, ether feu or many. I am aible toournis them in verie schort tym, bot meitest it is sum speciall man of his auin be send in this country for that effect, or than that Mr Randolph resave the chaarge thairof. For my particulair, I recommend to you and his lordshipis self, vithe assurance of honourable dealing, and this I wil promise, no man shall serve under him that cariethe a better mynd to hir majesteis estet."

"Bot I have committit credit in this and all uther thingis quharin he hes to negotiat to the berar, quhom your honour may credit as myself. I pray your honour give him your advyse in this affair. [All] maiters heir goetbe verie weil, and the league is to tak effect, albeit sum ingrat stayers thair haithe bein *sed remunerabuntur tandem mercede eorum*. The embassadour and Mr. Myllis wil informe your honour so lairgly of all thingis that I wil hould my peace, bot I shall assur you in grace of God, in despyt of the devil, and all wisching the contrar thingis shall not go wrong."

"Bot of this Mr. Myllis and the berar wil informe your honour at gryter lenth, quhom I recomende to your accoustumat courtaisie scheuit to me and all myn. We do not a litle mervail at Mr. Archibald's stay. The King is nou in better disposition touardis him than of leat."

"So resting to pray your honour present to hir Majestie my humble service, I leave you in the protection of God Almychtie." Holyrood. *Signed*: Master of Gray.

1½ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

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1586-7. **278. THOMAS RANDOLPH TO BURGHELY.**

Feb. 12.

It may please your good lordship, Captain Haggerston with some other of that company has been with me again this day. They continue of that mind that they were of, to depart home to their country so soon as conveniently they may, and rather by sea than by land. And finding that Mr. Richard Douglas, nephew to the Scottish ambassador, went not to the Court for their passport, as was promised, they have desired me to procure the same so soon as I may, and have delivered unto me their names and number that depart, which herewith I send your honour, and pray that the same may be despatched and sent to me with as much speed as may be, seeing they are so desirous to be gone. I beseech your honour let their passport be the more favourable, that the country may be rid of them. And so the Lord have your honour in his keeping. At St. Peter's Hill. *Signed: Tho. Randolph.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Randolph: "Poste of London sende this with all possible speede. London 12 of the clocke. Tho. Randolph."*

Feb. 14. **279. LORD SCROPE TO [WALSINGHAM].**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 218.

Received his letter of the 10th instant last night. Understands thereby that the Scottish Queen was executed on the 8th instant. Is glad that the Lord has supplanted so dangerous a root, and wishes that the branches of so great a peril may wither with her. Concerning his good advice in the said letter, by putting him in mind of Mr. Davison's letter for strengthening the Borders, and wishing him to stand upon good guard for the better defence of that frontier until it appear what will issue from Scotland upon this execution, albeit he has forborne the gathering together of the 50 horsemen until Monday next, for such causes as appear in his late letters to Mr. Davison—in respect of the said execution and in regard both of the dangerous rumours here abroad and of the great brags given out here by their neighbours of Scotland, is resolved to enter the said 50 horsemen into wages on the morrow, and bestow them in the places he thinks meetest to defend the frontier and as far as may be repel and meet any sudden incursion that may be attempted by the opposite borderers.

Whereas he requires to know how the matter of the Scottish Queen will be taken in Scotland, advising him to procure some Scotchman to give him intelligence therein, and to inform him of the progress of the same, has already addressed one to Dumfries to listen and learn their purposes there. Intends to send another to Edinburgh to hearken what will be resolved in that place. On the return of these messengers he shall be acquainted forthwith with such things as come to his hands.

Assures him he shall from time to time hear from him of all proceedings in these parts as often as need shall require, and matter of worth be administered. Is informed that the King has sent Maxwell and many of the chief borderers upon this frontier of Scotland. Carlisle. *Signed: H. Scrope.*

1 p. *No address.*

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1586-7. **280. ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.**

Feb. 14.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 212.

My dear brother, I would you knew, though felt not, the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind for that miserable accident which, far contrary to my meaning, has befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine, whom ere now it has pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which it is too "yereksom" for my pen to tell you. I beseech you that as God and many more know how innocent I am in this case, so you will believe me that if I had "bid" aught I would have "bid" by it. I am not so base minded that fear of any living creature or prince should make me afraid to do what is just, or [that] done, to deny the same. I am not of so base an image nor do I carry so vile a mind as to disguise "fith most a King," so will I never dissemble my actions but cause them to show even as I meant them.

Thus assure yourself of me that, as I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on others' shoulders, no more will I damnify myself, who thought it not. The circumstance it may please you to have of this bearer, and for your part think you have not in the world a more loving kinswoman nor a dearer friend than myself, nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you and your estate. Whoever shall otherwise persuade you, judge them more partial to others than to yourself. Thus in haste I leave troubling you, beseeching God to send you a long reign.

1 p. *Copy in Thomas Milles' hand. Indorsed by Thomas Randolph: "A minute of a letter from her majesty to the King of Scotcs, 14 Feb. 1586, disavowing her privity to the execution of his mother."*

Feb. 15. **281. MONSIEUR D'ESNEVAL TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

I have lately received two letters from you, which were in a packet that you addressed to your brother; one is of the 26th of November last, and the other of the 28th of December following. I think I replied to you sufficiently to both by my last of the 10th of this present, for which reason I will say no more to you thereof by this letter, which is only to give you advice yet once more, how Monsieur Pinart had always wished to defer and put off the proposal of your appointment to the council, in the hope that he had of returning very soon to the court, and that being there he would be able to favour you much on such an occasion. Howbeit, seeing that this consideration, good as it was, drew to too great length and might cause you inconvenience, I have today induced Monsieur Brullard to promise that he will soon cause the said appointment to be ordained for you: whereof I much wished to advertise you, and at the same time to assure you that so soon as that shall be determined and executed you shall have news of me, and I will do all that shall be possible to me to support and help you in your need. Meanwhile, hold on yet a little longer, and continue to keep his majesty well advertised of all occurrences over there concerning his service; as also to impart them to me as you are wont, and in so doing you will do me much

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1586-7. pleasure. We have no other news here fresher or more worthy of Scotland than that which is told of the ten thousand English who were in Deventer, a town of Flanders, who have surrendered to the Spaniard, whereat it is thought that the Queen of England is in desperate vexation. As to our France, they are still after this treaty of peace there, which has advanced so little that it is yet very difficult to judge what success it will please God to give us therein; his majesty is ever in this town, in very good health, thank God. Paris. 25 Feb. 1587.* *Signed: Desneual.*

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 17. **282. BURGHLEY TO ELIZABETH.**

Lansd. 115,
fol. 89.

Although to my great grief I cannot understand that your majesty's offence against me is diminished, notwithstanding my humble submission to endure anything that might pacify the same, yet finding my mind continually oppressed with biting grief for your displeasure, and mine old body and lame limbs vexed day and night with pains, I have no remedy but by continuation of my humble intercession to your majesty either to receive my submission to abide your censure, or rather first to hear me answer anything wherewith you charge me.

Though for this late fact which so deeply offends your majesty I am no more to be charged than others, yet I find by report that you do more bitterly condemn me than others, because you have not yet heard me as you have others. Through my lameness and infirmity I am not able to come to you, yet am I most willing to endure any pain, "to be layd uppon the floore neare your majestes fete," and that there "I shall fynd some dropps of your mercy to quynch my sorrowfull pantyng hart." 17 Feb. 1586.

1 p. *Corrected draft, holograph. Indorsed:—"My second letter to hir majesty. Sent by Mr. Wolley."*

Feb. 17. **283. GOVERNOR OF DIEPPE TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

Six or seven days ago Monsieur Desneual sent me this packet to send to you, which I have not been able to do till now, having only found a fitting and safe opportunity by the Sieur Alexandre, archer of the King's guard, who returning to his majesty has promised me to give the said packet into the hands of a faithful man for you, to give it before leaving this town; in whom I have confidence. And I will tell you that since this despatch has been in my hands I have learnt nothing worthy to be told to you except that a rumour has been lately started of a new movement of the league, which has since been quieted by the conference of my lord De Mayne with his said majesty. We are expecting either war in good earnest against the Huguenots, or peace by means of the negociation which the queen-mother has made with the King of Navarre at Fontene where they still are; it is not known how it will be. Dieppe 27 February 1587. *Signed: A. de Cusson.*

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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284. DISCOURSE BY MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Feb. 20.

Harl. MSS. 290,
fol. 218.

"A discourse sent by Secretary Davison, being then prisonere in the Towere of London, unto Secretarie Walsyngham, containynge a somary reporte of that which passed between hir majestie and him in the case of the Skotyshe Queene, from the signynge of the warrante to the tyme of his restraite."

"Aftere that the sentence of the Skottyshe Queene was passede and subscribed by the lordes and otheres the comyssyoneres appoynted to hir tryall, and that hir majestie had notefyed the same to the world by hir proclamation accordinge to the statute, theare remayned nothinge but hir warrante undere the greate sealle of England for performynge and accompleshinge of hir executyone, which aftere some instance, as well of the lordes and comones of the whole parleamente then assembled as others of hir Counsell and beste affected subjectes, it pleased hir majestie at lengthe to yeld unto; and theruppon gave ordere unto my Lord Tresorere to projecte the same, which he accordingly performed, and with hir majestes privety left in my handes to procure hir signature."

"But by reasone of the presence of the Frenche and Scotyshe ambassadores, then suitores for hir lyfe, she forbare the sygnynge thearof tyll the firste of February, which was some fewe dayes after their departure home, at what tyme hir majestie, uppon some conferens with my lorde Admyrall of the great daunger she contynually lyved in, and moved by his lordshipe to have some moare regard to the suertye of hir selfe and state then shee seemed to take, resolved to deffere the sayd execusyone no longer, and thearuppon gave his lordshipe ordere to send for me to brynge the warrante unto hir to be sygned, which he foarwith did by a messenger of the chamber, who found me in the parke, whether I was but newly gone to take the eayre."

"Wearuppon returnynge backe ymedyatlye with him, I went directelye uppe into the Privie Chambere, whear his lordshipe attendinge my comynge discoursed unto mee what speeches had passed that mornynge between hir majestie and him touchinge the justyce agaynste the sayd Scottyshe Queen, and fynally tould me howe she was now fully resolved to proceede to the accompleshinge thearof, and had comaunded him to send expresly for me to bringe the warrante unto hir to be sygned, that it myghte be foartwith dispatched and deferred no longer."

"Accordinge to which directyone I wente imedyatly to my chamber to fetche the sayd warrante and other thinges touchinge hir service, and returninge upe agayene sent in Mrs. Brook for sygnefy my beinge theare unto hir majestie, who presently called for me."

"Att my comynge in hir highenes first demaunding of me whether I had byne abroade that fayer mornynge, advisyng me to use it oftenere and reprehendinge me for the neglechte thearof, with other lyke gratyous speeches arguinge a care of my helthe, fynally asked of me what I had in my bandes."

"I answered, divers warrantes and other thinges to be sygnede that concerned hir service."

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"She enquired whether my Lord Admyrall had not geven me order to brynge uppe the warrante for the Skottyshe Queenes executyone."

"I answered, 'Yes.' And thearuppon askynge me for it, I delyvered it in to hir handes."

"After the readinge whearof she called for pene and inke, sygnd it, and layeing it from hir demaunded of me wheather I wear not hartelye sorye to see it done."

"My answer was that I was so farre from takynge pleasure in the calametye or falle of anye, or otherwise from thirstinge in any soarte after the bloude of this unhappy lady in partyculere, as I could not but be hartely greeved to thinke that one of hir place and quallety, and otherwise so neare unto hir majestie, should geeve so greate cause as she had done to take this resolutyone; but seeinge the lyfe of that Queene threatened hir majestes deathe, and thearfore this acte of hers in all menes opynyon of that justyce and necessety that she could not defferre it without the manyfeste wrounge and daungere of hir selfe and the wholle realme, I could not be sory to see hir take an honorable and juste course of securinge the one and other, as he that preferred the deathe of the guilty befor the innoscente."

"Which answer hir highenes approvinge, with a smyllynge countenance, passed from that matter to aske me what else I had to sygne; and thearuppon offrynge unto hir some other warrantes and instructyones touchinge hir service, yt pleased hir with the beste disposytone and willingnes that myghte be to dispche [*sic*] them all."

"After this she comaunded me to cary it to the sealle, and to geve my Lord Chancelore spessyall ordere from hir to use it as secretly as myghte be, lest the devulgyng thearof befoare the executyon myghte, as she pretended, encrease hir daunger."

"And in my waye to my Lord Chauncelores hir pleasure also was that I should vissete Mr. Secretary Walsingham, beinge then sycke at his house in London, and comunycate the matter with him, because the greefe thearof would—as she merely sayd—kyll him oute righte. Whear takynge occassyone to repeate unto me some reasons whie she had defferred the matter so longe, as namly for hir honore sake, that the world myghte see that she had not byne vyolently or malytously draume thearto, she concludid that she was never so ill advised as not to see and apprehend hir owne daunger and the necessetye she had to proceede to this executyone."

"And thearuppon—aftere some intermyngled speeche to and fro—told me that she would have it done as secretly as myghte be, appoyntyng the halfe whear she was for the place of executyone, and myslykynge the courte or greene of the castle for dyveres respectes she alledged, with other speeches to lyke effecte."

"Howebeite as I was redy to departe she fell into some complaynte of Sir Amyas Paulet and others that myghte have eased hir of this burdene, wishinge that Mr. Secretary and I would yet wyrite unto bothe him and Sir Drue Drurye to sound their dispytyon in that behalfe."

"And albeit I hade before excused my selfe from medlyng

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thearin uppon sondry hir majestes former motyones, as a matter I utterly prejudged, assuryng hir that it should be so muche labor loste, knowinge the wisdome and integretye of the genthmen, whome I thoughte would not doe so unlawfull an acte for any respecte in the world, yet fynding hir desyrouse to have the matter attempted I promysed for hir satysfaction to sygnefy this hir pleasure to Mr. Secretorye."

"And so for that tyme leaving hir, wente downe directly to my Lord Tresorores, to whom I did communicate the same warrante signed, together with suche other partyculeres as had passed at that tyme betwixte hir highenes and me."

"The same aftere noone I wayted one my Lord Chancellor for the sealyng of the sayd warrante, accordinge to hir majestes directyone, which was done betwene the houres of iiij and v.; from whence I returnede backe unto Mr. Secretarye Walsyngham, whom I had viseted by the waye and acquainted with hir pleasure touchinge letteres that wear to be written to the sayd Sir Amyous Paule and Sir Drue Drurye, which at my returne I found redy to be sente awaye."

"The nexte mornynge aboute tene of the clocke, beinge at Londone, Mr. William Kyllegrewe came unto mee from hir majestie with this message; that if I had not byne with my Lord Chanselore I should forbear to goe to him tylle I had spoken agayne with hir selfe. But that mesuage comynge out of season I returned him backe with this generall answer, that I would be at the courte assoone as himselfe and geve hir majestie an accompte what I had done."

"At my comynge to hir shee demaunded of me whether the warrante were passed the sealle. I tould her, 'Yes.' She asked, 'What need that haste?' I answered that I had thearin mad no moare haste then her selfe comaunded and my duty in a case of that momente required, which as I tooke it was not to be dallyed with."

"'But methinkethe,' saithe she, 'that it myghte have byne otherwise handled for the forme,' namynge unto me some that weare of that oppynyone, whos judgemente she comended. I answered that I tooke the honorable and juste waye to be the safeste and beste waye, yf she mente to have it done at all. Wherunto her majestie replied nothinge for that tyme, left me and wente to dynner."

"From hir I wente downe to Mr. Viz Chamberlane, with whom I did comunycate the sayd warrante and other partycnlers that had passed betweexte hir highenes and mee touchinge the dispatche thearof; where fallynge into a rehersall of some doubtfull speches of hirs bewrayenge a disposytyone to throwe the burden from hir selfe yf by any meanes she myghte, and remembre unto him the example of her dealyng in the case of the Duke of Norfolke his executyon, which shee had layde hevelye uppon my Lord Tresorore for a longe tyme aftere, and howe muche hir disavouynge of this justyce was moare to be feared, consyderyng the tymerousnes of hir sexe and nature, the quallety of the person who it concerned and respecte of hir frendes, with manye other cercomstances that myghte further and inclyne hir

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therunto, I fynally tould him that I was for my owne parte fully resolved, notwithstandinge the directyones that I had receaved, to doe nothinge that myghte geve hir any advantage to caste a burthen of so great weighte uppon my syngle and weake shoulderes, and thearfore havinge done asmuche as belonged to my parte would leave to him and otheres as deeply interested in the suertye of hir majestie and the state as my selfe to advise nowe what course shoulde now be taken for the accompleshinge of the reste."

"Who as neare as I remembere gave me this answer that as he was hartelye glade the matter was broughte thus farre, so did he for his parte wishe him hanged that would not joyne with me in the furtherance thearof, beinge a cause so muche importunge the common safty and tranquilety of hir majestie and the whole realme."

"And so after some lytle other speecches resolved to goe to gether to my Lord Tresorore to confer thearof with his lordshipe, as wee imedyatly did, and theare agreede for the bettere and moare honourable proceedinges thearin to breake the matter with the lordes and otheres of hir majestes Counsell, beinge as deeply interested in this care and dutye as our selves. And in the meantyme his lordshipe tooke upon him the charge to projecte the letteres that should be written to the earles and otheres to whom the affoarsayd warrante was directed."

"The nexte mornyng havinge made a draughte of them, sente for Mr. Vicechamberlene and me to imparte the same unto us: uppon the readinge whearof Mr. Vicechamberlene, fyndyng them very partyculer and suche as in truthe the warrante could not beare, shewed his myslyke of them as he that seemed to doubt moare then he discovered. Whearuppon his lordshipe offeringe to projecte others mor generall agaynste the afternoone, it was resolved in the meane tyme to warne the reste of the Counsell, who within an howere after mette at his lordshipes chambre."

"Whear him selfe enteringe into the partyculeres of the sayd Skottyshe Queenes offence, the daunger of hir majesty and the state, and necessty of this excusyone, and acquintynge them with hir highenes resolutyon in that behalfe, for their better satysfyenge whearin he red the sayd warrante it selfe unto them, he fynally tould the cause of their meetynge at that presente was cheefly to advise of som suche meanes as myghte be moste honorable and expedyente for the dispatche thearof, seeinge hir majestie had for hir parte performed as muche as in any honour, lawe or resone was to be required at hir handes."

"And after some other lytle speecches of hir doubted inclynation to derive this burden yf it myghte be from hir selfe, and every one willingly offered to beare his parte in a matter somuche importunge the publicke safty of the whole state, bothe of relygeon and commonewelth, they fynally resolved to proceede to the sendinge doune thearof without trublyng hir highenes any further withall, aswell in regard of hir charge geven unto my selfe to lett hir heare no more thearof tyll it was done, havinge otherwise performed as muche as in any reasone or lawe would be required of hir, as is before remembred, as the daungerous consequence mighte else have growne thearof, in case hir majestie uppon suche a needlese

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"And so resolved generally uppon Mr. Bealle as the fytteste person they could advise of to whom they myghte comyte that charge, and who beinge sent for the same mornynge was then presente; and approovinge the letters projected by my Lord Tresoror appoynted them to be writtene out faire agaynste that afternoone; in the mean tyme wente to dynnere, and betweene one and two of the clocke returned backe to signe the sayd letteres addressed with the warrante to the lordes and otheres the comyssyoneres appoynted in that cause, which in their presence weare delyvered unto the sayd Mr. Bealle, with earnesteste requeste and motyone to use the uttermoste dilligence and care he could in the expeditiōne thearof: and so agayne departed."

"The nexte mornynge hir majestie, beinge in some speeche with Mr. Rauley in the Privie Chamber, seeinge me come in, caled me unto hir, and—as yf she had understood nothinge of theis proceedinges—smylyng tould me howe she had byne trubled that nyghte uppon a dreame she had that the Skottyshe Queene was executed, pretendinge to have byne so greatly moved with the newse againste my selfe as in that passyone she could have done I wotte not what."

"But this beinge delyvered in a pleasante and smylyng mannor, I aunswered hir majestie that it was good for me I was not neare hir so longe as that humor lasted: but withall takynge hould of hir speeche asked hir in greate earnest what it meante, and whether having proceeded thus farre she had not a full and resolute meanynge to goe throughe with the sayd excusyon accordinge to hir warrante."

"Hir answer was 'Yes,' confyrmed with a solempne oathe in some vehemency; this onlye she thoughte, that it myghte have received a bettere foarme, because this threwe the whole burden uppon hir selfe."

"Wherto I replied that the forme prescribed by the warrante was suche as the lawe required and could not welbe altered with any honor, justyce or suertye of thos that weare comyssyoneres thearin, nether did I knowe who could sustayne this burthen yf she tooke it not uppon her, beinge soveraigne majestrat to whom the sward was comytted by God for the puneshement of the wicked and defence of the good, and without whose anthoretie the lyfe or member of the pooreste wretche in hir kyngdom could not be touched."

"She answered that theare weare wysere mene then my selfe of other opynyone. I tould hir that I could not answer for other men, yet this I was sure of, that I had never yet herd any man geve a sound reason to prove it ether honorable or safe for hir majestie to take any other course then that which standethe with lawe and justyce: and so without further replycation or speeche for that tyme wee parted."

"The same afternoone—as I take it—she asked whether I had hard from Sir Amyas Pawlete. I tould her 'Noe'; but within an

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"The nexte mornynge havinge accesse unto hir majestie uppon some other occasyone, I tould hir of the recepte of them, which hir highenes desyrous to see tooke and rede, but fyndynge thearby that he was greeved with the motyon made unto him, offeringe his lyfe and all he had to be disposed at hir pleasure, but absolutly refusynge to be an instrumente in any suche actyone as was not warranted in honor and justyce, hir majestie fallynge into termes of offence, complaynynge of the deintynes and—as she termed it—perjurye of him and otheres, who contrary to their oathe of assooyatyone did caste the burden uppon hir selfe, she rose up, and after a turne or two wente into the gallory, whether I followed hir; and theare renewinge hir formor speeche blamed the nicenes of thos precis fellowes—as she termed them—who in wordes would doe greate thinges for her suertye but indeed performe nothings; concluded that she could have it well enoughe done without them, and hear entrynge into partycularetyes named unto me—as I remembere—one Wingfeelde who she assured me would with some otheres undertake it."

"Which gave me occasyon to shewe unto hir majestie howe dishonorable—in my poore oppynyone—any suche course would be, and howe farre from preventynge the mallyce and daunger which she somuche soughte to avoyde: and so fallynge into the parteulere cause of Sir Amyas Pawlete and Sir Drue Drurye, discoursed unto hir the greate extremety she would have exposed thos poore gentlmen to; for yf in a tender care of hir suertye they should have done that she desyred, she muste ether allowe their acte or disallowe it; yf shee allowed it, she tooke the matter uppon hir selfe with hir infynyte perille and dishonore; yf she disallowed it, she should not onely over throwe the gentlmen themselves, who had alwayes trulye and faithfully honored and served hir, but also their whole estate and posterityes, besydes the dishonor and injustice of suche a course, which I hombly besoughte her majestie to consyder of."

"And so aftere some lytle degressyone and speeche of Mr. Secretary and others towching some thinges passed hear to foare, her majestie understandinge it was tyme to goe to the clossete, rose upe and left me."

"Att my nexte accesse unto hir—which, as I take it, was the Twesdaye befoare my cominge from courte—havinge occasyon to wayte uppon hir highenes with certene letteres that weare to be signed towching some dyfference betweene the Lorde Deputy of Ierlande and Mr. Fenton his ssecretary theare, she entered of hir selfe into some earneste discourse of the daungere she dayly lyved in, and howe it was moare then tyme this mattere weare dispatched, sweringe a greate oathe that it was a shame for us all that it was not allredy done, consyderinge she had for hir parte done all that lawe or reason could require of hir: and ther uppon mad some mention to have letters written to Sir Amyas Pawlete for the hastyng thearof, because the longer it was deffered the moare hir daunger increased."

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“ Wheare unto—knowinge what ordere had byne taken by my lordes in sendinge the comyssyon to the Earles, which I presumed she could not be ignorante of amongstest so many as weare parteneres thearin—I answered that that needed not—as I conceaved—the warrante beinge so generall and suffycyente as it was.”

“ To which hir majestie replyed lytle else but that she thought Sir Amyas Paulete would looke for it; and so brake of our speeche at that tyme, which was the laste I had with hir majestie of this or any other mattere whatsoever to my remembrance.”

“ The nexte Thursdaye mornynge early, being as I take it the daye befoare my comynge from courte, my Lord Tresorore sent for me and acquainted me with the newse he had received by Mr. Henry Talbot of the sayd Scottyshe Queenes executyon, which—uppon some conference had thearof with Mr. Vicechamberlene and otheres—he thoughte it not fytt to breake soddenly to hir majestie, and thearfore concealed it from hir all that daye; which beinge neverthelese brought unto hir that evenynge by other meanes she would not at the fyrste seeme to take knolledge of it, but the nexte mornynge fallynge into some heate and passyon about it sente for Mr. Vicechamberlene, to whom she disavoued the sayd executyon as a thinge she nevere comaunded or intended, castynge the burden generally uppon them all, but cheefly uppon my shoullder, because—as she protested—I had, in sufferinge it to goe out of my handes, abused the truste she reposed in me.”

“ Whearuppon my lordes beinge that mornynge assembled at my Lord Tresorores chamber, I was sente for unto them and acquainted with hir majestes sayd offence and charge bothe agaynste them and me: but havinge myne owne consyence and them selves to witenes of myn innocenye and integretie in that behalfe did not at the firste muche apprehend it.”

“ Howbeite beinge advised by them all to absente my selfe for a daye or twoe, and otherwise compelled thearto by an unhappy accydente befallne unto me the daye befoare, together with some indisposytion of my helthe at that tyme, I returned home, wheare the nexte newse I herde was that hir majestie resolved to comytte me to the Towere; which at the firste seemed a matter very strange unto mee, and suche as I could by no meanes beleewe tyll my Lord of Buckhurste came with ordere from hir majestie to execute this hir pleasure; which by reasone of my sycknes was deferred for ij or three dayes, and afterwarde one the xiiijth of this monthe accomplyshed.”

“ And this—as neeare as I can possyibly remember—is the substance of all that that passed betwixt hir majestie, hir Counsell and my selfe concerninge this cause. In all which, as myn owne consyence and harte dothe cleere me not onely of comyttynge but also of intendinge any the leaste thinge what so evere that myghte not stande with the duty of a moste honeste and faithfull servaunte to hir majestie and my contrey, so doe I not see what I can be charged with that maye in any justyce, equetye or truthe argue the contrary.”

“ Howbeit seeinge it is pretended that hir majestie gave me a specyall comaundement not onely not to imparte the sayd warrante

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with any of hir Counsell, but also to staye the same in my handes tyll some greater necessety should inforce hir to proceede therin, as a thinge she mente not otherwise to pute in execusyone, upon the breache of which supposed comaundemente all my truble is grownded, it shall not be impertynente by the waye to answer this objectyone as shortely as I cane."

"And fyrste towchinge hir majestes comaundement to conceall the sygninge of the sayd warrante from the reste of her Counsell; as it is a thinge cane never be prooved, so muste I in all dutye and humyllety under hir highenes gratyous favore absolutly deny the same: whearin for the better cleeringe the truthe I truste hir majestie in hir princely and honorable natur will not gainsaye but that she bothe sente for me by my Lord Admyrall to brynge the warrante unto hir to be sygned, gave me express ordere to carye it foarthe with to the sealle, with a mesuage to my Lord Chanselore, and also by the waye to imparte it with Mr. Secretary Walsyngham, which provethe that theis theer weare made privie unto it with hir owne good lykynge; and seeinge my Lord Tresorore was formerly acquainted thearwith by my Lord Admyrall and Lord of Lestere ymedyatly after the sygninge of the warrante by hir majestes selfe, as lykewise Mr. Vicechamberlene the same daye in generall termes, as they did all severally sygnefy unto me, what reason could I have to detayne or concealle it frome them, beinge so princepall counselores as they are, spessyally imployed as all mene knowe in the formor tryall and proceedynges agaynste the sayd Queene, and otherwise as deeply interested in this cause as my self?"

"Nether can I conceave what maye be excepted to this privetie of theirs, unlesse hir majestie had a meanyng that Mr. Secretarye and I should have delte alone in sendinge doune thearof to the sayd comyssyoneres, which for myn owne parte I confesse I never lyked or intended, aswell in respecte of hir porpos oftene uttered to my selfe to remove asmuche of the burthen as she myghte from hir owne shoulders, as for the dishonore and daunger myghte otherwise have growne thearby bothe publykely to the whole cause and privatly to our selves yf wee should have yealded thearunto."

"And therfor seeinge the ende of signynge and sealyng the warrante in all reasonable constructyon was to goe forwarde, withall that the dellaye thearof did infynitely increase the perrylle of hir majestes lyfe and state, that it was imparted so soone by hir highenes owne ordere and no possebyllytye—beinge sealed—to keepe it from the reste consyderynge howe manye weare alrede made privy thear unto, I truste I shall appeare suffycently warranted in all duty, reason and necessety to doe that I did; and contrary wise myn offence, yf by myn neglecte thearof thear should have happened any thinge amysse to hir majestie in the meane tyme, not onely inexcusable but allso—in myne owne sensure—worthie of a thousand deathes."

"And as for the second poynte of detaynyng thearof in my handes after it was resolved that it was nether fytt nor convenyente to truble hir majestie any further thearwithall, consyderynge she had done all that lawe required at hir handes and that shce had bothe to my selfe and others sygnefied at other

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"For howe so evere hir majestes commaundemente be pretended hearin to keepe it by me as a thinge she mente not to put in executyon, I truste the world dothe not hould one so undutyfulle to hir majestie, or ill advised for my pertyculere, consyderinge the reasones alledged, as to take suche a charge uppon me, to the evidente perill of hir highenes lyffe, subversyone of the estate, and myne owne utter overthrowe."

"Nether is theare any reason in the worlde—I speke it in all reverence and under hir majestes gratyous favore and pardon—that maye argue any suche resolutyon of hirs not to proceede any further in the sayd executyon—as is afforsayd—consyderinge howe fare she had allredy wade in the tryall of that ladyes facte, found hir gyilty by a moste honorable jury of hir nobylltye, assembled hir parleamente onely for that purpos, gratusly herd their petycones for justyce and dismyssed them with so greate hope, publeshed afterwarde the proclamacion for hir disablemente, rejected the suites bothe of the Frenche and Skottyshe Kynges for hir lyfe, and returned their ambassadors hopeles, confirmed that impressyon by hir owne letteres to bothe princes, some of which it pleased hir to comunycate with my selfe, protested many tymes hir necessetye and resolutyone to goe throughe withall—albeit for sondry good respectes she had so longe deferred it—geven me hir comaundemente many dayes befoare to brynge uppe the warrante unto hir, and then voluntarely sente for it by my Lord Admyrall, signynge it as soone as I broughte it, and directed me thearwith to the sealle."

"Addinge hearunto hir partyculer and verball directyone delyvered to my selfe at the same tyme, bothe appoyntyng the executyone to be done in the halle, myslykyng the greene or courte of the castelle for some respectes she alledged, to gether with hir staye of my Lord of Shrewsbury in thos partes by letteres writtene from my Lord Tresorore uppon hir comaundemente for some spessyall service she had to employ him in theare: which could importe no other thinge then the sayd executyone, whearin he was a cheefe comysysonere."

"All which, with a number of other forgoinge and followinge circomstances too longe to rehearse, maye suffycyently testefy hir majestes resolute disposytyone to have it proceeded in accordinge to hir directyon and warrante afforsayd, what soever be nowe pretended to the contrarye."

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

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285. RELATION BY MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Feb. 20.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 222.

“ A true relation of that which passed betwixt her majestie and me in the cause of the late Scottish Queene, from the tyme of my first receyving the minute of the warraunt concerning her execution, *etc.*, to the daie of my committment to the Tower.”

“ After that the meeting at Fotheringhaie about the cause of the late Scottish Queen was dissolved, the commissioners returned their sentence revisited and signed, approved in parliament and notified to the world by proclamation.”

“ Her majestie being moved with the earnest suites and petitions of her subjects in the said parliament assembled to proceed against the said Queene according to the sentence, did at length give order to the Lord Treasurer to drawe the warrant for her execution. Which having performed and imparted to her majestie his lordship the next morning sent for me to his chamber in court then at Richmond, and in the presence of Mr. Treasurer Knollys—whome I found with him—acquainted me therewith and told me that him self being to go presently to London, her highnes pleasure was that he should leave the same with me to cause it to be engrossed and brought unto her to signe; and so delivered it into my handes.”

“ Some few daies after, the warrant being ready, I acquainted her majestie withall, and desired to knowe her pleasure therein: who at that tyme thought good to forbear the signing thereof, because the French and Scottish ambassadors were here intercessours for the said Queens life: willing me to reserve it to a fitter season; which by that occasion I reteyned in my handes unpresented for the space of some 5 or 6 weekes at the least; for the which I was one daie sharply reproved by my Lord of Leicester in her majestes owne presence; as the Lord Treasurer, who was by, could witness.”

“ Not long after the returne of the said ambassadors, her majestie being one morning private with the Lord Admirall,—which, as I take it, was on Wednesday the 1 of February—much moved with the rumours then raised and spread abroad throughout the realme that the said Scottish Queen was escaped, the realme invaded by strangers, London sacked and burnt, her majestie dead; with other like seditions brutes tending in all apparaunce to tumult and rebellion; and falling into consideration of the howlerly danger wherein she lived by delaying the said Queens execution, as the principall ground and cause thereof, she finally resolved—as his lordship immediatly after told me—to deferre the same no longer: and therefore willed him to send presentlie for me to bring the warrant unto her to signe; which he accordingly did.”

“ At my coming up I found his lordship in the privy chamber, where he discoursed unto me what had passed that morning betweene her majestie and him concerning the said Queen, and how she was now fully resolved to proceed to her execution: and to that end had commaunded him to send expressly for me to bring the warrant unto her, that she might forthwith signe and dispatch it.”

“ Upon which her majestes direction delivered me by his lord-

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ship, I went downe to my chamber for that and other thinges I had to be signed, and returning up againe entreated Mrs. Brooke to give her majestie knowledge of my being there: who presently called for me."

"Upon my coming in, her majestie discerning some papers in my hand enquired what I had there. I answered, they were thinges to be signed that concerned her service. She then demaunded whether I had not mett with the Lord Admirall, and whether he had said nothing to mee touching the warrant for the Scottish Queen. My answer was that I had spoken with his lordship in the privy chamber, and understood by him that it was her highness pleasure I should bring the same unto her to signe. Whereupon she asking me for it, I delivered it into her handes, who callinge presently for pen and inke, signed it, and laied it downe by her upon the mattes."

"And after som litle speach, showing the reasons why she had so long deferred it, as namely that the world might see she had not bene violently caried thereunto by anie humour of malice or revenge against her, howsoever provoked by her offence, and how loth she was to take this course if she had seene anie other waie to secure her owne person and state *rebus sic stantibus*, she finally willed me to take up the said warrant and to cary it immediatly to the great seale, comaunding me expressely to dispatch and send it awaie unto the commissioners with all the expedicion I might: appointing the hall of Fotheringhay for the place of execution, mislykyng the court-yard for dyvers respectes she alleadged."

"And in conclusion absolutely forbade me to trouble her anie further or let her heare any more thereof till it was done, seeing that [for] her part she had now performed all that either in lawe or reason could be required."

"And so calling for the rest of the thinges I had to be signed, dispatched them with . . . *."

"This done she entred into some speech with me of Mr. Secretarie Walsingham, delivering me a message to be imparted unto him, and willing me withall to shew him her warrant in my waie to the seale—he being then sick at his house in London—yeilding merily this reason, that she thought the sight therof would kill him outright."

"And as I was ready to depart from her, she gave me some caution to use it secretly at the seale, in respect of the jealousie she seemed to conceyve of some about the Lord Chancellour, and doubt least the divulging thereof might be an occasion to encrease her owne danger."

"From her majestie I went directly downe to the Lord Treasurer's chamber, where I found my Lord of Leicester and him together, to whome I shewed her majestes warrant signed, and faithfully related what directions she had given me for carying it to the great seale and sending it downe unto the commissioners, with the other circumstances before remembred. And for that I alleadged some necessity of my staie at courte that afternoone aboute the causes of the Low Countries, whose deputies were appointed to be there immediatly after dinner, they both intreated

* Decayed.

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me, but especially the Lord Treasurer, to leave the care of that busines unto him, and to attend this, which was of far more importance; whereto I yeilded."

"After dinner I repaired to the Lord Chancellor according to my direction, having first visited Mr. Secretarie Walsingham in my waie and acquainted him with those thinges her majestie had given me in charge, and betwene 3 and 4 of the clock that afternoone passed the said warrant under seale; which done I went home to my owne house, where I staid all that night."

"The next morning about x. of the clock, being almost 24 howers after my departure from her majestie—when she could with no reason imagine it to be unsealed, considering what comendement she had given me to make all the speed I could therein—Mr. Killegrew came to me with this message from her, that if I had not allready bene with the Lord Chancellour I shold forbear all till I understood her further pleasure; whome I returned with answer that I would be at the court as soone as himself, and give her an account what I had done."

"Imediately upon my coming thither I went up into the privy chamber, where I found her majestie; who presently calling me to her, asked me whether the warrant were sealed. I answered that it was dispatched the evening before, and showed the same unto her. 'But,' said she, 'what needed that hast?' I replied that I had made no more hast then both her self comaunded me and my duty in such a case required."

"And thereupon taking occasion to aske her majestie whether she continued her purpose to proceed therein according to her former direccions or no, she answered shee did; albeit she thought it might have bene better handled, because this course threw the whole burden upon her self."

"Whereunto I replying that I sawe not who elles could beare it, seeing her lawes made it murther in anie man to take the life of the meanest subject in her kingdome but by her warrant, she entred* into a great comendacion of Archibald Douglass, wishing that she had but two such counsellours: and in the end perceyving that I tooke litle tast of that discourse, rose up, and walking a turne or two in the chamber, one of the ladies enterteyning her with some other speach, I left her for that tyme."

"From thence I went downe to Mr. Vice-chamberlane, to whome I shewed her said warrant, and communicated all that had passed betwixt her highnes and me concerning the same, adding what I feared of her inclination to throwe this burden from her self if she mighte finde anie just pretext, remembring unto him, amongst other reasons, how thinges had passed heretofore in the cause of the Duke of Norfolk, the inputation of whose death she laied heavily upon my Lord Treasurer for dyvers yeares together; and therefore told him plainly that whatsoever direction she had given me for sending it awaie unto the commissioners—which happily she thought I wold adventure to do for her safety and service—I was absolutely resolved not to medle in it alone."

"Wherenpon, after some litle other speach betwene him and me, we agreed to go over unto the Lord Treasurer, and to advise with

* Altered from "abruptly brake."

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him what course was fittest to be held therein. Who finding both by Mr Vicechamberlane and my self what my resolution was, approved the same, and thereupon resolved to breake the matter the next day with the rest of the Counsell and to take their opinions. And in the meane time his lordship, having some use of the warrant, praied me to leave it with him, which in presence of Mr. Vicechamberlen I delivered into his lordships owne handes; who from thenceforth kept it till it was sent away."

"The next morning his lordship assembled the Councell in his owne chamber, to whome he declared the cause of their meeting, shewed and read the warrant, rehersed how matters had passed betwixt her majestie and me, and namely what directions she had given me for sending it downe unto the commissioners, *etc.*, as also my refusall to medle therein alone and reasons for the same."

"That for his part he sawe not why they being all alike interested in the cause shold not make it their generall and common acte, knowing how much it imported both them selves in duty and her majestie and the whole realme in honour and safety."

"His advice therefore was that, seeing they had so cleare a testimonie of her majestes pleasure as her owne warrant under her hand and great seale of England imperted, they shold joyne together in sending it downe unto the commissioners according to that direction, without troubling her majestie anie further in that behalf, she having done all that in lawe or reason cold be required of her."

"Whereunto they all agreeing, his lordship tooke upon him to project the letters that shold be sent downe therewith unto the said commissioners, and to send for Mr. Beale, whom they thought the fittest messenger for that purpose. And the next daie, the letters being readie, met againe in the same place for the signing of them. Which done, his lordship delivered them, together with the warrant and the rest of that dispatch, unto Mr. Beale, in presence of all the other Counsellours, with his owne handes."

"Some 2 or 3 daies after, having speciall occasion to attend her majestie, and finding her in her gallery at Greenwich all alone, she entred into some speech with me of a course that had bene propounded unto her underhand by one of great place concerning that Queen; asked me what I thought thereof, which being in truth very unsutable to the rest of her publick* proceding I utterly misliked, delivering my reasons, wherewith she seemed to rest fully satisfied, without any shewe of allowing this new course or altering her former resolution in any pointe."

"The next daie, as I remember, I had occasion to cary up a letter for her majestie to signe, in favour of Mr. Fenton her secretary in Ireland; after the dispatch whereof she fell of her self into some earnest expostulacion with me about the execution of her said warrant, complayning greatly of my self and the rest of her Counsell as men careles of her safety and our owne duties in that it was not alredy done, comaunding me to write a sharp letter to Sir Amias Paulet to that effect."

"But being somewhat jealous of her majesties drifte, I answered that it shold be needles, seeing it was her majestes owne

* Altered from "honorable."

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commission under the great seale of England, and not anie private letter from me, that must be his direction and warrant in that behalf. Whereunto she replied litle, but that she thought he wold looke for it. And with this, one of the ladies coming in to understand her pleasure for her dinner, she brake of, this being the last time of my accesse unto her."

"The daie following, to my best remembrance, Mr. Henrie Talbot brought letters from my lord his father and the rest of the commissioners unto the Lord Treasurer, importing the newes of the said Queens death, which his lordship communicating with dyvers of the Counsell did not thinke fit to breke suddenly to her majestie, who neverthesse by other meanes understood thereof that night without shewe of anie alteration at all."

"But my self being then at London, and returning the nexte morning to the court, I found dyvers of the Counsell together in my Lord Treasurers chamber, who presently told me how thinges stood, and that her majestie seemed to be greatly offended against them all about this action, disavouing that she had either comaunded or intended any such proceeding therein; which at the first I did not much marvell at, considering what I had before observed of her desire to cast it from her self, though I saw not what just ground she shold take for the same."

"But having after some litle stay with them special occasion to returne back to London, and beinge otherwise very ill, I was inforced to tary at my owne house all that night."

"The next newes I heard was that her majestie threatned to committ me to the Tower, which out of the innocence of mine owne hearte I cold not possibly beleive, till she sent my Lord of Buckhurst unto me to that end. Who, finding me sick in bed, after some conference with me returned back to the court to acquaint her majestie with mine estate, and so deferred it for that tyme; . . . * likewise did some daie or two after for the same reasons; which neverthesse on . . . of February by her majesties expresse warrant he performed."

"And this in substance—as neare as I can possibly remember—is the truth of all that passed betwixt her majestie and me concerning this cause, from the first hower of my receyving the minute of her said warrant from the Lord Treasurer to the daie of my restraunte."

3 pp. *Indorsed.*

Feb. 21. **286. LORD SCOPE TO [WALSINGHAM].**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 217.

According to his last, addressed a Scotchman to Edinburgh for the understanding of the acceptance of the death of the Queen of Scots with the King and that nation. Perceives that when the King understood Roger Ashton's message—he returned to him about Monday last—that his mother was in truth put to death, he not only took that news very grievously and offensively, but also gave out in secret speeches that he could not digest the same or leave it unrevenged, as should appear by such good deeds as they [the English] should receive at his hands.

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Although the King and some others are highly offended with them for this execution, yet is advertised that some of the noblemen—though they seem malcontents—would not have that tragedy to play again. Likewise is advertised by good credit that the King intends to depart secretly out of that realm, but does not know for what he prepares himself. Leaves the certainty of these matters to his next, and to his own better advertisement from other places.

A general convention of all the noblemen and states of that realm is looked for, but the certain day of their assembly is not known. The King has written to Maxwell that either he or some one of good credit and authority from him repair to the Court, for he intends to appoint Maxwell warden of the West Marches of Scotland, thinking him the meetest man to have the government thereof, and to execute such service as he shall enjoin him, and the present state of matters shall require. It is thought that Maxwell will enter on his journey to the King on Monday next, or that day send one authorised from him to accept that office, and bring him his patent for the same.

William Carr of Ancrum, one in the murder of the late Lord Russell, and young Fernihurst gave out that they would be with the King on Friday last. All matters on the frontiers rest in quiet as yet. As anything to the contrary falls out, or any other news comes to his knowledge, he shall be advertised thereof, from time to time. Carlisle. *Signed*: H. Scrope.

1 p. *No address.*

Feb. 21. **287.** MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XXI.

Upon Mr. Treasurer having given me to understand that it had pleased you to permit me to write into France and to send thither a gift of some seignorial rights which he rendered to me last week, I have made a little packet for my brother in law, which I beg you to command may be sent by the first safe opportunity which shall present itself, the delay of this expedition for the said seignorial rights meaning no less to me than the entire loss thereof, by reason that the officers of the King will not fail now to seize upon all that which the Queen of Scotland enjoyed in France. From your house in London. *Signed*: Nau.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 22. **288.** [] TO [THOMAS PHELIPPES].

C.P., vol. XXI.

Passing through Derbyshire, met with certain persons of the Scottish train going to Fotheringay Castle, conducted by a servant of Sir Amias Paulet. Happened to talk in secret with a gentlewoman called Mistress "Curley," daughter to the laird of Barnbogle, surnamed Mowbray. She declared a large circumstance of her husband's troubles and present imprisonment in England, for whom she proposes to be an earnest suitor to him [Phelippes]. Her opinion is that the young King cannot be so graceless and monstrous in nature as to leave his mother's death unavenged, but that if he would, other Princes, her allies, will cry quittance.

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Builds but little upon her speeches, which carry but womanish presumptions. Trusts shortly to discover the heart of their hope, if any such vital be left. Has a token of creance to her father, who, he is assured, is a sound Catholic and will further him in all possible manner. Doubts not but that after he is lodged in Scotland he will miss ready means for the speedy delivery of occurrences, by reason that there will be some difficulty in sending safely to the sheriff of Northumberland, except he appoint him some special instrument in Berwick.

Has a direction to visit one Ralph Lawson at Cattrick Brigge in Richmondshire, a man greatly affected to the Scottish Queen and very inward with the State there.

The manner of the Scottish Queen's death and her patient receiving of the same is highly commended by no small numbers, both Protestants and Papists. Would not willingly write much till his letter is delivered in Northumberland. Mansfield in Sherwood.

1 p. *Indorsed in Thomas Phelippes' hand*: "From Catlin."

[Feb.] **289. EXTRACTS OF LETTERS INTERCEPTED.**

John Hamilton of Enuerton to Lord Hamilton.

As for novelties in these parts, there is like to be great troubles this summer. The King and the "leige" agree not well together. Th King has "garte" all the great army of the strangers to render themselves with "Cord au col." The Lord Morton is come to the town in good health the 25th of January *stylo novo*. What his intention is I know not, but he is to send to your lordship, *etc.*

Francis Mowbray to his lord and master the Earl of Crauford.

I have learnt since my coming hither that for certain there is some offers made to the King's majesty of Scotland of the part of the King's majesty of Spain and the Pope.

To the laird of Vasthall, last of January, *stylo novo*.

The King's majesty came from the fields and arrived here in Paris the 23rd of December, and it is supposed that he shall remain here while March, and then make to the fields with his whole forces. The "roisters" for truth are forth of France, and very many have been slain. It is said that they are to come again with greater force in the spring. It is of truth that Monsieur de Joyeux is slain, with many of the nobles of France.

To Sir William Keith.

I have heard that the King's majesty of Scotland shall have no assistance of foreign Princes resolutely, without he be Catholic. I know, my lord, you have credit at his majesty's hands. If it would please your lordship to be a well-willer to that effect, I mean to help and further his majesty to take counsel for his own weal of foreign Princes. After I know your mind—if it please you by your first advertisement—of your assured good will and satisfaction of this purpose, I will let you understand in effect your commodity and advancement.

To David Dundas of Didestowne.

I pray you learn the estate of the cadet who governs, in special, and what it is likely to turn to, for I know there are some high

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In another—The King goes to the wars in Poitou in person to have the King of Navarre in April.

Forbois to his brother, not naming him.

I write no news because of the time as it occurs. I am sorry to hear of the variable state of Scotland. You are busy men to seek your own wrack and ruin. This I may say by the way, you have many busy men here to learn to speak Espagnol.

1 p. *Indorsed*: "Extract of letters intercepted. Scotland."

[Feb.] **290. REQUESTS OF MARY'S SERVANTS.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

Upon conference with the French and Scottish servants, they answer as follows:—Mr. Melvin now remaining with Mr. Bagot prays to take London in his way towards Scotland.

I have not spoken with the priest remaining with Mr. Gresley, but I find by a message received from him of late that he is willing to go directly into France.

Bastian and his wife with their two daughters and one son are desirous to go to London, and from thence into France.

Balthazar will go into France.

Curll's servant is desirous to wait on his mistress.

Nau's servant once served Mr. Pierrepont, and prays to return to him.

The "cocher" and the grooms of the stables are of Sheffield, in Derbyshire, and of the parts adjoining, and pray to return thither.

Curll's wife prays to go to London.

The three laundresses are of Derbyshire and desire to return thither.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Indorsed*: "The requests of ye Scottish Q. servauntes."

[Feb.] **291. MONSIEUR NAU TO MONSIEUR PROBY.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

Memorial to Mr. Proby.

Seeing the importance of the calumnies and impostures put forward against Nau among other of the servants of the late Queen of Scotland his mistress, touching even the honour of two of the principal councillors of the Queen of England, that he may be permitted, before the said servants pass into France, to explain the whole with them; and to this effect that they may have access to him.

That the said servants may likewise be commanded to restore to him his books and other articles which they detain from him, many among them being able to testify that they belong to him; and until then that they may be forbidden to proceed to the sale or transport of anything here.

For the delivery by parcels of the moveables of the said Nau, newly arrived here in coffers sealed with the seal of Sir Amyas Paulet, may it please the said Sir Paulet to send his secretary or some other of his people with the inventories made hereupon, and all other goods that the said Sir Paulet may yet have in his keeping belonging to Nau.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Indorsed.*

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292. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

Feb. 25.

C.P., vol. XXI

Following the direction of the lords of her majesty's Council signified by his letters of the 15th instant, has brought hither the Scottish household from Chartley and discharged the soldiers, except one porter and four soldiers who have charge of the gate.

Sends herewith the inventory of her majesty's plate, hangings, and other household stuff lately used in this castle, whereof the plate, the greater part of the hangings, and all the best stuff was removed yesterday under the conduct of some of his servants. Prays he will signify to his servant, Robert Hackshaw, remaining in London, where the said plate and other stuff shall be discharged.

Mr. Darell prays for the better clearing of his account, and thinks it meet for her majesty's better service that the said plate and other stuff be not removed from the place where it shall be unladen until his coming to London. One of the conductors of these carts is commanded to be at London four or five hours before the carts to learn of Hackshaw where the said carts shall be unladen.

The jewels, plate and other goods belonging to the late Queen of Scots were already divided into many parts before receipt of his letters, as may appear by the inventory thereof inclosed herein, the whole company saving Kenethy [Kennedy] and Curll's sister, two of her gentlewomen, affirming that they have nothing to show for these things from their mistress in writing, and that all the smaller things were delivered by her own hands. According to his direction, committed the custody of the said jewels, plate, and other stuff to Mr. Melvin, the physician, and Mistress Kenethye, one of the gentlewomen.

The care of the embalming of the late Queen was committed to the high sheriff of the county, who, no doubt, was very willing to have it well done, and used the advice of a physician dwelling at Stamford, with the help of two surgeons. Upon order given—according to his direction—for the body to be covered with lead, the physician thought good to add somewhat to his former doings, and now takes upon him that it may continue for some reasonable time.

Purposes to depart towards London on Monday next, the 27th instant. Fotheringay. *Signed*: A. Poulet.

1 p. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*: "Lettres from Sir Amias Paulett, Mr. Somers, and Francis Mills, employed about the busines with the Scottish Queene."

Inclosure with the same:—

(Inventory of the Queen of Scots' jewels, *etc.*)

"An Inventarye of the jewells, plate, money, and other goodes found in the custodie of the severall servauntes of the late Quene of Scottes, as followethe:—

In the custody of Androwe Melvin, gent. Furniture for a bed wrought with needle woorke of silke, silver and gold, with divers devices and armes, not throughlye finished. A peece of an unicorne's horne with a little pendant of gold. A clothe of estate garnished with armes. Certen pictures of the sayd late Quene's auncestors. To be delivered by hym to the Kinge of Scottes.

Jewells."

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1586-7. **293. SIR JOHN FOSTER TO WALSINGHAM.**

Feb. 26.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 206.

Has received his letter of the 18th instant. According to the contents thereof has given general warning now and also before to all gentlemen in his wardenry to provide for armour and weapons, and be in readiness with their tenants and servants upon an hour's warning, to withstand any sudden invasions that might happen to be offered by the inhabitants of the opposite realm.

By reason that Mr. Carey, her majesty's ambassador, is stayed at Berwick, and cannot have licence to pass into Scotland, which gives great encouragement to divers noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland and to the evilly disposed people dwelling on the Borders of the same to make great brags, can do no less for his discharge than to certify him accordingly, whereby, *etc.*

At the writing hereof was credibly informed that one of the principal men of Liddesdale was with the King, who commanded him and his company to take all that could be got out of England. Alnwick.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

Feb. 28. **294. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.**

"Sir, be such credible information as I have ressavit from Scotland, I do persave that the Maister of Grey his credit is not so greit at this present thair, as the onely buylding upon it is able to put by this storme wythowt sum inconvenience."

"If I be ryclitly informed, resolution was taken thair upon the letteris that I wrot xj Febrnarii, makand mention of this layt accident, that no Inglismen shuld be permitted to com in Scotland bot upon the sycht of the letteris that I wrot be Robert Carvell, makand mention off Mr. Robert Cary his derection off the dayt xiii einsem. I can not lerne quhat hath fallin owt, nather can I learn if thay be delivered."

"But publick speach is gevin owt thair that the warris ar openly proclaimed betuixt this cuntrey and France. And no small nombre wold move the King to leave the course wyth her majestie. As zit thay haif no fordar prevaled than as sayd is. Commandement is gevin be him nevertheles that the Bordouris shall remayn in quietnes quhill fordar of his pleaser shalbe knanin. Owr secretarye is the onely man that gydis, and non but he."

"If this kynd of dealing shalbe suffered to proceid, ill humouris may so invalesce that may bring the hoile bodye to corruption, and that schortely. For remedying of these inconvenientis so farre as may lye in me, I think it shalbe best don, that I shuld direct ane gentill man that is nephew to me and nephew to our secretayr to the King my maister wyth such derection as your honour shalbe mayde acquaynted wyth before his departure, wyche may serve best, to assay what gud offeris may be performed in that realme, and to see such letteris as I haif vrytin to freyndis saiflye delivered, to know how the world goes and is lyk to contynew thair."

"I wold be glayd to knaw if my lord chamberlane hathe heard ony confirmation of this which I ressaved, and what fordar, wyth your awin opinion when it shalbe metast to conferre upon this mater that apperis to crave sum haist if your lesare mycht spayr it. And

Elizabeth.

1586-7. so I tak my leave, this xxviii of Februarii." *Signed*: "Your honouris alwayis, A. Douglas."

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 30. **295. BURGHLEY TO HUNSDON.**

"Recitall of the good success of the border matters, wishyng the contynuanee therof, as an occasion to renew the former amity betwixt her Majesty and the Kyng, wherof he knew that on the Queen's part ther was never meaning to gyve cause of intermission; and though some occasion as it semeth hath bene taken on the Kinges part to shew some intermission of such frendly offices as befor tyme had passed betwixt them, thet if the Kyng had bene contented this last yer to have hard hir answer for hir own actions which was committed to his soun to have bene declared, she dowlth not but the Kyng wold have contynued his former cours in exercise of mutuall love with her majesty."

"And for prooff of hir majesties innocency in that which was imputed wrongfully to hir, Mr. Archebald Douglas the Kinges own minister hath had good prooff manny wayes, to mak the same apparant to the Kyng."

"And therfor hir majesty, restyng hir self in very truth uppon hir innocency for any thyng by hir willyngly doone to do any wrong or to offend the Kyng, she remayneth quiet in hir own mynd and conscience, with expectation to understand from the Kyng what he shall intend to do, and accordyngly to answer the same with such offices of frendshipp or of neighborhood as shall be offred to hir."

"And this you may saye you know to be hir majesties mynd, and therfor your self wold be most glad to be an instrument to procure such intelligence of mutuall loove betwixt ther majesties as war good for both ther persons, ther estates and contryes; and therwith to wish that nether of them shuld by practise, conning or sinister counsell, suffer them selves to be abused by ther common ennemy, in perswasion of any contrary religion to be used or tollerated in ther dominions. For the which, as both the realnes had good laws to withstand the same, so nothyng cold preserve the common quiett of them both better than direct execution of the same."

1 p. *Draft in Burghley's hand, corrected, and indorsed by him*: "A note wherof my lord of Hunsdon shuld wryt to the Kyng of Scottes."

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 130b.

[Feb.]

296. INSTRUCTIONS FOR A PERSON GOING TO SCOTLAND.

That he shall presently make repair into Scotland, addressing himself to such persons as are known or suspected to be enemies to this state.

That he shall carefully inform himself what practices are nourished there to disturb the present quiet of this realm.

That he shall principally observe what alteration the death of the King's mother works either in the said King or in any person of quality within that realm.

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1586-7.

To learn how the boroughs stand affected which heretofore have been noted to be enemies to the said Queen.

To inform him what noblemen stand ill affected to this state, and who well affected.

To seek by all means he may to so get credit with Courcelles and the laird of Fentry, as also with one Pury Ogilvie, an instrument used between the Jesuits and the Master of Gray.

To seek very carefully what English Catholics resort into that realm, by whom and for whom they are sent, and to whom they repair, and what is the end of their employment.

To learn how the King stands affected to the religion, and whether he be disposed to harken either to Spain or to France.

To seek out who be the harbourers of such instruments as are employed by the Catholics between the two realms of Scotland and England. To advertise weekly what he can learn touching the particularities above mentioned, or any other matter fit to be advertised.

That he address his servant to Mr. Anderson, sheriff of Northumberland, to whom he shall have letters of credit, with order to send up his letters hither in post.

That he shall in no sort discover himself to Mr. Anderson, but shall only send his man unto him with my letter.

His servant a passport. A letter to Mr. Anderson. To procure letters of credit from the Catholics here. To enquire what is become [*sic*]. Beware of David Inglebye.

1 p. In *Thomas Phelippes' hand*. *Indorsed*: "Febr. 1586. Dispathe for [cipher]. Instruccions of on sent into Scotl."

Feb. 297. J[] WOLLEY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 220.

Right honourable and my most especial good lord, it pleased her majesty yesterday night to call the lords and others of her Council before her into her withdrawing chamber, where she rebuked us all exceedingly for our concealing from her our proceeding in the Queen of Scots' case. But her indignation particularly lighted upon my lord Treasurer and Mr. Davison who called us together and declared the commission, for she protests she gave express commandment to the contrary, and therefore has taken order for the committing of Mr. Davison to the Tower, if she continue this morning in the mind she was of last night, albeit we all knelt on our knees to pray her to the contrary. I think your lordship happy to be absent from these broils and thought it my duty to let you understand them. And so in haste I humbly take my leave. At the Court. *Signed*: J. Wolley.

Postscript—I have oftentimes sent unto [you] from your old servant, Mr. Bould, to pray humbly your lordship's order for the ending of his case. He has been long in prison and desires your lordship's order for the hearing of his case, which it may please your lordship to impart to me.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*. *Indorsed*.

Feb. 298. ARRAIGNMENT OF MARY.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 469.

"The order of the proceedings at the arraignment of the late

Elizabeth.

1586-7. unfortunat Lady Mary Queen of Scottes, at Fotheringhaye, in the countie of Northampton, the 12th of October 1586."

Three hours after the lords had arrived the commission from her majesty was read to the lords commissioners for the great cause grounded upon the statute of 27 Elizabeth, authorising them to examine such persons as stood suspected for any pretence or practice against the Queen's majesty, the tenor whereof is easily known in the book of statutes. In the commission all men's voices are free and of equal power.

This read and the sermon, which was made by the Dean of Peterborough, ended, they went to Council in the Council-chamber of the same house, where it was thought convenient in consultation by them all to send the Queen's majesty's letters of credit to the Queen of Scotland whereby might appear the cause of their coming, their authority, and intention to call her before them. The messengers who were appointed to summon her were Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer and her guardian Sir Amias Paulet, attended by Barker the civilian, whose office was to conceive the answer to them upon the delivery of the letters, and to return her answer simply, without any treaty or conference. The answer was thus delivered *verbatim* as I can remember:—

"It is no small grief for me to think how hardly the Queen deals with me after my long misery of imprisonment and indisposition of body as to stand suspected of my integrity," etc. [*Abstract of Mary's first speech, in No. 54.*] She further desired to see the protestation she made to those who were sent to her in the 14th year. "I mean," said she, "the Lord Chancellor who is now here, Wilson, and others."

This has been the forenoon's work. After dinner they go to counsel what there is to be done. On Thursday they went to her lodging and remained with her for two hours, signifying to her that if she would not come forth before the commissioners they would proceed against her according to the commission. That day was spent in consultation and speaking with her.

The names of the commissioners sent by her majesty, at Fotheringay Castle, co. Northampton. Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor; Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer; Edmund Vere, Earl of Oxford; Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; Henry Gray, Earl of Kent; Edward Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln; Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague; Lord Abergavenny; Lord Zouche; Lord Morley; Lord Stafford; Lord Gray; Lord Lumley; Lord Sturton; Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby; Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland; Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester; George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; Ambrose Sutton, Earl of Warwick; Sir Walter Mildmay; Sir Ralph Sadler; Sir Christopher Hatton; Sir Francis Walsingham; Sir James Crofte; Sir Christopher Wray, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Ed. Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir [Roger] Manwood, Lord Chief, C.B.; Sir Thomas Gawdy; Lord Sandes; Lord Wentworth; Lord Mordant; Lord St. John of Bletsoe; Lord Cromptoun; Lord Cheyney; Justice Peryan; Mr. Attorney Popham; Mr. Egerton the Queen's solicitor; Mr. Puckering the Queen's serjeant; Mr. Gawdy; Mr. Doctor Dale; Mr. Doctor Forde; Barker and Wheeler, notaries.

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On Wednesday, 12th October, the lords aforesaid and the other commissioners came to Fotheringay Castle at 9 o'clock in the morning, where first, in the chapel, they had a sermon, and afterwards the same day was spent, and the next also, in deliberation and sending to the Queen of Scots oftentimes to know whether she would appear or not.

On Friday morning next she resolved to appear, and about 9 o'clock she came forth into the chamber of presence and was placed in a chair somewhat below the cloth of state, and on the right side the earls, the barons on the left side. The chamber was prepared and hung with the cloth of state in the upper part, and down along both sides forms or benches covered with green for the earls and lords of the commission. Somewhat below the midst of the chamber there was a bar, and within the bar a form, a chair, a cushion, and a foot-carpet for the Queen of Scotland. Directly against the "state" below in the midst of the chamber was a table, whereat sat the Queen's attorney, the Queen's solicitor, the Clerk of the Crown, and the two notaries. Directly about the table, in the midst of the chamber, were two benches whereon sat on the right side the Lord Chief Baron, Doctor Dale, and Doctor Forde, over against the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Justice Peryan, and before the bar such gentlemen as came to see the action.

The lords being thus set, and all things ready, the Queen came forth with a company waiting on her with halberds. She was in a black gown with a white veil of lawn, a very tall and big woman, being lame, and supported by one arm by one of her gentlemen, named Melvin, and by her other arm by her physician. One of her maids carried her train and there attended on her. One of her servants brought a chair covered with crimson velvet, and another a cushion of the same, and after silence the Lord Chancellor stood up and spoke to this effect:—

"Madam, the Queen's majesty being strongly informed of sundry practices made by you against her has caused this assembly here at this time, as it has been signified against you. You have received the Queen's letters certifying the same, and I must say this much to you, Madam, from her majesty's mouth, that having borne so many things at your hands she cannot forbear any longer to proceed against you—not for the peril which might befall herself, for God, who has ever defended her from all her enemies, she trusts will still deliver her from them. But there depends more upon it. She sees that you are made a foundation of all practices against her, and if she should neglect so great a danger she should forget the cause of God and bear the sword in vain. It is not malice, Madam, nor regard of her person that causes her to do it, and she might do otherwise and proceed against you. Yet she has dealt in honour towards you that you should be heard and speak for yourself."

The Lord Treasurer said:—"Madam, now you have heard the cause of our assembly, it is meet that you hear the commission, that you may see we have authority to proceed against you." Then Mr. Pole read the commission grounded upon the statute of 27 Elizabeth. The commission read, the Queen said "I protest that

Elizabeth.

1586-7. this law is insufficient, and therefore I cannot submit myself to it." The Lord Treasurer avouched and justified the law to proceed against her; whereupon she replied that the law was made against her.

The Lord Treasurer said, "Madam, we have commission to proceed against you, and if your grace will not hear and answer we will proceed therein." Then she said, "I will hear and answer," but first she spoke by way of protestation to this effect—that she was a free Prince and a Queen anointed, not subject to any but God only, to whom she must give account, and therefore she required that her appearing might not be prejudicial to other Kings and Princes her allies, nor to her son, for which cause she desired it to be enacted, and required all her own servants to bear witness of it.

The Lord Chancellor protested again against that protestation, that it should in nowise be prejudicial to the Queen's majesty nor to the crown of England, and that they all in that behalf of her majesty required to be enacted.

Then Serjeant Gawdy arose and declared first the branches of the statute, and inferred that the Queen of Scots, there present, had offended against both the branches thereof, *viz.*, she had been both privy to the killing of her majesty and also herself practised it and compassed it, and ripped up the whole complete from Ballard's coming into England. When he said that the Queen was both a mover and a compasser she bowed herself and smiled. Her first letter which she wrote to Babington to renew her intelligence was read. Then Serjeant Puckering pursued the rest of Babington's letters to her and her answer again to him.

The Scottish Queen answered that she had never seen Babington, nor never had speech with him, nor never received any letter from him, and that she could "stope" no man to go beyond the seas, but let any man in England come and say that she ever did anything against the Queen's life. Then Sandes, the clerk of the Crown, read Babington's confession again, and Serjeant Puckering opened the points.

The Scottish Queen said that being kept from all intelligence of all her friends and of her son, it may be that she desired intelligence, but if any other men have done and practised anything, it were no matter to this purpose. There were many that sent her letters, and she knew not them nor where they came from. The Clerk of the Crown read Babington's confession again, which proved her to be a practiser. The Scottish Queen said she never "wote" of any such letter.

Then was read her letter to Babington; to which she said that if Anthony Babington and all the world said it they lied. She would see her own handwriting, and concerning Babington's letter to her, she said that she never saw that letter nor heard of it. The Lord Treasurer proved the receipt of Babington's letters written in cipher, and also an answer from the Scottish Queen to Babington's letters, the same ciphers sent by a serving man in a blue coat, and so proved all the points of these said letters.

When mention therein was made of the Earl of Arundel she wept and "blubered," saying, "woe is me that that house has suffered so much for my sake," and after "blubering" a time she said, "If

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1586-7. ever I made any such device against the Queen my sister, I pray God I never see the face of God. I have written I confess about my deliverance, as a Prince kept captive, as I am sure you would do, but never against the Queen. I confess for the Catholics' delivery from her persecution I have sought and will work, and if I could save them with my blood from destruction I would. And if so I pray lay it upon me." And therewith she wept.

The Lord Treasurer said, "Madam, I must forbear to speak as a commissioner, and tell you as a Councillor that the Queen puts none to death for their consciences, but they may enjoy the liberty thereof if they live as dutiful subjects, and therefore, Madam, reform your opinion therein."

The Scottish Queen said she had read it in a book. The Lord Treasurer answered that they that wrote so, wrote also that the Queen of England is no queen. Then she picked a quarrel with Mr. Secretary that he had been her great enemy and her son's, and had practised with certain persons against them. "But Mr. Walsingham," said she, "I think you are an honest man, and I pray you say in the word of an honest man whether you have done so or not."

Mr. Secretary rose up and came to the one side of the table, standing in the midst before his seat and said, "Madam, I stand charged by you to have practised something against you and against the King your son. I call God and all the world to witness I have not done anything privately unworthy of an honest man, or publicly unworthy of my calling. I protest before God as a man careful of my mistress, I have been curious, and if Ballard had offered me his service I would have rewarded him, but if I practised with him, why did he not plead it for his life?"

Here again she wept and protested that she would not make shipwreck of her soul in conspiring against her good sister, and that those whom Mr. Secretary had set as spies over her were spies for her against him, and likewise told her things of him.

Then Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor opened the points of the conspiracy and proved by divers confessions and letters that the Queen there present was not only privy to the conspiracy, but also had set down in her letters the manner for doing it, as that there should be four stout men upon courageous horses, to the end that when one of them had done it, the other might post towards her that she might know it before her governor, and that then there should be certain houses set on fire to draw the people out of the house whereby she might the more easily be taken away.

The Queen's attorney proved that the Queen of Scotland was privy to the conspiracy and gave the instructions to her secretaries to write, confessed by her secretaries without compulsion, not being constrained or imprisoned, as also upon their oaths, by the original, some written in cipher and some translated by her direction into English by Jaques Nau and Gilbert Curll, secretaries.

The Solicitor proved both the points of the statute with the points of the commission. First, she was privy to the conspiracy. She received Babington's letters wherein the conspiracy was contained to kill the Queen. She gave answer to it deposed by her secretaries, who besides their oaths and voluntary confessions set down

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according to their memories the minutes and points of Babington's letters to their Queen, and her letter to him, wherein effectually they remember the points of the conspiracy particularly by Babington before he was apprehended, and at large when he thought to have executed it, and to have been advanced for it. He showed his letters and her answers to Ballard, Savage and Tichborne, and they confessed it.

Secondly, he proved that she herself conspired the Queen's death; for, besides the approving of Babington's plot, she added in her own letters the manner for the execution of the design. The secretaries at the view of her letters write thus:—*Par l'expresse commandement de la Royne ma maistresse*, and Curll, Secretary.

This confession was shown the Queen, and she was asked whether she knew their hands, whereunto she answered, "I know it well to be their hands," and as for Nau, he has been secretary to the French King and to the Cardinal de Lorraine, and therefore she could not tell what practice he might make against her. "I know Curll to be an honest man, but I will not be judged by them, for I know not how they may be drawn either for hope of reward or for fear of torment, which may make them confess against me, and I protest before God and before you all that I was never any dealer in that conspiracy against my sister. Neither did I ever know Babington or Ballard."

The Lord Treasurer said, "Madam, you know neither of them! I will tell you whom you know. You know Morgan, who hired Parry to kill the Queen, and after you knew it you gave him a pension. You give pensions, Madam, to murderers!" The Queen answered that Morgan had lost all for her sake, and therefore she thought it belonged to her honour to relieve him, and it was not unknown to her that pensions were given to her enemies in Scotland, and she named one, and the King also.

The Lord Treasurer said, "Because, Madam, the crown of Scotland was diminished the Queen's majesty has given a benevolence to the King your son, being her kinsman, and no pension." So they ended for that day.

The next day, as follows:—

At her first coming in she renewed her protestation, saying, "I am a sacred and anointed Queen and ought not to be judged by the law. I am a free Prince and owe no more to any Prince than they do to me. I come hither for the justification of my honour and that which is laid to my charge against my sister." Her oration was very long here, and of many things. She said the Queen was so dealt withal when the matter of Wyatt was laid to her charge, and yet she was not guilty of it. "I like not to take this course, though I desire to have the Catholics delivered from their persecution. I would rather play the part of Hester than of Judith, to pray for my people than to take away any, and to deliver my people God forbid that I should deserve to be denied of Jesus Christ before his Father. They gave it out that I was of no religion, for there was a time when I tendered myself. But they cared not for my soul. But my lords, when you have done all that you can, and have put me from what I should have, yet shall you not obtain your purpose, for Mary Stuart—" and she wept and "blubered." They could not conceive her speech.

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She desired another assembly to be called, where she might have her counsel. She appealed to God first, who is the just Judge and to Princes her allies, *etc.*

The Lord Treasurer said, "Madam, we have set down your protestation under a notary's hand, and again we have protested that protestation be not prejudicial to the Crown of England. Therefore it rests to proceed according to our commission if you will not answer. The Queen said, "Indeed, my lords, you take no commission but that which may serve your own turns. You have done the worst you can. I have often offered that if I might be set at liberty I would do what lay in me to quench all troubles that be made, but I could not be heard. I was promised I should be set at liberty. I promised as hostage for my security, my own son and my cousin Guise's son."

The Lord Treasurer said, "It is true, Madam, the Queen was content, and so was the Council. You offered hostages as you say, and it is as true that the lords of Scotland would not consent that the King should come." The Queen said, "But I told you if I might be at liberty I would effect it." "Madam," quoth my Lord Treasurer, "the Queen shall set you at liberty, and you shall seek her destruction, for all this practice was of your enlargement, nothing else but a plot against the Queen, for even when it was adooing, your man Morgan hired Parry to kill the Queen."

"My lord," said she, "you are my enemy!" "No," said my Lord Treasurer, "I am enemy to the Queen's enemy." "Was it not," said the Queen of Scots, "that the Queen should never be free from practices until I were set at liberty, and therefore desired the occasion might be taken away?"

Then a letter was read, sent to Mendoza the Spanish ambassador, wherein she promised to give the King of Spain the kingdoms of England and Scotland if her son would not be reclaimed from that heresy wherein he was misled as she said. Also a letter [was read] to Doctor Allen, wherein she called him reverend father in God, and dealt with him about invasion, and his letter to her the night before. Likewise were read her letters to Lord Paget and to Sir Francis Englefield, wherein she says she has direction to the Catholics on this side for speedy despatch.

Here, she being pierced with the truth of the conspiracy because her own men had deposed and sworn it, she said that she thought that they made no conscience of an oath sworn to her, whereat the whole house was in a murmur. Concerning the giving away of the kingdoms of England and Scotland to the King of Spain, written to Mendoza, she advised him thus,—“Let not this be known, for if it should, it would be in France the less of my dowry, in Scotland the breach with my son, and in England my total and utter overthrow.”

Here the Solicitor reminded the lords that if a foreigner had the kingdom as she would have assigned it, what should become of the States? "Madam," said the Lord Treasurer, "the succession of the crown, whosoever shall have it, may not be given to a strange Prince, it must go by the laws of this realm. When enemies in Scotland threatened to kill you, the Queen said she would avenge it, and so your life was saved."

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At his rising she talked with my Lord Treasurer long, coming to his seat, and after with divers of the commissioners, excusing herself marvellously subtly, and with very fair speeches she said to the Earl of Warwick that she had heard he was an honourable gentleman, desiring him not to believe all things he had heard of her, and to commend her to my lord Leicester, saying that she wished him good success in his affairs. To the lawyers she held up her hand saying " God bless me from you, for you have sore hands over them that are under you."

So the lords broke up the sitting on Saturday at one o'clock, and adjourned their commission to the Star Chamber.

11 pp. Copy. No indorsement.

[1586-7.] 299. EPITAPH FOR MARY.

[Feb.]

" D. O. M."

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 626.

" Bonæ memoriæ et spei æternæ "

" Mariæ Stuartæ Scotorum Reginæ, Franciæ dotariæ, Jacobi Quinti Scotorum Regis filiæ et hæredis unicæ, Henrici Angliæ Regis ex Margareta majori natu filia Jacobo Quarto Regi Scotorum matrimonio copulata proneptis, Edwardi Quarti Angliæ Regis ex Elizabetha filiarum suarum natu maxima abneptis, Francisci Secundi Gallorum Regis conjugis, Coronæ Angliæ—dum vixit—certæ et indubitatæ hæredis, et Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ Monarchæ potentissimi matris."

" Stirpe vere regia et antiquissima prognata, maximis totius Europæ Principibus agnatione et cognatione conjuncta, et exquisitissimis animi et corporis dotibus et ornamentis cumulatissima. Verum ut sunt variæ rerum humanarum vices, postquam annos plus minus viginti in custodia detenta fortiter et strenue—sed frustra—cum malevolorum obtrectationibus timidorum suspicionibus et inimicorum capitalium insidijs conflictata esset, tandem inaudito et infesto regibus exemplo securi percutitur."

" A contempto mundo, devicta morte, lassato carnifice, Christo servatori animæ salutem, Jacobo filio spem regni et posteritatis, et universis cædis infaustæ spectatoribus exemplum patientiæ commendans, pie, patienter, intrepide cervicem regiam securi maledictæ subjecit, et vitæ caducæ sortem cum cælestis regni perennitate commutavit 6^{to} Idus Februarii Anno Domini 1577 [sic]. Ætatis 46.

Si generis splendor, raræ si gratia formæ, probri nescia mens, inviolata fides;

Pectoris invicti robur, sapientia, candor, nixaque solantis spes pietate Dei;

Si morum probitas, duri patientia fræni, majestas, bonitas pura, benigna manus,

Pallida fortunæ possent vitare tonantis fulmina, quæ montes, templaque sancta petunt,

Non præmatura fatorum sorte perisset, nec fieret mæstis tristis imago genis.

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Jure Scotos, thalamo Francos, spe possidet Anglos, triplice
sic triplex jure corona beat.
Fælix, heu nimium fælix, si turbine pulsa vicinam sero
conciliasset opem.
Sed cadit, ut terram teneat, nunc morte triumphat, fructibus
ut sua stirps pullulet inde novis.
Vincta nequit vinci, nec carcere clausa teneri, non occisa
mori, sed neque capta capi.
Sic vitis succisa gemit [*sic*] fæcundior uvis, sculptaque
purpureo gemma decore micat.

“Obruta frugifera sensim sic cespite surgunt semina, per
multos quæ latuere dies.
Sanguine sancivit fædus cum plebe Jehova, sanguine
pacabant numina sancto patres,
Sanguine conspersi quos præterit ira Penates, sanguine
signata est quæ modo cedit humus.”

“Parce Deus, satis est, infandos siste dolores, inter funestos
pervolet illa dies.
Sit reges mactare nefas, ut sanguine post hac, purpureo
nunquam terra Britannia fluat.
Exemplum pereat cæse [*sic*] cum vulnere Christæ [*sic*]
inque malum præceps author et actor eat.
Sic meliore sui post mortem parte triumphat, carnifices
sileant, tormina, claustra, cruces.
Quem dederant cursum superi Regina peregit, tempora læta
Deus, tempora dura dedit.
Edidit eximium, fato prosperante, Jacobum quem Pallas,
Musæ, Delia, fata colunt.
Magno viro, major natu, sed maxima partu, conditur hic
regum filia, sponsa, parens.
Det Deus ut proles, et qui nascentur ab illa, æternos videant
hinc sine nube dies.”

“Finis. H. N. gemens.”

2 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. Indorsed: “Inscriptions upon the Queene of Scotts
tombe.”

[1586-7.]

[Feb.]

Cott. Julius,
F. VI.,
fol. 256.

300. ACCOUNT OF MARY'S DEATH.

“On Wednesday the 8 of Februarye 1586 there assembled at
the castle of Fothering . . . * the Earles of Shrowsburye
and Kent, with diverse knightes and gentlemen justice . . . *
peace in those countryes.”

“About viij of the clocke the earles and sherifs of . . . *
went up to the Scottish Queene, whome they founde prayinge on
hir knee . . . * gentlewomen, and the sherife remembre
hir the tyme was at hand . . . * and sayd she was readye.”

“Then she was ledd by the armes from hir cham . . . *
the chamber of presence, where with many exhortacions to hir
people to fea . . . * and to live in obedience, kysinge hir
weomen she gave hir hand to hir men . . . * prayinge them
all not to sorrowe, but rejoyce, and pray for hir.”

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"She . . . * downe the stayres by two souldiers, then beinge belowe she stayed and look . . . * shee sayd shee was evill attended of, and besought the lordes that she might . . . * weomanhead sake have two of hir weomen to wayte upon hir, they sayd . . . * only withheld for that yt was feared by theyre passionate cryinge they would disquiet hir spirite and disturbe the execution. She sayde, 'I will promis they shall not doe soe.' Then two whome shee willed were brought un . . . *"

"Then shee did speake much to Melvin hir man, and charged him as he . . . * answeare before God to deliver hir speeches and messages to hir sonne . . . * sorte as shee did speake them, all which tended to will him to governe in the feare of God, to take heede to whome he betoke his chiefest trust . . . * any occasion to be evill thought of by the Queen of England hir . . . *"

"To certifye him shee dyed a true Scott, a true French, and a true . . . *"

"Aboute x of the clocke shee was brought into the great hall wh . . . * the middest of the house agaynst the chimney, in which was a great . . . * a scaffold sett up of two foote highe and xij foote broad, havinge a stepp . . . * up. About the scaffold went a rayle half a yearde highe, rounde c . . . * bout, with blacke cotten, soe was hir stoole, the boordes and the blocke, and . . . * for to kneele upon."

"There did sitte on the scaffold the two earles, the . . . * and the two executioners."

"When they were sett, Mr. Beale, clarke of . . . * did reade hir majesties commission for the execution under the broad . . . * which the Deane of Peterborowe by direction from the lordes . . . * vided to speake un . . . * for hir beter preparation to dye a penitent . . . * the true fay . . . * reste, began at the motion of the Earle of . . . * his exhorta . . . * As soone as hee had began, shee sayd with . . . * then he sayde, 'Madame, . . . * hir majesties counsaile to doe this dutye; I will say nothinge but that I will justifie before the majestie of the Most Highest.'"

"So proceedinge shee cryed alowde agayne, 'Peace, Mr. Deane, you have nothinge to doe with me, nor I with you.' Then was he wyllid to silence for any farther molestinge her mynde. She sayd, 'So yt ys best, for I am fullie settled and resolved to dye in the Catholike Romishe fayth.' Which when the lordes harde ye Earle of Kent sayd; 'Albeit, Madame, you refuse to hear the offered mercyes of the Highest, yet we will offer our prayers to God for you, hopinge he will heare us, and yf yt may stande with his goode will, he would vouchsaf to open your eys and to lighten your harte with the true knowledge of his will, and to dye therin.' She sayd, 'Doe, and I will praye.'"

"Then the Deane, kneelinge downe, pronounced a prayer, which the standers bye followed. All which while shee havinge a crucifix betwixt hir handes prayed much lowder in the Lattine."

"The prayer beinge donne, shee kneeled downe and prayed to this effecte: for Christes afflicted church, and for an end of theyr

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troubles; for hir sonne, that he might trulye and uprightly be converted to the Catholike Romishe Church; shee prayed that the Queenes majestie might longe and peacyfullye prosper and serve God; shee confessed that shee hoped only to be saved by the bloude of Jesus Christ, at the foote of whose picture presented on the crucifix she would willingly shed hir bloude; she prayed to all the sayntes of heaven to praye for hir, and that the God of heaven would of his goodnes advert [*sic*] his plagues from this sillye ileand; that God would give hir lif and forgive hir sinnes, and that he would receave hir soule into his heavenly handes."

"And then shee arose up, and was by two of hir weomen and the two executioners disrobed into her petticoate: then she sayed shee was never wonte to be undressed before such a number, nor by such groomes."

"Then shee kissed hir weomen, and the one beganne to crye; shee sayed, 'Peace, crye not; I have promised the contrarye. Crye not for me, but rejoyce': and lifted up her handes and blessed them. So likewise hir men kneelinge downe not farre of."

"Then sodaynlye shee kneeled downe most resolutelye, and with the least token of the feare of death that might bee; and after one of her weomen had knitt a kercher about her eyes, she spake aloude this psalme in Lattine; 'In te Domine confido ne confundar in æternum.'"

"And then lay she downe verye quietlye, streching out hir bodye, and layinge out hir necke over the blocke cryed, 'In manus tuas Domine,' etc."

"One of the executioners held downe hir handes, and the other did at 2 strokes with an axe cutt of hir head, which fallinge out of hir attyer appeared very graye, and neare pouled. So holdinge yt up the people cryed, 'God save the Queene, and so perish all the enemyes of the gospel.'"

"[All thinges] * and belonginge to hir were taken * the executioners, and not suf * so much as to have theyr aprons * they * the blood * the blocke, and whatsoever else *"

2 pp.

[Feb.] 301. MONEY DUE TO MARY.

C. P., vol. XXI.

Statement of many accounts and sums of money which were due by the King to the late Queen of Scotland, dowager of France, at the day of her death, which was the 18th day of February 1587, as also by reason of the non-enjoyment of many members and portions of her domain, according to the verification which has been made thereof in the chamber of accounts by the commissaries hereunto deputed by virtue of the letters patent of his majesty of the 16th of August 1586.

Firstly,

Accounts verified in the chamber of accounts by the said commissaries as it appears by their verbal process.

Before entering into the detailed declaration of the said accounts, it is fitting to note that the said lady having been dispossessed of the

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duchy of Touraine, which she enjoyed as part of the assignment of her dower, in order to deliver it to my lord the late Duke of Anjou, brother of the King, his Majesty had delivered and released to that lady, in recompense of the said duchy of Touraine, the earldoms and bailiwicks of Vermandoys, Victry and Sens, which she had only begun to enjoy on St. John the Baptist's day 1577, although from the month of May 1576 she had been dispossessed of the said duchy of Touraine, and my said lord the Duke had entered into the enjoyment thereof: which is an intermediate year due to the said lady, the which year will be hereafter set down, and the others following, to follow the order of the verbal process.

Of the domain of the provostship, land and lordship of Fymes, dependant upon the ordinary receipt of Victry, valued by the said commissaries at the sum of 428^{li}. 2^s. 8^d. tournois, equal to 142^{cr}. 42^s. 8^d. tournois. The said lady has only enjoyed it from the first day of January 1585, forasmuch as wishing to take possession thereof, it was found that Captain Faurian had the gift of it from the King, verified in the court of parliament and chamber of accounts; who enjoyed it from the day of the Magdalen 1576 to the first of January 1585, which are eight years and a half due to the said lady, from which deduction will be made of the said intermediate year ended on St. John's day 1577, being hereafter set down, according to the said verbal process. There remains for the seven years and a half the sum of one thousand and seventy crowns twenty shillings tournois, thus: 1070^{cr}. 20^s. tournois.

Of the sum of five hundred pounds tournois, equal to 166^{cr}. 20^s. tournois, due every year upon the inhabitants of Verdun at the receipt of the said Victry, delivered in domain without any charges to the said lady, that lady has in no wise enjoyed it, nor her receivers and farmers, but the Sieur de Tavannes, formerly governor of the said Verdun, who has always taken and received it from the said inhabitants by letters of gift and grant from his majesty. Hence there is due to that lady for ten years, expired at the Magdalen's day 1586, the sum of sixteen hundred and sixty six crowns two thirds: from which, deduction being made of the sum of 166^{li}. two thirds for the said intermediate year ended at the Magdalen's day 1577, there remains due for the nine years the sum of fifteen hundred crowns, thus: 1500^{cr}.

Of the farms of the actions, defaults and fines 60^s. tournois and more, as well in the bailiwick as provostship of the said Victry, and other fines of the enclosure and bounds of the said place, delivered in receipt to the said lady without any charges, and valued by the said commissaries at the sum of six score and sixteen crowns forty eight shillings tournois, that lady has in like manner not enjoyed any part thereof since the said Magdalen's day 1576, but the inhabitants of the said Victry, who have taken and received the moneys thereof, by means of the gift which was made them by his majesty for the paving of their town. Hence there is due to the said lady for the said ten years ending at the Magdalen's day 1586 the sum of fifteen hundred and sixty eight crowns, from which deduction being made of the said intermediate year, there remains for the nine years the sum of fourteen hundred and ten crowns twelve shillings tournois, thus: 1410^{cr}. 12^s. tournois.

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Of the office of appeals of the courts of justice of Laon, delivered in to the receipt of the said lady, and valued without any charges thereupon at 132^{li}. Parisian, equalling every year 55^{cr.}; that lady has likewise not enjoyed this, forasmuch as on wishing to enter into the enjoyment thereof, it was found to have been erected into a title of office and bestowed upon one called Monsieur Jehan le Febure from the last day of April 1575. Hence there are due to the said lady ten years, expired on St. John the Baptist's day 1586, amounting to the said rate of 132^{li}. Parisian by the year to the sum of 1320^{li}. Parisian, from which deducting the intermediate year expired on St. John the Baptist's day 1577, there remains for the nine years the sum of fourteen hundred four score and five pounds tournois, equal to four hundred four score and fifteen crowns, thus: 495^{cr.}

Of the office of the provostship royal of Noyon, likewise given in domain to the said lady, and valued without any charges thereupon at the sum of two hundred and twenty four pounds Parisian by the year, equal to 93^{cr.} one third, neither the said lady nor her receivers and farmers have in any wise enjoyed it, forasmuch as on wishing to enter into the said enjoyment it was found to be pledged to Monsieur Francois Lalemant. Hence there would be due to the said lady, not including the intermediate year, the sum of two thousand and sixteen pounds Parisian, equal to 840^{cr.} for the said nine years expired on the said St. John the Baptist's day 1586: therefore thus: 840^{cr.}

Of the offices of the provostship and government of Montdidier, which had already been erected into an office before the release made to the said lady of the said domain, since reunited thereunto and demised to farm, from which, the charges thereupon being first paid and acquitted, the surplus equalled the sum of 111^{cr.} 58^{s.} 9^{d.} tournois, to wit, upon that of the said provostship 58^{cr.} 56^{s.} 3^{d.} tournois, and upon that of the said government 53^{cr.} 7^{s.} 6^{d.}; the which sum of 111^{cr.} 58^{s.} 9^{d.} should have been delivered into the receipt and domain of the said lady, which she has nevertheless in no wise enjoyed, having found the said offices severed from the said domain, and erected anew into an office, which Monsieur Claude Dumortier was enjoying as he has done ever since, without that the said lady or her farmers have received any emolument thereof. Hence there is due to her, without including the said intermediate year ending at St. John's day 1577, at the said rate of 111^{cr.} 58^{s.} 9^{d.} tournois by the year, for the said nine years expired at St. John's day 1586 the sum of 1700^{cr.} [*sic, rectius* 1007] 48^{s.} 9^{d.} tournois, thus: 1700^{cr.} [*sic*] 48^{s.} 9^{d.}

And although by the valuation which was made to the said lady of the said domain of Victry, there are delivered into her charge the wages of the King's proctor of the said place, amounting only to 91^{li}. in three parts, to wit, 16^{li}. in the bailiwick, 15^{li}. in the provostship and 50^{li}. to [*sic*] the waters and forests, nevertheless he has caused his said wages to be doubly paid, amounting each year to the like sum of four score and eleven pounds, whereof the said lady would be overcharged. Hence there should be due to her the sum of 273^{cr.} for the nine years beginning on the day of the Magdalen 1577, when she began to enjoy the said domain, and ending on the same day 1586, whereof she ought to be reimbursed; and as to the year

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And although the earldom and bailiwick of Senlis should have been delivered and released to the said lady as part of her recompense of the said duchy of Touraine for the sum of three thousand six hundred and five pounds seven shillings tournois, and she ought to have enjoyed it like other lands of her said recompense, to commence from the said day of St. John the Baptist 1576, nevertheless she had only enjoyed it from the like day 1577 until December 1578, when she was dispossessed thereof by means of the valuation which was made thereof to Madame de Montpensier, who enjoyed it until St. John's day 1587. And even since then the Queen of Navarre has entered into the enjoyment of the said earldom, which she holds even now, without the said lady the Queen of Scotland having had any recompense or substitute for it. Thus there would be due to her for the year ending on St. John the Baptist's day 1578, and for seven years and a half beginning in January 1579 and ending on St. John's day 1586, when she was not enjoying the said earldom, the sum of 30,006 crowns. 45^{li.} 9^{s.} 6^{d.} tournois; from which deducting the intermediate year ending on St. John the Baptist's day 1577, which will be hereafter employed, there remains due to the said lady for the said seven years and a half the sum of nine thousand and thirteen crowns, twenty two shillings and six pence tournois, thus: 9013^{cr.} 22^{s.} 6^{d.}

Of the mills and ponds of Wassy and Victry le Comte, delivered and comprised in the valuation made to the said lady of the domain of Chaumont, and the revenue of them valued by the said commissaries, charges being deducted, at the sum of 141^{li.} by the year, the said lady had only enjoyed them since the Magdalen's day 1568, because having been leased and demised to farm by the treasurers general of France, the moneys issuing thence had been received by the receiver ordinary of the said Chaumont, who has accounted or ought to have accounted for them to the profit of the King. Hence there is due to the said lady for 18 years from the Magdalen's day 1568 and ending at the like day 1586, at the said rate of 141^{li.} by the year, the sum of two thousand five hundred and thirty eight pounds, reduced to eight hundred and forty six crowns: therefore thus: 846^{cr.}

Of the sum of eight score pounds tournois which is paid every year at the ordinary receipt of the said earldom of Chaumont, for recompense of the diminution of the revenue of the fines and office of the bailiwick of the said Chaumont, and other particular jurisdictions of the bailiwick, befallen by reason of the erection of the principality of Joninville, verified in the year 1558, which are two years after the ten upon which the valuation of the said domain was made to the said lady, the which recompense she ought to have enjoyed since she suffered the loss and diminution. Howbeit the receiver of the said domain has always received the said sum, and accounted or ought to have accounted for it to the profit of the King. And hence there are due to the said lady the arrears since the Magdalen's day 1561 when she entered into the enjoyment of the said earldom until the like day 1586, which are 25 years, amounting at the said rate of 160^{li.} by the year to the sum of thirteen hundred and thirty three crowns one third, thus: 1333^{cr.} $\frac{1}{3}$.

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The said lady having been dispossessed as is said of the said duchy of Touraine, which had been valued to her at the sum of 7843^{li.} 11^{s.} 1^{d.} tournois, the said earldoms and bailiwicks of Vermandois, Victry and Senlis were to have been delivered to her in recompense for the sum of 7402^{li.} 12^{s.} 3^{d.} tournois, which would be less every year by the sum of 440^{li.} 18^{s.} 10^{d.} Hence there are due to her the arrears of the said sum since the time of her dispossession, which was on St. John's day 1576, until the like day 1586, which are ten years, amounting to the sum of 4409^{li.} 8^{s.} 3^{d.} tournois, equal to 1469^{li.} 48^{s.} 4^{d.} tournois; thus: 1469^{cr.} 48^{s.} 4^{d.}

More, there is due to her for the intermediate year of the non-enjoyment of the lands which were delivered to her in recompense of the said duchy of Touraine, which amounts according to the valuation to the sum of 7402^{li.} 12^{s.} 3^{d.} tournois, equal to two thousand four hundred and sixty seven crowns thirty two shillings and three pence tournois, thus: 2467^{cr.} 32^{s.} 3^{d.}

All the which accounts above declared are verified by the verbal process of the said commissaries, beyond which there are also due to the said lady by reason hereof the arrears and sums of money hereafter declared, since the said days of St. John the Baptist and the Magdalen 1586 until the said 18th February 1587, the day of the decease of the said lady; to wit:

Of the arrears of 500 pounds due by the inhabitants of Verdun for half a year ending the last of December 1586; and for one month 18 days beginning the first day of January 1587 and ending the 18th of February following, the sum of 105^{cr.} 33^{s.} 3^{d.}

Of the farms, of actions, defaults and fines of Victry for the said time, the sum of 99^{cr.} 18^{s.} 4^{d.}

Of the office of appeals of the courts of justice of Laon for the said time at the rate of 165^{li.} by the year the sum of 33^{cr.} 50^{s.} tournois.

Of the office of the provostship of Noyon at the rate of 280^{li.} tournois by the year, the sum of 59^{cr.} 6^{s.} 6^{d.}

Of the office of the provostship and government of Montdidier at the rate of 111^{li.} 58^{s.} 9^{d.} tournois for the two by the year, the sum of 70^{cr.} 55^{s.} tournois.

Of the wages of the King's proctor at Victry for the time aforesaid at the rate of 91^{li.} by the year, the sum of 17^{cr.} 51^{s.} 8^{d.}

Of the earldom of Senlis for the said time at the rate of 3605^{li.} 7^{s.} tournois by the year according to the valuation, the sum of 761^{cr.} 7^{s.} tournois.

Of the mills and ponds of Vassy for the said time at the rate of 141^{li.} by the year, the sum of 29^{cr.} 46^{s.}

Of the eight score pounds by the year on account of the principality of Joinville for the said time, the sum of 33^{cr.} 46^{s.} 7^{d.}

Of the 440^{li.} 18^{s.} 10^{d.} tournois by the year for the supplement of the recompense of the duchy of Touraine, which amounted to so much more than the lands of the said recompense according to the valuations. Thus for the time aforesaid the sum of 93^{cr.} 5^{s.} tournois.

Sum of the said accounts according to the said verbal process 23,030^{cr.} 48^{s.} 4^{d.} tournois.

Other accounts and sums of money due by the King to the said lady at the day of her decease.

The said lady did not enjoy the office of Poitiers during the first

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year of her dower, on account of the alienation which had been made thereof to the Sieur de Grandmont, the said year amounting to 4000 pounds, equal to thirteen hundred and sixty six crowns two thirds, which had been assigned to the said lady upon Monsieur Boulant, receiver general of Paris; having been unable to be paid it by reason that the said Boulant remained in great debt to the King. Hence the said sum is still due to the said lady; therefore thus: 1366^{cr.} $\frac{2}{3}$.

The aids of Poitiers from which her majesty was wont to receive fourteen thousand francs, she has been wanting for the year '86 in twelve hundred crowns.

Item upon the receipt of Champagne there had been assigned to her one thousand nine hundred and odd crowns; the assignment has been cancelled, she has had nothing, and has not been paid any of it.

During the intermediate year of the non-enjoyment of the bailiwicks and lands delivered to the said lady in recompense for the duchy of Touraine many offices in the said bailiwicks became vacant, the funds whereof the King took, amounting to 9585 pounds, equal to 3195^{cr.}, as it appears by the certificates of the treasurers of the sale of offices of the said sum, the said lady ought to be reimbursed: therefore 3195^{cr.}

The said lord has also provided for the office of lieutenant general of Poitou, vacant by the death of the late Monsieur Jehan de la Haye, and has received for it the sum of 20,000^{li.}, equal to 6666^{cr.} $\frac{2}{3}$, which ought to belong to the said lady; therefore 6666^{cr.} $\frac{2}{3}$.

In like manner, albeit the offices and notaryships of Espernay are comprised in the valuation of the domain of the said Espernay delivered to the said lady for part of the assignment of her dower, and she enjoyed it peaceably until the beginning of the year 1584, yet nevertheless the commissaries deputed for the execution of the edits and ordinances of the King made upon the reunion for the sale and resale of the offices and notaryships, being the property of my said lord the King's brother, had sold and resold the said offices and notaryships, and thereof dispossessed the said lady, and those to whom they were adjudged have been in full possession and enjoyment thereof since the beginning of the year 1584. Hence there is due to the said lady the sum of 1671^{cr.} 6^{s.} 7^{d.}, whereunto the sum of the said offices and notaryships amounts for three years, one month, 18 days, beginning the first day of January 1584 and ending the 18th of February 1587, at the rate of 533^{cr.} by the year, according to the lease which was made thereof for the years 1583 and 1584; therefore thus the said sum of 1671^{cr.} 6^{s.} 7^{d.}

More there is due to the said lady the sum of 133,333^{cr.} $\frac{1}{3}$ for arrears of the pension of 20,000^{li.} which it pleased the King to grant to her, as has ever been done by his predecessors to the kings and queen of Scotland, in consideration of the treaties between the two kingdoms and confederation thereof: and this for twenty years beginning in the year 1567 and ending in December 1586: therefore 133,333^{cr.} $\frac{1}{3}$.

Sum of the said accounts of this chapter

146,232^{cr.} 46^{s.} 7^{d.} tournois.

Sum total of the accounts of this present statement

169,263^{cr.} 34^{s.} 11^{d.} tournois.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French. Indorsed.*

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[Feb.]

Cott. Calig.,

C. IX.,

fol. 650.

302. REASONS FOR ELIZABETH SIGNING THE WARRANT FOR THE EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

“ The causes moving her majestie to signe the warrant for the Scottish Queen’s execution are sett down in the information to be these ” :—

1. The sundry new and most dangerous “ brutes,” plots, and conspiracies which were devised and undertaken for the destruction of her majesty’s person and estate of the whole realm, and the advancement of that Queen.

2. The many seditious rumours generally spread abroad by the accomplices and favourers of the Scottish Queen of purpose to have stirred the people to rebellion, and for the better compassing of her delivery.

3. The daily refreshing to her memory what suits and petitions had been made to her for justice.

4. Her own experience that her leniency and long tolerance had prevailed nothing to stay these wicked and traitorous courses. Her end in signing thereof was :—

1. To have it in readiness that upon any invasion, uproar or other imminent danger it might at her pleasure be executed.

2. To continue, nevertheless, her wonted course of clemency in sparing the said Queen’s life so long as with the safety of her self and preservation of the tranquillity of the state she possibly might.

The end of her committing it to Mr. Davison was a threefold commandment :—1. To carry it to the great seal. 2. To keep it carefully and use it secretly. 3. Licensing him to show it to Walsingham only. Mr. Davison’s offence consisted especially in four points :—1. In showing and delivering the said warrant to certain of the lords of her Council without her commandment, privacy or pleasure being known.

2. In affirming—untruly—to them that it was her pleasure to proceed therein, and that she would be no further troubled withal.

3. That the said lords thereupon without her knowledge sent down the said warrant to those to whom it was directed, who upon the receipt and sight thereof proceeded to the executing of the same. Four causes moving them thereto are set down, as :—(1) The faithful and dutiful affection towards her majesty. (2) The desire of her safety and preservation. (3) The over-great confidence they reposed in the said Davison. (4) Their not doubting that her majesty’s pleasure was such as he delivered.

4. That he, knowing her majesty’s purpose to make some further stay thereof, notwithstanding forbore to make any mention to her what was done therein, whereby she was kept ignorant thereof till a day or two after the execution was past. The former part of this assertion, touching his knowledge of her purpose to make stay thereof is argued by her sending Mr. Killigrew to stay it from the seal, by her reprehending his haste therein, and by her speech with him in the gallery of another course.

The quality of the offence is set down to be—1. A great indignity, misprision and contempt against her majesty. 2. A great abuse offered to her Council.

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1586-7. $1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Indorsed*: "The substance of the information against Mr. Davison, taken out of the records."

March 1. **303.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Sir, be such letteris as I have ressawed from the Master of Gray I persaive that materris ar verray hardlye takin furth in Scotland. If Mr. Robert Carrye shall haif accesse, whiche may possibly be permitted wythin some schort spaice, no anser is devised for him saving this—if the Queen hir majestie shall geve prove be punishement of malefactoris, that this layt accident is done against hir vill and wytheowt her knowledge, that the King thayrefter may wyth observation of decorum enter in som dealing vyth hir. If uthervaise, his majestie must think that all is but cunning dealing and policye, intendit for his ruynes."

"The Maister of Gray be his letteris doeth affirm that the Secretarye doeth presentlye gowern all matterris in Scotland, and that his credit is nothing vyth the King, bot remanis as one cassin away for the lowe he hath born to hir majesties service. He dooth exclame that he vas not belewed at his layt being heir, and that he hath beyn ill used for his gud meaning, and cryis owt that these capitanis that com to crave recompanse for thayr losse hath not beyn bettir regardit: he doeth afferme that he vill send ane servand of his awin that shall declayr his pryvate lossis, and crave consideration for the samin. But be letteris from utheris I am informed that his credit vas nevyr gretar vyth the King, which makis me to suspect that his letteris to Sir Harye Wodderington hath beyn intercepted be his awin procuremente. Bot of this mater I abstein to vryt any fordar at this tym."

"The King is retorned to Dalkeyth in morning apperiell. All his people do conform thaymselvis to his humour and habit. Commandement is gevin to Georg Dowglas to mak him readye to go to France to condole this layt unfortunat accident, and to geve thankis for his erneste dealing for his mother albeit it tuk no effect. John Schaw servant to the lard of Pharnihirste is to be dired to the Duck of Guyse, to crave adwise."

"Dyveris marragis bath of layt beyn contracted in that cuntrey, such as the Erll of Anguist vyth the Master of Glammis' neiphe, the sayde maister vythe Loche Levin his dochter, and the Erll of Arroll vyth the Erll of Athollis sister."

"I pray zour honour to haistin those occurrencis I wrote for this morning. I sea ne occasion to delay the sending away of my nephew, bot rather mater doeth offer itself to haistin him to go thither vyth speid, to know the certaynty how the world goes thayr, and to know what is sophistry and what is trew meaning."

Signed: A. Douglas.

Postscript—"I pray your honour as of before to remember on my host."

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 2. **304.** LAIRD OF POURY OGILVIE TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.
C.P., vol. XXI. Doings in Scotland after the Queen of Scots' death.

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Courcelles' letters mentioned in his last were taken from his servant at Sowtray Hill with some of the Master of Gray's to Mr. Secretary, Mr. Archibald, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Milles, but no such matter in them as was hoped for. The Master dare not yet hazard to write or do anything directly from England as he minded to do so soon as occasion may serve. His first dealing with England has made him be bruited as cause of the Queen's death. Thereof the King be otherwise persuaded of his honest dealing, which makes him as yet have sufficient means to do his own turn.

Notwithstanding all his enemies and "unfriends" which are many and great, he is greatly altered since his coming out of England, as well concerning the course of England, which he means to follow as matters stand now to the uttermost, as touching his particular friendship to Mr. Archibald, whereunto he means most truly, repenting him for the whole of that he has done to the contrary, and persuaded Pury to leave the course of France for a time and follow the English course with him. He has promised always to respect the Master's particular.

If the Queen's ambassador be refused audience as yet, if the Queen persist in making excuses and in seeking the King by all means, he assures all will frame as they would wish it. For the King would be but "insisted on" in the matter that his honour may be saved in one point, for there is no persuasion can move him to embrace foreign amity breaking with England, notwithstanding the most part of the nobility have dealt to the contrary. So that Mr. Archibald shall be in greatest credit of any man in Scotland with him.

The jealousy continues and increases daily between the Master of Gray and the Secretary, who seeks to have the whole credit of the French course transferred to him, for which cause he desired the King should employ G. Douglas of Loch Leven, who is altogether his, with the King's letters and commission into France. George understanding of the Queen's execution, and so out of hope of great reward, refuses to go unless he be advanced 2000 crowns and his debts paid, which are as much. *Et quia non potuit indeclinabile mansit.*

Then was Pury propounded by the Master of Gray, who liked well thereof, especially upon offer to make the voyage of his own charges till he might be recompensed with the next casualty, whereunto himself granted at the King's request. But the Secretary, fearing him to be all for the Master of Gray, is against his employment. But if any be sent, he thinks to be employed. To avoid his employment the Secretary has advised the King that it should be best to send commission and instructions to the Bishop of Glasgow, and to employ him for his only embassy, in respect of his credit there and affection to his mistress, with many good motions, so that the King is yet in suspense.

This employment of the Bishop of Glasgow is the only hope the Catholics have in this country besides that Sir William Stewart the Earl of Arran's brother has purchased the Bishop of Ross's return and the bishopric to himself. He is to go into France shortly for that purpose. He has been earnest to be employed from the King to the Bishop of Glasgow, but is stayed by the Master of Gray.

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1586-7.

The Master of Gray dare not yet write to Archibald nor "trubell" for recompense of his employment in Flanders. He fears to be plain with him, but he shall know nothing of anything between them. He would be relieved for to remain at Court.

One John Shaw, that was servant to Farnihurst, repaired into France with letters to the Duke of Guise.

The King never moved his countenance at his mother's execution, nor left not his "pasetimes" nor hunting more than before. The King himself is so slow in the purposes that the Catholics have left off all kind of dealings with his majesty.

1½ pp. Copy. In Thomas Phelippes' hand.

March 3. 305. [] TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 48.

"Notwithstanding zowir lordshippe be sufficientlie provydit of frindschipe in thir pairts, and of sik qwhous wit moeyen and experiens serwis them till informe zowir lordshippe better of the present aesteit of this contrie than I, zeit newertheles I thoct it nidfwll be this present to mak the gwidwill I haif to do zowir lordshippe honwr and service manifest and knawine onto zowir honwr, quhairof zowir lordshippe sall haif sik prwif as my small walewr maey extend to."

"I haif wretine to Maister Archibald Dwglas at lenthe the werrie aestaet of maeters at this present, quhilk I dowt nocht, bot he will commwnicat with zowir lordshippe, only will I desyr and foirwarne zowir lordshippe to be ware of the Secretarie, qwha traewells be all moeyen to dewid Ingland of all kynd of frindschipe in thir pairts, and be that moeyen to make zow wnaebill to aeny thing in this contrie by him, qwhairbe together with his graetnes with the King, he sall ass it war compell France to seik his frindschipe, and sua [s]all deboische his ennemies and transfer the credit of all in his owine persone, for assuritlie if he dwrst hazarde, or saw aeny apirans, he wald nocht seis ass zeit to preis the Kings majestie to goe the Fraence cours; bot seing his majestie wtherways affectionat, he folwis his hwmowr, to mak his profeit be all occations; for ass he says him self he lipins for no gwid at Ingland, and is assurit that the King will be constranit to leif that cowrs befor ane zeir be past."

"For the quhilk cawss it sall nocht be gwide that ze leif of zowir deling with the Maister of Gray as zeit, qwha sens his homewmine is graettwnlie affectionat zowir way, and alss that it will be no small brydill to hawld the Secretarie in ordwr, and in respect that the Maister dar nocht deill himself with none of zow direclie, in respect of the iwill brwit he haes incwrrit for his last deling with Inglande, it war gwide he war ass zeit delt with, specialie be zowir lordshippe in qwhom he haes no small trwste, if it war bot to hawld of his iwill."

"He haes desyrit me to wreit to Maister Archibald in this pwrpois, for wtherwayss I am no wayss plaen with him, therfor sik letters as is directit to him, send them with myn, for so haes he desyrit to be done, and I sall mak the answeris to be delywerit to Sir Haenrie Widdrintone."

Elizabeth.
1586-7.

" He is entering at this sam tyme in confederacie with the Erl of Hwntlie. Crafwirde, Montrois, Rothies, Maxwall, and my Lord Clawde of Paeslay, qwha ar all for the moist pairt catholikis, affectionat to the Fraence cowrs, and ennemies to the lords that cam in at Stirlie."

" The Maister, as he says to me, dois this to paertie the Secretarie, qwha dois that he can for the present to wraek him, for all thir nobill maen inwyss the Secretarie's credit. Alwaysss qwhaitsomewer wther effect this maeter sall tak, zowir lordshippe sall be forcein therwith, togither with all that Tomas Tyrie saes done in France for the Maister of Gray, qwhowsone he sall cwme home, quhilk, ass the Maister is advertisit, will be schortlie, sua that thaer sall be no thing done heir in aenie forrein cowrsis bot zowir lordshippe sall be dewlie acqwentit therwith."

" Seis nocht till insist diligently with the King's majestie, notwithstanding of aeny thing that is past, and zowir traewaell will nocht be in waen, for his majestie will goe zowir way for aens, in spyt of all theis that will insist in the contraer."

" My Lord Hamiltone and Boidwell ar the graetaest ennemies ze haif heir, bot ze haif that awantage, that thay ar nocht the woyssest in the world."

" I haif newer gottine woird ass zeit frome zowir lordshippe, qwhair of I merwell. I am constranit to mak my continwall residens in cowrt or wtherwayss I wald be improfitabill in thir twrns." Edinburgh.

2 pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 3. **306.** [] TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 50.

" Sens the closine of my letter wnto zowir lordshippe hawing fownde the Maister of Gray graetunlie alterat and chaengit of his former gwdwill and intentione professit to Inglande, ass in particwlar he haed impairit to my self the nicht of befor, qwhairat I merwelit graetwnlie, and that in respect of his inconstante deling and suddaen mwrtatione."

" And being werrie inquisitiwe to knaw and understande qwhait he haed for him—ass in all things he is plaen with me—so did he dilaet at lenth unto me the hoill cawss of this his haestie wraethe and passionat deling, confessine to me that he haed wretine to my Lord of Leicester befor his last cwmme fro Inglande, and that in maeters of aestaet and graet importance, quhilk ar nocht nessisar to be rehersit at this present."

" Quhilk wreits my Lord of Lecister delywerit to Sir Alexander Stewarte to haif presentit to the King's majestie of Scotlande, and that for his disgrace only, ass in plaen terms he spak to Sir Alexander; quhilk woirds he haes nocht left unrehersit, for the quhilkis wreits, suppois he haed his warrand of the King's majestie, zeit the maeter it self was swa odiwss that my Lord of Leicester did qwhait in him laey to perrall the Master his standing, honwr and repwtatione for ever, and nocht only this bot the Qwines majestie hir self."

" Communicat sik pwrposis to Sir Alexander of the Maister, giffine him in express commissione to impair the samings to his

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1586-7.

majestie, that if Sir Alexander haed nocht disclosit the secrecie of all thir plattis, the Maister haed bein in no les parrell than he and all that lwiffis him or of aweill. Thir maeter war rewelit be Sir Alexander this Setterday the thrid of Marche."

"I hawine closit my letters the nicht of befor and delywerit them to Capitaen Carwell, I maey beir trew recoird of thir things, hawine hard Sir Alexander my cwsinge and raed the Maister's letters being delywerit be Sir Alexander to the Maister, qwhair at I wass not lytill abaischite at my Lord's wisdome qwha cwld nocht conjectwr of that man's natwrall better, quhilk is knawine till all the world heir, and wters the self in all his actions. Zeit I haif insistit sua far with the Maister that he is content till differ and superceid his jwgment of this maeter till I swlde wreit to Maister Archibald, ass I promisit to his lordshippe to doe."

"Therfor, my gwid Lord, saifane zowir lordshippe's better awyss and opinione, it was gwid my Lord Leicester swld wreit his excwsis to the Maister in thir things that ar fallen owt, ass I belif far by his expectatione, and that zowir lordshippe wreit in the Qwin's pwrgatione, qwhair of Sir Alexander haes no prwif bot his awine sayme, quhilk is not with wss werrie awtentik; moirower zowir lordshippe will commwnicat this maeter to Maister Archibald, and cawss him wreit to me ass if I haed wretine to him in this maeter."

"I gif nocht my awyss to zowir lordshippe in the maeter bwt graet cawss and mony gwid motiwes and considerations, ass zowir lordshippe sall knaw be tyme, for indeid I am aestemit participant of all his proceedings, sua that he, falline, I can not gwidlei stande to do zowir lordshippe aeny service or plesur."

"Feir nocht of aeny thing the Maister can attempt agaenst zowir aesteit, for I sall be aebill to cawss zow anticipat all his deseins; ass zowir lordshippe sall haif the prwif of my honestie, so will I howpe to be acknowlegit."

"I will pray zowir lordshippe to cawss retwrne Maister Archibalds ansuer of this pwrpois to me with expeditione, togither with my Lord of Leicester's and zowir lordshippe's letters, if it seim expedient to zowir visdome."

"I howpe schortlie till haif farder credit to do gwid officis for the King's majestie my maister standing and for continwing the paece and frindschipe betwixt the twa contris, gwairinto I sall lack no gwi will, sua far ass my simpill moyen may extend." Edinburgh.
Signed in cipher.

Postscript.—"Thaer is nichtlie cartells tint and pasquilles affixit agaeinst the King and the lords of his Cownsaill, prowokine him till ane rewaeenge of his motheris dethe."

"It was best therfor that maeters war hotlie handelit, for tym is preciuss."

2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed.

March 6. **307.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Sir, haiffing the commodite of this berar be these feu lynes I haif thocht it convenient zour honour suld be acquaynted vyth the conference passit betuixt the ambassadour and Sir Georg Cary."

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1586-7.

"He askit quhat my lord of Leycester vas doing vyth him, quhose honour he onderstude had beyn vyth him at his lodging. He anserit that he fand him ane carelesse nobleman quhose speciall erand was to gif thankis to the King his maister for his carelesse behaviour in making of ane proclamation defending the ressavng of ony bukis pennit be his ennemeis, and desserit to knaw gif ony thing mycht lye in his powar to requit so gret ane curtesy. To this the said Sir George replyit that he vas glayde that his lordship vas cummit so far one his journey as to zeild in such maner to him quho to he caryit no greit favour, bot he desserit him to trust as of befor."

"Thairefter he did utter much speych in his awin praise and habilitie to do service to the King of Scotland, and visshit that sum motion mycht be mayd wherby he mycht haif the commodite to repair towartis him. To this he anserit that he had no speciall drection thayranent, bot onely this far, that he vas villit be the King and such as var about him to use my lord his father his fatherly consaile in all his prosedingis in this realm."

"Thairefter he magnified Sir Walter Rawley *ab omnibus locis topicis* that mycht be contened in all the cardinall vertewis, bot specially in judgement and modesty, vyth moste habilitie to move her majestie in ony mater that mycht concerne the veifair and service of his master, and thairfor cravit that he mycht be imployit in any mater he wald haif don. He maid anser that he vas sorye that he had ne lettir drected to him at this tym, and thairfor culd do ne fordar bot to gif thankis and to pray him to contynew gud freynd and affectionat to his masterris veifair."

"This beand the substance of the conference passit, the said Sir Georg yesternycht in the evening send onto him, schauin that sen his departure he had sum speache vyth his father, wherupon occasion had arising that he suld haif conference vyth him, and thairfor prayit that he mycht se him this day at his hous, quhilke he hes promesit to do, wherof I haif thoct meyt to mak your honour advertisement, as also that the saide ambassadour valde be glaide to onderstand your honouris opinion quhen it shalbe best tym for him to present his maister the King his letteris to Mr. Vice-chamberlayn and to Sir Walter Myldmay. And so leving to trouble zour honour any furdar at this tym, I humblye tak my leif." *Signed*: "Youris honouris most humblye to command vyth service, A. Douglas."

1 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. Holograph, also address. Indorscd.

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 208.

March 6.* 308. MONSIEUR D'ESNEVAL TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Since my two last of the 27th of February and 15th of the present month, I have done all that has been possible to me to procure your appointment for you, but that has not as yet been possible to settle, and I think that the pursuit of it must be postponed till the return of Monsieur Pinart, who ought to be here with the Queen in eight or nine days at the latest. I have in the meanwhile caused five hundred crowns to be granted to you by his

* New style.

Elizabeth.

1586-7. majesty, which shall be sent to you promptly, as soon as we can obtain them from the treasurer of the exchequer, as we are trying to do: assuring you, with truth, that this will be the first means that I have had of helping you with money, having enjoyed no convenience or aid at all from that which is due to me at the exchequer since my return to France, except so much as was needed to restore that which I had borrowed in Scotland; so great is the ill-fortune of the time here, and so great the inconvenience of affairs. There has been much ill-treatment in the past, but I will hope for better in the future (as you should do on your part) by the coming of the said Sieur Pinart to this court, where his presence will be able to bring as much good and commodity to our affairs as his absence has occasioned them delay and ill. And hereupon I want to tell you indeed to spend yet a little time as quietly as you can, with hope of being helped very soon, and of having henceforth news from hence more frequently than you have had. I have no doubt that you have much desired to receive letters from his majesty upon the sad and regrettable end of the poor Queen of Scotland; I have therefore urged Monsieur Brullard so far as to obtain a despatch from his majesty which I send to you, having first had it copied so as to send it by two different ways, in order that you may get it more safely. I pray you, when you have received it, to make answer fully thereto, and to acknowledge the receipt thereof, as of one of mine which I have feigned to send you expressly that you might have that despatch more easily. By this same means you will also inform me particularly, if you please, of what has happened, is happening and may happen in Scotland upon this strange cruelty exercised in England. As to news of our France, you will have none from me for this time, referring myself to the letters which his majesty writes to you. *Signed: Desneual.*

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same [*Dated March 7th*].*

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 114.

309. ANOTHER COPY OF NO. 308 WITH SOME VARIATIONS.

Dated March 7.*

1 p. *French. Copy. The beginning burnt away.*

March 6.

310. ROBERT CARVELL TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 227.

Has been in Scotland ever since the last of February, and could get no despatch until Monday, the 6th instant. Then received—at the hands of the Secretary, who rules the Court—a letter to Mr. Cary from him, by warrant from the King, to this effect—that he should write that as yet the King would receive no ambassador, partly by reason of his heaviness and sorrowing for his mother, and also for that he is not resolved that the Queen is as sorry for his mother's death as he was informed she was, and further because he cannot stay the rigour of his people, being wickedly bent and evilly given.

Has heard and seen the latter with his own eyes, for libels are daily set up in the open street and cast into the pulpit against the

Elizabeth.
1586-7.

King, the Master of Gray, Mr. Archibald Douglas and the preachers. Two were set up on the 4th instant, at his lodging, very odious and detestable, against the Queen. Sends a copy thereof. Took both, one whereof he gave to the Secretary to show to the King, the other Mr. Robert Cary has to send to the Chamberlain. Finds the Secretary, for all this stir, very well inclined towards her majesty, and a favourer to the maintenance of peace and amity, and the King is the same. They are not yet fully agreed touching the sending of ambassadors to other countries.

Shall hear more of the Master of Gray and his doings in Roger Ashton's packet. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Carvyle.

Postscript.—Courcelles' man stands fast and firm and is ready to be employed when he shall hear from him. It would be good to use the Secretary, for he is very great. He shall receive a packet from Roger Ashton.

1 p. *Addressed Indorsed.*

March 6.

Inclosure with the same:—

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 226.

(An epigram against Elizabeth.)

Fruere pro funere fune.
To Jesabell that Englishe heure
receyve this Scottish cheyne
As presagies of her gret malhouer
for murthering of oure quene.

[*Note.*] The chain was a little cord of hemp, tied halter-wise.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *In Robert Carvell's hand.*

March 8. **311.** ROBERT CARVYLE TO [WALSINGHAM].

Was sent for this day by the laird of Restalrig to speak with him. He delivered him a letter sealed up, to send to Mr. Archibald Douglas, wherein the King's demands, which he purposes to have at her majesty's hands, are nominated. Thinks he will show them to him [Walsingham]. Upon Sunday last, the Earl Bothwell being at the Court and seeing the King put on his "dule wede," found fault with the same, and said he would wear none until he had made revenge, and said he would lie at Kelsey upon the border-side to that end. Notwithstanding, the King reproved him for his so saying, and utterly forbade him. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Carvyle.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Indorsed*: "From R. Carvell. Advertis."

March 10. **312.** JAMES VI.'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MRS. CARMICHAEL.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 111.

You shall assure the Lord Hunsdon in our name that we cannot but accept in very good part his loving and plain letter, and that we never looked for other at his hands than as of one best affected to the amity.

You shall likewise declare unto him in our name that, as it was ever our intention to maintain justice and repress insolent disorders on our borders, so have we ever and will hereafter at all opportunities "kythe" the same in good effect, notwithstanding

Elizabeth.

1586-7. whatsoever calumnies have been given out of us to the contrary. And as for the choice of our officers there, as we have made choice of them that be in office for godly, upright and well affected men to the peace, so may we well assure him that upon due trial of the contrary in any of them we . . . not bestow to place better disposed persons in their rooms.

You shall persuade him that for any unkindness we have conceived of the Queen his mistress it was not by the instigation of any papist or other whatsoever, but only that we could do no less in honour than suspend such loving and "hamelely forme" intelligence as was betwixt us till we might have a full trial of her innocency in that wrong which we received, agreeable to her purgation made unto us.

Touching her declaration made unto us by her letter and message, you shall inform him how we never refused to hear what she could allege for her purgation in that matter. It is true that for divers reasonable causes—as we doubt not himself can consider—we thought it noways meet at that time that her ambassador should come in unto us, but yet neither refused we his letter nor to hear his credit and message, although by intermediate persons. And as himself can testify our answer was that as we could not of no equity nor law refuse to admit a trial and in the meantime not to condemn a person unheard, so on the other part could we do no less than suspend our judgment from cleansing or condemning till further trial, whereof our moderate behaviour at all time since we doubt not may bear witness.

As for any proofs she has given of her innocency yet, we remit it to her own judgment whether she has yet satisfied the world to her honour in that matter, or not.

By this time he may judge what has been the stay of our not renewing as yet our former kindness with her. And as for the using of the advices or persuasions of any papists in this case, you may assure him that as their counsel therein may justly be suspected unto us, so never were we led by their advice therein, neither have we nor ever had about our person any messengers or "suppostys" of the antechrist, our common adversary, although we are not ignorant how oft and how falsely we have been most maliciously "calumniate" with the contrary. And as to our constancy in religion, if we have not in all our behaviour given a sufficient proof thereof already, we will not "presse" to persuade him nor no other with further arguments therein.

As to the answer of my articles—which Mr. Archibald Douglas "proponned" to the Council in our name, you shall inform him that he was discharged of his mission of embassy at the return of those that were joined in commission with him, and if he has given himself out there since for our ambassador, you may assure him that in so doing he has abused Queen and Council. Further, we remit to your own report. "Subscribed by the King's owne hande, James R."

4 pp. No flyleaf or indorsement.

Elizabeth.
1586-7.

313. SIR HENRY WIDDRINGTON TO WALSINGHAM.

March 10.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 229.

Mr. Carey employed one of his garrison on Monday last with a letter to the Secretary to know the King's pleasure if he would appoint and assign the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvin to meet him at Fowlden, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Berwick. He returned answer to Mr. Carey that the King had appointed Sir Robert Melvin and Sir James Hume of Coldiknowes, captain of Edinburgh Castle, to meet him at Foulden on Tuesday next, the 14th instant. Mr. Carey has made me acquainted that he will observe the same day of meeting at Foulden, and they are to meet with 24 on either side, and he has signified as much to the governor, his father.

On Wednesday last, the 8th instant, it was proclaimed at the market cross at Edinburgh that no Scotchman should have any intercourse with any Englishman upon pain of life, lands, and goods, without special licence of the King.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

March 11. **314. THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

Being sent this afternoon to Mr. Davison by Mr. Vice-Chamberlain and Mr. Willie, found him lying upon his bed pained in body and much grieved in mind for her majesty's displeasure. He appeals to God and her majesty's conscience for the knowledge of the truth, but can by no means be brought to confess either fault or error in that he is charged with. The matter deeply concerning all that were partakers of the fact, he trusts they will all stand faithfully with him, and as they have either nobility, honour or fear of God, not to suffer so innocent a man void of all offence towards her majesty to stand long in her highness' displeasure.

Many more lamentable and pitiful words were uttered by him. Heard them with great grief that might move any man greatly to pity his estate. Now or never all honourable persons must stand his friends, else doubts what will become of him. St. Peter's Hill.
Signed: Tho: Randolph.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 14. **315. HENRY III. TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 113.

. . . . * to him * all the threats of the
. . . . * to his prejudice. From what is aforesaid I conjecture
that he will have * carried out this cruel and
ignominious execution the which has since * of his
said mother. Wherein if all the kings and sovereign princes are
grievously offended, he and I, to whom she was nearest of kin, are
yet more so than all the others. I am indeed expecting a despatch
from you very soon, whereby you will inform me in what manner
he has received this news, what excuse she has wished to make for
it by that gentleman whom she had sent to him as I have been
informed from England: and I think that he will find himself much
embarrassed in the resolution that he will have to take therein.
The which resolution I make no doubt he would straightway turn

Elizabeth.

1586-7. into open war against her if he were in a condition to be able to do so, having received from her the greatest injury that could have been done to him. Moreover, he has now occasion to take care of his person more closely than before, forasmuch as it is easy to believe that those who have urged the said Queen of England to so cruel an execution for the fear that they had that the said late Queen of Scotland would avenge herself one day for the judgment that they had passed against her, ought to have the same fear of my said nephew. And if any of them have done it in order more easily to attain to the crown of England after the death of the Queen, they will not fail to desire that the said King of Scotland be out of the world in order that his life be no hindrance to them therein, being, as he is, the true successor and heir to the crown of England. For the rest, I am greatly pleased at the show which my said nephew has made to you of fervently desiring the repose of my kingdom by a good pacification, and at his telling you that he had many times refused to the King of Navarre the help of some men at arms which he had sent to ask of him. That is an office worthy of the friendship and benevolence that I have always expected of him, whereunto I will correspond with all good effect towards him. For the rest I will tell you as an end to this letter that I am awaiting, and am still uncertain of, what the Queen my lady mother may have concluded for the pacification of the troubles, whereof, however, I shall be enlightened in a short time, as is very requisite for the good of my affairs. Paris. 14 March 1587. *Signed*: Henry. *And lower down*: Brulart.

1 p. *French. The beginning burnt away.*

March 14. **316. MONSIEUR BRULART TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 212.

. . . . * that the * execution which has been [lately] done upon the Queen of Scotland will have been heard with much regret both by the King of Scotland and the Scotch, the Queen of England having shown by this act that she cares little either for the one or the others. France is also included in the forefront of this contempt; and if God will that this princess be kept safe from all injury after having done this to so many princes and states, I shall think that he wills to bestow upon her very special grace. The King has not yet resolved upon what he will have to do after such an act, but I believe that he will resolve upon it within a few days, whereof you shall be advertised.

In the meantime I will tell you that we know certainly enough the favour which the Queen of England usually shows to those of the new opinion risen in arms in this realm, who are supported and encouraged almost solely by her assistance, desiring the ruin of this kingdom by the maintenance of the division between the parties. Yet this is a thing very contrary to what she ought to pursue, for if those of the new opinion, fulfilling what is their duty, would acknowledge the King and render the obedience due to him, this realm being by this means reestablished in some good estate, he would be more fit and capable to serve the neighbouring princes his

Elizabeth.

1586-7. friends when they should have need of his assistance. God wills it not thus for our sins.

For the rest, I will tell you that Monsieur de Pontcarre, councillor of the King in his council of state, returned [two] days ago from being with the Queen-mother; who reported that she has parted from the King of Navarre, having seen that after many meetings and difficulties they still asked for passports to send to the princes their friends and their churches, without whom they said they could treat of nothing. And yet they would give no hope of making any good conclusion of peace after the return of those who should go. She has parted without concluding anything, inasmuch as it was clearly seen that this which [they] manifested was the reiters whom they hope to have. However, we hear from Germany, things are not at all they publish, and I am still in great doubt what they Paris, 14 March 1587. *Signed*: Brulart.

1½ pp. *French. Holograph. Top of sheet burnt.*

March 17. **317. THOMAS BARNES TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

Upon a certain blind conceit of the late Queen of Scots' innocence in such matters as had or might have been imputed to her, and the opinion of her unjust imprisonment, with hope of doing himself good both presently and in time to come by doing her service in that distressed estate, being persuaded and enticed thereto by his cousin Gilbert Gifford, entered into this course of conveying letters to her.

Humbly confesses his fault committed therein, and craves pardon for the same. Protests before God that what he has set down in writing is all and the very truth. If he may by any service, for repairing in some part of that fault, serve his turn by bringing to light any of their treacherous intents towards the State hereafter which be fugitives and traitors at home or abroad, humbly beseeches him to accept the same. Will be glad to be employed therein, promising by the faith of a Christian truly and faithfully to proceed therein according to such direction as he shall receive from him. Renounces his part of Paradise if he does not discharge himself like an honest subject in that behalf.

Gives this his handwriting for a perpetual testimony against himself. London. *Signed*: Thomas Barnes.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "Barnes his submission to Mr. Secretary."

March 17. **318. WALSINGHAM TO []**.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 619.

Understands that Tyrrell, the Jesuit, to recover his credit with his Catholic brethren, is minded by the advice of some of them to write a discourse to charge the Earl of Leicester and him with compassing the death of the Scottish Queen, and of Babington and his accomplices. Is informed he has already written 50 sheets touching that subject. Desires two things wherein he would have Burden employ himself. One is, seeking out what has become of

Elizabeth.

1586-7. Tyrrell, the other discovering who have been parties in this conspiracy.

Means to have as many examined as are justly suspected to have been privy to this villainous device. Was informed that Tyrrell minded to go to Scotland, therefore has written to [symbol] to lie in wait for him. Hears this morning that he means to go to France and to publish his noble work. Prays he will desire Burden to deal carefully in this cause. At the Court. *Signed: Fra. Walsyngham.*

1p. Holograph. No address or indorsement.

March 18. **319.** CLAUDE HUBERT TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I have received the three letters that you sent me as well by the present bearer as by Monsieur Boc. For reply to the contents whereof I have let you know that Monsieur d'Auneval, whom I often see, told me that he had furnished you over there at his departure with 500 crowns of the sun, not 300 as you say by your letter: and that Monsieur Brulart told me at Saint Germain—whither I made an express journey, as I advertised you, for some affairs—that it had been arranged on his arrival; and took excuse to tell me that in so short a time you could not have spent that sum.

As to your estate, he also told me that it was reasonable, denying that it must be taken in deduction of that of the said Sieur d'Auneval, who must to this end be heard. I counselled him to speak no more of it until the return of Monsieur Pinard, who arrives on Wednesday with the Queen mother: I shall see him at the festivities.

I do not see that you have received my very ample letters which I wrote to you in October last. I can assure you upon the word of the said Sieur d'Auneval that he has not yet received a son from the King either for his maintenance or voyage, but he is in hopes to receive it before the end of the month of April. Money is so short that one can get none either from the treasurers or any one else.

I will not fail, according to your order, to deduct from the Sieur d'Auneval the eighteen crowns which he owes you and a half which my wife has delivered for the carriage of the portrait. For the rest, your account has not yet been settled with the King, so that you cannot know what you have to depend upon. I fear that the said Sieur d'Auneval may take the amount and cause what may be left over to be given to you for your maintenance; if I judge aright that is his intention. For this reason I beg you to be as careful as you may, and to take in good part what I write to you thereof, that you may not be left in the lurch.

When I have communicated with the said Sieur Pinard I shall know how you are to be treated, and will let them know the necessity you are in over there. A week ago five hundred crowns were assigned to you at the suit of the said Sieur d'Auneval, who very willingly busies himself therein. But he has as yet retained the patent of acquittance, and has told me that he wishes to manage the money himself. I found him very ill-content, I think because you wrote to the King and not to him. He went to see Monsieur

Elizabeth.

1586-7. Brulard, who executed the despatch, and who said to him that there was nothing in the packet but the King's letter; he told me that he was astonished at it.

He is very affectionate towards you, by what he tells me and what I see: he has even himself caused your writ to be executed for the gift of 1000 crowns; whereupon I have caused the patent of acquittance to be prepared, and have sealed and controlled it. The day after Low Sunday I will present it to the chamber and will sue for the verification thereof, as likewise at the office of the Treasurers. If he [d'Auneval] had not assisted it would not yet be executed, for as to my suit for that of my brother Leslie, Monsieur Nabert and La Veille, we have not been able to recover it from Monsieur Jossier. This is not ready money, by what Mr. Receiver Maheut has told me.

To you he writes that he will do what he can. We must wait for "M." I return to Monsieur Pinard, who will not in future have occasion to say that there is no one who speaks of your affairs, for I will make him say that I am an importunate fellow.

Henceforward you shall have letters from me more often, for Monsieur "23 cq" has promised to send them for me when I wish to write to you. Monsieur Pasquier is indisposed and very ill; he has been in bed ever since the news of his brother.

The present bearer, son of Mr. Nisbet, entreats me to furnish him with the five hundred crowns mentioned in your letter, which it has been impossible for me to do, having been unable to recover the money promptly enough to furnish all that you ask, although I have borrowed four hundred crowns of the sun. I have furnished him with 350 crowns: I have contented him. I was willing to bind myself for the surplus for him in this town, but he did not wish it, and told me that he was content, and that his father will not let you want for money up to a thousand crowns.

If the power were greater you should know by experience what will there is, assuring you that as far as my means will go they are at your service. It has not been possible for me to receive from Monsieur de Chaulne more than 200 crowns; I am suing for the surplus. He said lately to my uncle the Controller that if he had paid nothing of the account he would have returned the gift and would never have received any of it; and that one must have patience for the remainder, which is 150 crowns, for my uncle, in order to draw it, made promise of the 50.

As to your order from Spain for your voyages, they make no more account thereof than of a piece of paper, since it is a question of money: it is a pity. To assure this account it must be entered in the revenue, but this will be what I shall first beg of Monsieur Pinard, that he cause it to be paid to you if there are means.

Your sister does not write to you; you know the cause: she prays you to excuse her. She sends you your trunk, and in it the five ells of velvet, the five ells of satin not printed, the white satin and other cloths of silk for which you asked and which are contained in the note. There are seven pounds' worth, of which the half has had to be paid. She sends you also two pairs of scented gloves and a dozen of kid; two black silk stockings, your imperial [a bit for a horse], which alone amounts to 150 crowns: a bracelet, not such as

Elizabeth.

1586-7. you asked for, because she did not find it; a mantle, two little cases and two hats.

The receiver sends you a knife which I have put in your said trunk; also the Bible which you know, the book upon hunting by Foullet, Cornelius Tacitus, a book of tales by [Monsieur de Venlise ?] and [La Serree ?].

As to those upon buildings, the circle, herrings, soldiers, I have been a long time in finding them: in the whole university I have only been able to find two, which I cannot have before the end of next week.

I have not been able to find Orthelius' "Le theatre du monde" entire and new in French; I have been obliged to take it in Latin; you will have it with the two others.

The present bearer has given me an address to send to him at Dieppe.

As to the tapestry and your silver cupboard, I pray you to have patience, for there are no means for the present, for the principal is wanting. You will have all in time, one after the other.

I have to-day been advertised that the Sieur d'Auneval is to be sent back to those parts within some time. If that is so you will have assurance and advice.

The said receiver and De Montafillon are writing to you. Paris.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 18. **320.** MONSIEUR MAHEUT TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Having received your letters full of consolation through the assurance that they give me of your good disposition and health, nevertheless your long sojourn in Scotland wearies me much, being deprived of your company which I infinitely desire. Although I know that you cannot be in this country on account of the rank that you hold in those parts, yet when it shall so please God we shall enjoy your presence. I have many times wished to write to you again, but neither occasion nor commodity has presented itself as I could have wished, by reason of the small number of persons who go into Scotland. Having written to you twice since my letters of the 30th September last which you say you have received, I have been told that the first were lost, the others thrown into the sea to avoid theft by pirates; I hope that the present will be safely delivered to you and will not be lost, that all the goods, garments, cloths of silk and other things which Monsieur Hubert sends you may likewise not be lost, which would be a great loss for you, they being worth much money. What makes me think that you will not return so soon to Paris as I had thought is the quantity of goods whereof you are making provision; so many garments, beds, vessels of silver and other utensils, even some silk cloths which I am told are more fitted to make garments for women than for men; which makes me almost think that some maiden, well-favoured, of noble house and rich, may detain you and deprive us of your presence; although I think that if the opportunity had presented itself you would have advertised your good kinsmen and friends thereof. I have no doubt that you know of the death of the late Queen of Scotland, and of the mourning that has been worn and is yet worn

Elizabeth.

1586-7. throughout the realm of France for it, for which reason I will make no discourse to you about it. The queen-mother arrived the 25th day of this present month at about six o'clock in the evening. God grant that she bring us good news and peace, for we have great need thereof, the whole of France being ruined. Monsieur Pinart has also arrived; I will not fail to go to welcome him and to greet him on your behalf, and to pray him to have a care that such an estate be bestowed upon you as that you may be able to do honour and service to the King. The said Sieur Hubert fetched your acquittance for the thousand crowns assigned for the extraordinary expenses of your office a fortnight ago, and has since been seeking to get it ratified as well by my lords of the accounts as the treasurer of France. For my part, I will employ myself therein as far as shall be possible to me when the verification thereof shall be made. I will seek every means of satisfying it, at least in part, forasmuch as there are many assignments and charges to acquit this present year upon our receipt. The rest of your affairs are in the hands of the said Sieur Hubert, who has as great a care of them as of his own, and employs therein his favour, his credit and his friends. If you were here your presence would serve much thereunto to get it procured for you, and you would be more promptly expedited therein. You wrote to me that the Sieur de Montafilant was going to see you at the expense of the King. I should wish that he were charged with some good commission: moreover he is little employed here and does but little. We are on the point of marrying your niece Marie with an honest man whom you will know more fully if God permits that the marriage takes place. I send you a knife which has been given me; it will serve you, and is suitable for carving the brawn of a capon; you will take it in good part, not heeding its little value. As to the office of secretary in ordinary of the chamber of the King whereof he has made you a present, I hardly make account thereof, for there are so many of them that they injure one another; I would have liked better that he had given you a bursary or a treasurership. I hope that at your return he will recompense you as you deserve for the good and agreeable services which you are daily doing him. These last few days there has been some tumult and stir in Paris, but such good order was taken therein that it is all appeased. I have made your compliments to Monsieur Matheu, to my brother and to your nieces: they greet you humbly. Monsieur Matheu would be very glad if you would write him a note; and it seems that he is ill content that you replied to me sooner than to him. If you think well, in order to content him, to send him a line as to your health and of compliment, that will content him. Paris. 28 March 1587. *Signed: Maheut.*

3 pp. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 18. **321.** SIR JOHN FOSTER TO WALSHINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 231.

[*Part of a letter.*]

So that it seems the Laird of Cessford is very willing to do justice so far as in him lies, but William Carr of Ancrum, who is in very great favour at this present with the King, by Lord Bothwell's

Elizabeth.

1586-7. means, came from the King at the time of our meetings, being then at Lord Bothwell's house, and raised and assembled 500 men of Liddesdale and West Tynedale, and was fully bent to have run a foray within the Middle Marches, but they were stayed only by the storm and "contagious" weather which suddenly fell at the same time. The Laird of Cessford had knowledge thereof and was very ill contented there. And yet he [*unfinished*].

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. Copy.

March 20. **322. MONSIEUR BRULART TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 207.

. . . * received with the . . . * despatches of the King . . . * you wrote to me on the last of February and 8th of the present. Whereupon I will tell you that I lament extremely the position of the King of Scotland, and ours also, and that the affairs of the two kingdoms are not now so well composed as that [he] would have means to avenge himself for so cruel and inhuman an act as that which has been committed by the Queen of England; who was under no necessity or fear of her life great enough to force her to it, and so one must say that it was through the interest of her counsellors and of those who wish to appropriate the crown of England to themselves after her death. Whereupon the King of Scotland may well beware, holding his life in greater peril than it was in the life-time of the late Queen of Scotland his mother. But God is sufficiently powerful to preserve him for vengeance of the injury which has been done to him.

For the rest, as to that which you tell me, that since Monsieur d'Esneval left you there no means have been given to you, I advise you that immediately upon his return from Scotland I despatched an order for five hundred crowns for his reimbursement of the money which he had left with you: a fortnight ago I despatched an acquittance of the like sum, which is in all a thousand crowns. And of this you may be assured, for it is true. Paris. [20] March 1587.

1 p. French. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Beginning burnt.

[March] **323. MINUTES OF LETTERS FROM JAMES VI.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 590.

A closed letter directed to the King of France importing general thanks for sending so many ambassadors and worthy messengers towards England, whereby his majesty is advertised of his condolence for his dearest mother the Queen, which can never be sufficiently repaid. Advertises that he has "thocht expedient to contenew that worthie prelat the Archebishop of Glasgow to be ordinar ambassadeur, becaus he was sa worthie counsalour to his mother." Therefore if it be the King's pleasure that he may enjoy that benefit of reward which he had of the Queen "be zeir, he ernistlie deis request the same."

Desiring that he will take peace with his subjects that unity may be in the land for such causes as he has committed to his ambassador. In the meantime, that above all things it would

Elizabeth.

1586-7. please his majesty to make him participant of such particular counsel necessary in this troublous time, and how it should be expedient to remedy the causes not necessary to be written for grief, by whatever way his majesty should think most expedient, etc.

For the ambassador. To treat with the King's majesty earnestly to move him to the "auld ligue," and that we will be contented with whatever way he shall think most convenient therein.

Item, to "essay our awin freyndis of consanguinitie to know perfyttle thair affection toward our promotion, and quhat way thay think best to interpone thame selfis agains the commen adversareis, and that ze propone na device quhill we be ryplie advysit with thair opinions and that ze ressave our instructions to do conforme."

Item, to desire the Princes of our consanguinity to assist at such solemn times as "ze think necessar for audience that ze mak thame lauchfull premonition for that effect and in speciall to the Duc of Guyse to quhom we have writtin apart."

The letter begins "Cusing, etc., en frençoys." The tenor whereof is an exhortation to "depone" arms because civil war is not approved by God or man except against rebellious subjects. Therefore there should be no occasions of evil rumours spread against him, other than are already, whereof he is very sorry because it touches himself, and therefore desires that he may be the instrument of peace between the King and his subjects, which being done, out of doubt all the articles committed to his ambassador shall be heard the more easily.

They shall be communicated to him, willing heartily that it should be his pleasure to assist his ambassador likewise. Also desires to know in particular what he thinks most expedient to be done, and that he be not slow to advertise him whereto he will "alluterlie lippen," and that he procure as many noble friends to this effect as may do for him, and take time and leisure to all things, that the success may take the better effect after mature deliberation. I am to send ambassadors to Denmark to procure marriage, thereby to mollify their repetition of the Isles of Orkney. "Ze salbe adverteis of the procedingis with tyme. I abyd zeur ansuer with the first commoditie. Adieu."

1½ pp. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed: "Instructions et lettres envoyés par le Roy d'escosse à Monsieur de Cors."

1587. 324. [MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS] TO BURGHLEY.

March 25.

[The top of each page of this document is destroyed by fire.]

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 98.

. "that I haif ressaved it is to be onderstood that the King my maister hath taken resolution to conteyn himself wythin the compasse of ressonable freyndschippe wyth her majeste onto such tyn as he shalbe perfitly informed of hir majesteis inclination towardis him, whiche he hath beyn comited to ressave from me notwythstanding of all the persuasionis that hath beyn used to move him in the contrarye."

"The speciall argumentis that hath beyn moved to draw him to mak defection in freyndschippe from hir majeste are these:—

Elizabeth.
1586-7.

"That his ruyn is traveled for and socht be hir hienes, as his motheris hath beyn heirtofore, and in the end wilbe obtened as the uther was performed. And to cause thayr alledgeance to cary the moyr apparence of lyklyhoode, thay haif not sparit particularlye to discend in all the dealingis that haif passed thes twenty six year and moyr, making such a construction thayrupon as may best serve to move my master nott to inclyne to thayr fansy."

"Thay haif nott sparit also to affirme that all and whatsoevir gud hath beyn done to him or to his regentis induring his minorite be her majeste, was performed for hir awin weill and pryvate commodite for the ruyn of his mother, which having takin end be hir deathe, the ylyk vilbe used agaynst himself as will sufficientlye appeir be preceedingis and Godis vordis to be gevin in plaice of better mater."

" for the mony depredationis that thay haif suffred of this realm. Thayr losses extend to ye sounne of 25 thowsand pounds sterling, the most thayrof beand sufficiently provin before the lordis of the admiraltye. If her majeste shall suffir thes hard and ill per . . . onis to be contynewed, it doeth appeir as the stone is peirsd vyth contynewall fallin of soft So may the mynd of this yowng Prince be and in the end persuaded to beleawe that all these ill reportis halfe beyn trew. And so thayrby this thayr ill impression shalbe confirmed, wharupon occasion may grow to him to gewe eare to uther Princis carying na affection to her majeste and this State. What hurt may fall out to boyth the crownis upon any such mater I must leave to your lordship's moyr grave consideration."

"I haif remaned in this cuntry these sevin monthis in all this stormy tym, when ill derected men hath had commodius tyme to utter thayr intentionis at this tym upon such personis as I haif used, be letteris to my maister. I am informed be such of my freyndis as him that he is myndit to geve ear to such advise as I shal send onto him. If I shall, in gevin him advise frustrat him expectation as I haif intertannyit him in be all these ill argumentis uttered be ill dew shall then be confirmed. I shall ruyn myself to entir in any such course, at leist mak myself unable to do majeste any gud service at any tym heireftir."

"And if this action shall not at this tym be prosequuted, it may be considered that tym vill not serve so aptly in any season heireftir, as now it for avoyding of all those inconvenientis. It apperis to be necessayr that her majeste shuld com som solyde course vyth that young Prince when he may be separated from all uther Princis, which may be performed be gevin him suche gud o that he shall nather need to gewe eare to the persuasion of uther Princis that vold m him to mak defection in freyndschippe from her majeste, nather be constrened to seik thayr helpe subweyn be any uther thayr necessite, in the doing wherof it vill appeir evident that her majeste may command als far in that realm as in her awin."

"When it shalbe her majesteis pleaser to lat me onderstand of

Elizabeth.

1587. any such certayn and solyde course, that it shalbe her majesteis pleaser to go throw vyth in that realm, I shall do what I can to move my maister to be conformable thayronto." *No ending.*

3 pp. *In the hand of Mr. Archibald Douglas. No address.*

Indorsed by Burghley: "The Sc. Amb. Arch. Dowglass. Memoryall."

March 27. **325. CONCERNING COMMISSION FOR MARY'S DEATH.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

Whereas the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the two chief justices, have called us before them in her majesty's name and required us to declare what moved us to subscribe certain letters to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, wherewith a commission was sent to the said earls concerning the Queen of Scots, and whether Mr. Davison declared to us that her majesty had commanded us to send it then to the earls; we do answer that on the 3rd day of February, Dr. Davison, then her majesty's Secretary, brought and showed to us the same commission, being signed with her majesty's hand and sealed with the great seal of England, which being by him also read to us, we thereupon considering how much we did then think it necessary to have it to proceed, upon the reasons mentioned in the said commission, but most specially for the safety of her majesty's person, which was of all worldly things most dear to us, we did think it meet by our letters subscribed with our hands, to signify to the said two earls that by the bearer thereof they should receive the said commission without any particular direction in our said letters to them how to proceed therein, remitting the same to the contents of the said commission.

And to the second question, whether we received any commandment from her majesty by Mr. Davison to write the said letters, we answer that we had no such commandment expressly delivered to us by him from her majesty to that purpose. But we confess that at that time for many notable causes which then so moved us, we thought it was agreeable to her majesty's mind that it should be then executed, and therefore we consented to send it to the said earls, and that with all secrecy that we could devise, lest it might be known abroad, especially to any desperate persons about the Court or city, who might by some mischievous desperate attempt against her majesty's person prevent the execution of the said commission.

But now understanding that her majesty has declared that though she did sign the same, yet she at that time meant not to have it executed, we have cause to be most sorry, and so we are most heartily both sorry and grieved that at that time we did not understand by Mr. Davison anything to move us to be in any doubt of her majesty's meaning but that it should be executed. And therefore we most humbly, being ready to lie prostrate at her feet, beseech her majesty not to conceive that we had any meaning in any wise in our said doings to offend her majesty, nor never shall by God's grace, knowing that we are charged by Almighty God to reverence and obey her in all things as his special minister ordained to rule, order and command us. And by this her majesty's gracious

Elizabeth.

1587. accepting of our dutiful declaration we shall be perpetually bound to pray to serve and obey her above all worldly respects.

Finally, whereas the Lord Chancellor has declared to us that her majesty would have it to be understood that she does not think that we had any other meaning in our said doings but for the surety of her person, we for this comfortable gracious signification delivered to us from her majesty, do most humbly thank her majesty, taking therein no small comfort that her majesty, notwithstanding her offence for the thing done, yet so graciously conceives of our loyalty towards her, wherein by God's grace we shall never fail.

It was also demanded of the Lord Treasurer how and for what cause the consultation was had in his chamber. To that the Treasurer says that Mr. Davison caused the Council to be warned, as usually he was accustomed to do, by the keeper of the Council chamber, and at that time, by reason that the Treasurer was not able to come out of his chamber, Mr. Davison sent for them to come thither without any direction from the Treasurer as divers times before that was done, since the Treasurer's hurt of his leg.

To the latter question whether the Lord Treasurer asked Mr. Davison when he brought the warrant whether he knew the Queen's pleasure, the Treasurer answered that the day before he did once or twice ask of Mr. Davison whether he found the Queen to continue her mind for proceeding therein, who answered "Yea." And so the Lord Treasurer was fully persuaded therein. At the Lord Chancellor's house in Westminster, 27th March, 1587.

2 pp. *Indorsed in pencil*: "The Q. Scotts. touching the commission for putting the Q. Sc. to death, etc."

Another copy of the same.

Another copy of the same.

March 28. **326.** ANDREW MELVILLE AND MONSIEUR BOURGOYNE TO SIR
C.P., vol. XXI. AMIAS POWLET.

"Right honorable, althoght at zour departing we did pray zour honor to present our requestis together wit suche particuler petitions as did most concerne us, zet hearing no resolution theirin whiche we supponet to haif rather procedit of zour seiknes and indisposition of body then forgetfulnes of mynd, we haif thought it necessarie to truble zour honor wit theis few lynes and small requestes as the only moeyen and procurour we haif to sollicit for us, and to obtene us a resolution of our particuler matters as theis that follows:—"

"First, if our departing from hence be lyk to delay any longer we desyre leave to sell our horses as charges inutill for us and superfluous unto our present estait, whiche wilbe zet a gret deal more superfluous if the wholle charges of them shalbe resigned over until us."

[*Answer*] If the horses may be well sold the parties may be permitted to buy horses at their departure out of the realm, for the time serves not fitly for their departure.

"Secondly, becaus our long tary heir is not only unpleasant to

Elizabeth.

1587.

us bot also hurtfull many wayes, specially anent suche benefitis and recompens of service, as it haith plesit the Quenis majeste our mistres to assigne unto her poore servantis in France, the whiche the longer we be of signefing unto her officers their, the farther we shalbe from receiving any comodety theirby, wherfor we request to haif leave to wryt ane open letter to her counsell and tresorer their, therby to inhibit unto them the disboursing of any money whill they sall heir hir majesteis will thairin."

[*Answer*] Open letters shall be permitted, containing nothing but matters mentioned in this article.

"Thridly, their is also assignet unto some of the servanteis certane money that is in the Frenche ambassadoris handis. We desyre also leeve to signefy the sam unto him, that we may haif his answer therwpon, ether by wryt or uyerwyse."

[*Answer*] A letter open to the French ambassador they shall be permitted to write.

"Fourthly, concerning the silver aperteaning to Mistres Beauregard and to the cirurgyan, whiche wes found in Mr. Naw his coffres, they desyr effectusly to haif their money agane or els his answer what he can say for his discharge."

[*Answer*] "Naw shalbe commoned withal for his aunswer."

Their is also the testament of her ant Mistres Raily, the which wes taken out of her coffer at Chartley be Mr. Waad and caryed wp, the loss wherof may hurt the gentill woman and bring profit to no uther. Therfor we humbly request your honor to send us the sam if ze may, with suche answer as we haif to luke for of the premisses, wherin as ze shall do a deid of charety, so shall zow oblist us to do zow all leafull service."

[*Answer*] It is reasonable that the testament be restored for which Mr. Phelippes in Mr. Waad's absence shall be spoken to.

"Thus humbly taking our leave we pray God to haif zour honor in His blessed protection. At Fotheringay, ye 28 of Marche 1577. Zour honors to obey zow." *Signed: A. Melvill. Bourgoing.*

Postscript—"Mistres Curle prayes your honor to remember upon hir sut and her money. Mr. Bastien also and his wife prayes zour honor that Mr. Darrell may haif comandement when their childring cummes hether, that they may be recevitt within the hous. Your honor knowis they haif a gret charge and small moyens."

1½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed:* "Requestes in ye behaulf of the late Sco. Q. servaunts at Fothringhay. Postils to ye said requests inclosed." *Answers written in the margin, in the hand of Burghley's clerk.*

Same answers, in Burghley's hand, headed "I thnk these answers may be made."

March 28. **327. HENRY III. TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 209.

. . . * which he has . . . * England, . . . *
to do to . . . * his mother for . . . * resolution
which has at length been taken concerning her, whereof he has
borne . . . * is worthy of a well-born son who has forgotten
nought of the friendship which . . . * nature he was bound

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1587. to bear to his mother, keeping in his heart a very resolute courage to avenge himself for such an injury : whereof, if he refrains from saying what he thinks of it, and ponders it in his heart, I do not esteem him less wise and prudent, there being no means to be seen such as would be required to pursue vengeance for it : which time may bring.

I desire that you will ever testify to him that I have felt this affliction as great and grievous as any other which has for a long time befallen me. For albeit by an act so inhuman the Queen of England has offended all the sovereign princes and kings in the world, assuming a jurisdiction which she could not have by right, and subjecting a sovereign queen to that from which God has by special privilege exempted kings, who cannot be judged except by him : nevertheless my said nephew and I have been specially offended, she having been the mother of the one, and sister-in-law of the other. I hope, yea, for my part I believe with all assurance, that if men should not exert themselves to avenge an act so inhuman, God, who is the just judge of the misdeeds of men, will not allow it to go unpunished.

For the rest, I will tell you that the Queen my mother arrived here a few days ago, without having been able to settle anything for the good of the peace with the King of Navarre, so far did he show himself, and likewise those of his party, from that which I desired of them for the good of my said [*sic*] realm. So that I must resolve myself, contrary to my desire to procure repose for my subjects, to enter further into the war than I have yet done, hoping that with the assistance of those who are loyal and faithful to me, I may avert the evil which they wish to bring upon by realm by many ways and fashions. Paris 28 March 1587. *Signed*: Henry Brulart.

1 p. *French. Beginning burnt.*

March 28. **328. PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 224.

xxvii^o die Marcii 1587.

“ Mr. Davison late Secretarye to the Queen’s majestie and one of her majestie’s Privie Counsell.”

“ xxvii^o die Marcii 1587, in the Starre Chamber Mr. Davison brought from the Tower.”

Commissioners there present then, Sir Christopher Wray, knight, Chief Justice of England, and Lord Privy Seal for that day. The Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop of York. The Earl of Worcester. The Earl of Cumberland. The Earl of Lincoln. The Lord Gaye. The Lord Lumley. Sir James Crofte, Comptroller of her majesty’s household. Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Gilbert Gerard, knight, Master of the Rolls. Sir Edward Anderson, knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Sir Roger Manwood, knight, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

The Queen’s majesty’s learned counsel there, viz., Mr. Serjeant Gawdge, Mr. Serjeant Puckering, John Popham, esquire, attorney general, Thomas Egerton, esquire, solicitor general.

“ The causes objected ageynst Davison.”

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“That whereas the Queen’s majestie signed a warrant for th’execucion of the Queen of Scottes, condemned to dye after her honorable and mercyfull proceedinges for her manifold treasons comitted ageynst the Queen’s majeste, and delivered the same warraunte to Mr. Davison, late of her Privie Counsell and one of her secretories, to the intent he shold kepe it by hym, to be at an instante put in execution if there shold be any suche necessitie, he without the Queen’s privitie did send it awaye, and caused it to be executed presently withoute any speciall commandemente.”

That Davison, although perceiving the Queen intent to stay the execution, yet hastid it. After his repair to London to seal the warrant the Queen sent Mr. Killigrew to will him to stay, if he had not been with the Lord Chancellor. He answered that he would repair to court and certify her majesty what had passed: which he did, telling her the next day that it was already passed the great seal before the messenger came.

“What tyme the Queen’s majestie made this aunswere, ‘What neded this haste?’—to which he replied, that he had done nothing but at her commaundemente; and after this she told hym that she ment to take an other course: by all which thinges he might have gathered that her majesties mynde was to have deferred th’execucion.”

The Queen commanded Davison to use secrecy: he answered “that he wold do as apperteyned.” She willed him to show the warrant to Walsingham; yet he showed it to the whole Council.

Davison abused the lords of the Council: 1. The Treasurer demanding whether the Queen did persist to have the execution despatched; he answered “that she contynued still in the same mynde.” 2. He told another lord “that the Queen wold here no more of the matter”; having no commission to use such speeches, whereby the lords were induced not to enquire the Queen’s further pleasure.

“That afterward the Queen moving talke of the matter to Mr. Davison after the sendinge downe of the warraunt, he did not certifie her majestie of the proceedinge.”

These accusations were by his own confession and the testimony of the Lord Treasurer.

“To these accusacions Mr. Davison aunswere as followeth, viz.”

1. That the Queen committed the warrant to him, as he took it, to be put in execution; she gave him no commandment who should see it done, how and when the warrant should be executed, who should carry it to the commissioners; neither is it the custom for princes to give detailed directions in a matter by them ordained.

2. That he did it upon a zeal for the safety of the Queen and realm; all men knew he was not bloodthirsty.

3. He did not offend willingly. Had he not taken it to be the Queen’s pleasure he would not have done it.

4. He might easily mistake the Queen’s meaning, not having been long acquainted with her manner of speech, “but he tooke it to have bene her mynde that the Scottish Queen shold have bene executed.”

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5. He could not, out of duty and reverence, contest the matter, "but rather suffer any thing which by the lords might be imposed upon hym"; he had a good conscience; "desiringe not to be urged to utter the private speches which passed betwene the Queen and hym."

6. He would stand upon the equity of his cause, and specially that he had not violated the duty of an honest man.

"7. That after the grete seale was put to the warraunt he toke it a thing irrevocable."

8. As to secrecy, he thought he was to show the warrant to Walsingham, "for that his house laye in the way to the Lord Chauncellours, and not upon any other consideracion."

9. He thought he was to be secret lest it should be known abroad, "and thereby procure some desperate attempte for the saftie of the Scottish Queen."

10. Four were made privy to it by the Queen before he opened it to the Council, himself, the Lord Admiral, Walsingham and the Lord Chancellor, "who ought to loke upon every thing which he sealeth." He knows not why the Lords of the Council should not be made privy to a matter so nearly concerning the realm.

"11. That he havinge no speciall commaundemente to kepe it from the Lords of the Counsaile toke it lawfull to open it unto them."

12. He concealed the proceedings from the Queen after he had sent down the warrant because he had promised the lords and they had promised one another "not to let the Queen understand it till it was despatched."

"After which aunswer of Mr. Davison, Sir Walter Mildmay was requested by the Lord Privie Seale to open his opynion in that matter; and so he did as followeth, viz."

1. He affirms that the Queen has always ruled her people mercifully.

2. That her clemency has specially been shown in dealing with the Scottish Queen, considering the dangers which hung over her through that Queen, the bruits of foreign power landed and Mary escaped. That Mary's trial was honourable, done by commission "which commission neverthesse was not put in execucion withoute her majesties privitie."

3. That after the sitting of the commission, she having liberty to speak for herself, and sentence being passed upon her, the Queen, not content therewith, summoned a parliament, desiring the opinion of the whole realm; who confirmed the sentence and desired due proceeding to be had.

4. Yet the Queen commanded a second consultation of the commons: "if perchaunce some other way might be founde oute for her majesties saftie, shewinge her unwillingnes to execute that sentence."

5. After consultation answer was made that no other means might be devised for the preservation of her own life.

6. She yet desired to hear what might be said by foreign princes before sentence was executed, "which was performed by the embassadours of two kinges."

7. It was with difficulty obtained of her majesty "that

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proclamacion shold be made for the disablinge of the said Scottish Queen, to th'end it shold be manifested aswell to her owne subjectes as also to strangers " how just the proceedings had been.

8. The Queen, upon great dangers, being moved by her Council, signed the warrant for the execution, and was content it should be sealed.

" 9. That her mercye ded ageyne appere: for that her purpose was to have steyed th'execucion therof till a tyme convenient, which tyme, together with all other circumstances, ought to have ben referred to the wisdom of her selfe."

" 10. That princes must use men of trust, whom they looke shall deale trustilye with them."

11. That the Queen chose Davison above other Councillors. He might have gathered the Queen's mind by report, and by his acquaintance with her. " I judge his offence to be a grete abuse of the truste and a grete contempte and misprision."

12. He being trusted and willed to be secret, did yet open the matter to the whole Council. Whereas he alleges that as councillors they ought to be privy to matters of state, " they only ought to be of the Counsell whom she wold have to be of her Counsell, and that is not meete that the rest of the Counsell shold knowe that which the secretory knoweth."

13. He also encouraged the lords of the Council to proceed, by telling them that the Queen persisted in her purpose and would hear no more of the matter.

14. Whereas Davison alleges that princes are not wont to give precise commandments, and therefore the general commandment was sufficient; this might have sufficed had he been a commissioner, not otherwise.

" 15. That a good intende and an earnest zeale for the preservation of her majeste might not excuse hym which wanted a warrant."

16. His offence is aggravated:—1. By the person of the Queen, to whom he owes reverence: 2. By his own person as her secretary: 3. The manner of the doing, in the Queen's own house, he having there continual opportunity to have opened the matter to her, especially when she spoke thereof; and as to his promise to the Council " it is the dutie of a good subjecte to forget his promise where the Queen is a partie:" 4. The grief of the Queen " which all her subjectes ought to be sory for, it tending to the impayringe of her helth:" 5. The disgrace to her to be thus crossed by one of her secretaries.

" 17. He knoweth but two kinds of punishmentes usuall in the Starre Chambre, namely corporall and pecuniall."

18. If it were proportioned to the offence it would be too great for Davison to bear, he being of small ability.

" 19. That notwithstandinge his wantes, the gretenes of the offence was to be considered in the punishmente."

20. The fine should be 10,000 marks, too much for Davison, yet little for his offence.

21. He should be imprisoned in the Tower during the Queen's pleasure, " to whome he referred bothe the punishmentes,

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1587. thinking that she might be moved upon humble submission to remitt th'extreamitie of them both."

"The Lord Chefe Baron his opynion in this maner."

1. He would handle two points : 1. The honourable dealing used with the Queen of Scots : 2. Davison's offence.

2. Mary had from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign lusted after this realm ; whilst in France she used the title of England in her writings and the arms of England in her seals, banners and stamps.

"3. That she beinge admonished by the Queen after the death of her Frenche husbonde to let these thing [*sic*] alone, so longe as she lyved, and then after her death to clayme her right, she made aunswere, that it was her husbondes doinges and not her owne, and that now she was a widowe she wold use those thinges no more."

4. After her return to Scotland she minding not at all was again admonished by the Queen's ambassadors, and again promised to desist, yet did not.

"5. That hetherto she shewed herself an aspiringe Queen ; and at this tyme she began to be bloody to the Lord Darlye her husbond, who upon dislyke was caused to be murthered by her, as it was thought, both for that the knowen murtherers were not only not punished, but also not so muche as convented before any judge by her appoynted ; and also for that she shortlye after married the chefe actor in that murther."

6. Being overthrown in battle in her own country, and flying, she was driven by tempest into this land, where notwithstanding her deserts she was honourably entertained, having almost as much liberty and pleasure in gentlemen's houses there as she might have had in her own realm.

"7. That after her comying hether her subjectes desired to have her restored to them, to th'ende that they might in justice procede ageynste her for her husbondes death : the Queen's majestie in her favour denyed them this request."

8. Commissioners being appointed on both sides, the thing was so evidently proved that her own commissioner the bishop of Ross "desired to have the matter put up" : but the Queen smothered the indignity of the crime, and so saved her life and credit.

9. Mary conspired with the Duke of Norfolk and wrought his overthrow, which set all England against her, and parliament disabled her ; but the Queen refused her assent to the bill.

10. Since then she has showed herself bloody to the Queen by conspiracies seeking her death, and lately conspired with Babington, Abington [*sic*] and others, for which they were executed. Upon these actions she was disabled to be Queen of England by the statute of 28 Elizabeth, which she affirmed in his hearing to have been made against her, but indeed she passed the reach of that statute, it being made against those privy to those conspiracies, while she was not only privy, but the chief conspirer : their plot was to slay the Queen by six appointed men, but she willed them to stay till she could obtain from France an invasion in Sussex, from Scotland an invasion in the north, and make her own escape by setting the house on fire.

11. For these offences she might have been tried by the old law

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of England, made 300 years past, and condemned to be burnt; and her son thereby touched, his mother being attainted: but this the Queen refused.

“ 12. That the Queen’s majeste proceded another waye by her commission then the lords before whome she was convicted, that she was able to saye nothing but ‘ Naye,’ which every theffe is able to alledge for hym self be his felonyes never so manifest: where upon followed sentence.”

“ 13. That sentence having passed, the Queen’s majeste shewed ageyne not justice but mercye; she called a parlyamente, by which that fore-passed sentence was confirmed.”

“ 14. That after this the proclamacion ensued.”

“ 15. That upon good consideracions the Queen’s majestie signed and sealed a warrant for her execucion, and there she lefte.”

16. Davison confesses his offence to be a misprision and contempt, and though every breach of the prince’s command is not a misprision, this is, because it concerns the execution of justice. If a judge alter an indictment, officers corrupt records, or sheriffs return burgesses to parliament or jurors being never sworn, these were misprisions, or if sheriffs hang a condemned man when commanded by the justices of assize to reprieve him, “ as also when he which is adjudged to go first to the place from whence he cam is presentlie hanged.”

17. Circumstances not rightly observed breed a contempt, as if a judge will determine causes out of term time.

“ 18. That Mr. Davison’s offence, because it concerneth the administration of justice, is a misprision and a contempte.”

“ 19. That th’execucion of the Queen of Scottes upon the deliverye of the commission by the commissioners was to do *justum*: yet that the deliverye therof by Mr. Davison was not *juste*.”

20. Davison took it irrevocable after it had passed the great seal, but the prince has power to call it back again.”

“ 21. Whereas some hold opynion that after the proclamacion made and the warrant geven forth any man, especially of the associacion, might lauffully have slayne the Scottish Quene, that they are therin deceyved, for if the warrant had rune thus, that if any man met with her it shold be lauffull for hym to kyll her, as it might have done in case she had eskaped, then any man whatsoever might have slayne her without cominge into daunger of the lawe.”

22. Zeal and good intent were not sufficient: a judge lately perfected a record upon good intent, but was grievously punished.

23. He is of Sir Walter Mildmay’s opinion concerning the fine.

“ The Lord Cheffe Justice of the Common Plees his opinion.”

1. Davison is accused of two faults: 1, putting the commission in execution without the warrant: 2, doing it against her mind.

2. Good intent no excuse; in so great a business he needed sufficient warrant.

“ 3. That the Queen’s speche apperinge to hym doubtfull it had ben his dutie to have required her mynde more playnly; that his aunswere to the Lord Treasurer and the other lords was very bould.”

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“ 4. That concerning the punisshement he is of Sir Walter Mildmayes mynde.”

Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Master of the Rolls, consented to Mildmay's judgement.

“ Sir James Crofte his opynion.”

1. He took Davison for an honest man, and loved him, but he wanted discretion.

2. It is not meet for the whole Council to know all the Queen's doings. Davison should have submitted himself to the Queen, and not have put the lords to such trouble.

3. Is of Mildmay's opinion as to punishment.

“ The Lord Lumleys his opynion.”

1. Loves Davison and has heard well of him.

2. His offence consists in two points: 1, not acquainting the Queen with the proceedings; 2, breaking of secrecy.

“ 3. That the Queens clemency used hertofore might have moved Mr. Davison to consider her mynd at this tyme.”

“ 4. That his aunswer to the Lord Treasurer was spoken withoute his booke.”

5. The crime lay in sending down the warrant without her privy. As to the promises of the Lords of the Council “ it is a haynous thing that the[y] shold conspire together in a privie chambre in her owne house.”

6. The Queen's secret counsels were forestalled by Davison: she might know more than them all or have secret intelligence, all disappointed by Davison's action.

7. The most heinous offence against the prince he has heard of for many years.

8. Davison thought he was commanded to show the warrant to Walsingham because his house was in the way to the Chancellor's: “ that is a slander conjecture, for by that reason he might have shewed it to the Lords of the Conncell which were at the privie chamber dore, where he receyved the warrant, being nearer in his waye then Mr. Secretary Walsingham was.”

9. Had Mildmay appointed a greater fine he would have agreed to it.

10. But is content with the sum named.

“ The Lord Graye his opinion.”

“ 1. That in this matter he noted these circumstances. First, the taking awaye the life of a Queen by his meanes; an anynted Queen, a sacred Queen; yet such a Queen as had conspired the death of our soveraigne, the invacion of the realme by forrayne powre and our owne distruction; a Queen that was by justice and honorable procedinge condemned to die. This Queen hath ben put to death by Mr. Davison's means. Secondlye, the breache of secrecey.”

2. He allows Davison's answer.

3. He might have gathered the Queen's mind: in which point lyeth the fault.

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4. Davison offers two exigents wherunto he was driven: the Queen's danger, manifest by hue and cry within 30 miles of London; the bruits of foreign powers landed in Wales, and of Mary's escape: and the late conspiracies; all for the safety of Mary and overthrow of Elizabeth.

"5. That if her majestie had miscaried and the warrant had ben found in his hand, that we ought to have counted hym a greater traytor then they which had so slayne her: and that wee ought with one hart and one mynd to have rushed upon hym and torne hym in peces."

6. The other exigent was his own danger if he should deal against the Queen's mind.

"7. That he preferred the saftie of his prince and contrie before his owne welfare, and that his zeale therein was in his opynion to be rewarded."

8. Not a lord there but would venture land, living and life rather then be "oute gon" by Davison in the performance of such a duty.

9. That he was content with the punishment mentioned by Mildmay, desiring withal that God would put it into the Queen's mind to remit the same, and thus encourage her subjects to do their duty towards her.

"The Erle of Lincoln his opynion."

1. Davison's intention good, but he should have acquainted the Queen with his proceeding.

2. He did it for want of wit and discretion.

3. Is of Lord Grey's opinion.

4. Allows the punishment propounded by Mildmay.

1. The Earl of Cumberland was of Lord Grey's opinion.

1. The Earl of Worcester agreed with Mildmay.

"The archbishop of Yorke his opynion."

1. That obedience is the greatest virtue.

2. That it is first to be observed towards God, and secondly towards princes.

3. That we must be subject to bad princes; much more to good ones.

4. Disobedience is the greatest vice.

5. Davison offended not wittingly but negligently: "zeale did move hym to cut of the head of our common enemy, whom justice wold not suffer to lyve."

6. His offence was breach of secrecy, and sending away the commission without the Queen's special commandment.

7. Good intent is not sufficient. *Melior est obediencia quam sacrificium.*

8. He should have been directed in his zeale by the Queen. *Non faciamus malum ut bonum sequatur.*

9. Mary's execution was lawful, but Davison's action not to be allowed.

10. For punishment he agrees with Mildmay.

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“ The archbishop of Canterbury his opynion.”

1. That the Queen has proceeded honourably against Mary.
2. Davison offended through superabundant zeal.
3. Wishes his zeal may be of force in the court of mercy ; in judgment it can have no place.
4. Mary's execution is good, and he would not have it undone ; but he cannot excuse Davison's dealing.
5. There is a mercy which is cruelty, and a cruelty which is mercy.
6. “ That the mercy which in th'end proveth cruelty is not to be restrayned in princes, but rather diswaded by good reasons.”
7. Is content with punishment as suggested.

“ The Lord Chef Justice of the Queen's Benche, Lord Privie Seale for that daye, his opinion.”

1. The Queen has proceeded honourably with the Queen of Scots.
2. Her execution was *bonum* ; but Davison did not deal *bene*.
3. He only ought to be of the Council whom the Queen would have of it. Charles V. made Graf Berne alone privy to many of his devices.

4. He might have gathered the Queen's mind to stay the execution by her sending a messenger to stay the sealing of the warrant, and by her speaking to him of another course.

“ 5. That he concluded his offence to be a contempt and a misprision.”

6. That Davison had no express command not to open the matter to the Council is no sufficient warrant to open it to them : a bishop of Winchester summoned to parliament, and departing before the end, was grievously punished, though he had no express command not to depart.

“ 7. Wheras Mr. Davison doth not hold it necessary to have the Queen's especiall direction for execucion of a condemned person by them in generally [*sic*] appoynted to be put to death.”

8. It is confirmed by practice in the King's Bench that such direction is necessary, where they sit upon traitors from the Tower sometimes by the ordinary course of the court and sometimes by commission of *oyer* and *terminer*, they having condemned a traitor to die and delivered him again to the Lieutenant of the Tower “ it shall not be lafull for hym to execute that condemned person withoute any more a-doe, but the Queen's expresse direction there is to be expected.”

9. Agrees with Mildmay as to punishment.

“ After judgment geven the Lord Privie Seale told the lords that he had more to saye to them ; which was :”

“ That those thinges opened did shewe the Queen's integritie in her procedinges ageynst the Queen of Scottes.”

“ Whereas Mr. Davison hath towched certen Lordes of the Counsell that he had in commaundement from the Queen's majestie to declare unto the assemblye, that she imputeth no spott to them, but judgeth them to be loyall and obedient subjectes,

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1587. layinge the whole fault upon Mr. Davison, to whom they geving credit could not choose but proceed in manner as they dyd."

"These speeches finished, Mr. Davison desired to aske a question and make a petition."

The Lord Privy Seal asked whether a condemned person could so do: Mildmay said it was not the custom of the court, but he could make a petition. Davison said he would make no question which might offend them; whereupon it was granted, and he asked:

"Whether if the Queen had miscaryed, the warraunt being found in his handes"—

At which words the commissioners answered that he was again moving that which was spoken by Lord Grey, and he was willed to go to his petition.

"He affirmed that he esteemed not the losse of his place, the disgrace, the fyne or imprisonment, which he could at that tyme ill beare by reason of his sicknes, but that he did most esteeme the Queen's displeasure; and therefore he desired them to become humble sutors for hym, that he might ageyne obtayne her favour, with what condicion of lyfe soever he cared not."

"Whereunto aunswere was made by diverse of the commissioners that it was a dutifull petition."

30 pp. and flyleaf. Copy. Indorsed.

[March.] **329. CONCERNING THE PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE SCOTTISH QUEEN.**

Cott. Julius F.,
VI., fol. 48.

"That the procedinges against the Sc. Quene was just and lauffull aswell by the comon lawe as cyvyll lawe."

Being in England her life, person and goods were protected by the laws of the realm, so that any offending against her were punishable, and so likewise her compassing the death of her majesty is high treason, and the strict course of common law against her might have been by indictment and trial by jury: "for beinge within this realme and offendinge within the same she had no prerogative or prehemynence in that behalfe."

The words of the statute of 27 Elizabeth are general, and extend to persons of every degree, and so the proceeding against her was just, and more honourable in manner than the common law appointeth.

"As touchinge the civill lawe the lawe ys clere that *qua in provincia quis delinquit in ea puniri debet: quod jus perpetuum est*, without any exception of the dygnytie or pryviledge of the offender."

Whosoever doth practise anything against the life of a prince in his own territory doth commit treason, for in his own territory he hath no peer, though he that offendeth were his peer or superior when out of that territory; because a prince, when outside his own territory, is a private person, and can execute no jurisdiction, but must crave the aid and authority of the prince in whose territory he remaineth.

1¹/₂ pp.

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330. NECESSITY OF THE SENTENCE OF DEATH AGAINST MARY.

March.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 37.

“ A discourse plainlie proveinge that as well the sentence of death latelie given against that unfortunate ladie Marie late Queene of Scotts as also the execution of the same sentence were honourable just necessarie and lawfull.”

There has not happened since the memory of man nor, peradventure, in any age beyond, so strange a case on every behalf to be considered as this of that unfortunate lady the late Scottish Queen, so that if the same has been as if strangely proceeded in by her majesty, and to the marvel of many, yet it ought not in the judgment of the wise and virtuous sort to be held for any wonder, unless, perchance, in this part only, that her majesty has used it so honourably and with so strange a clemency, to the great admiration of all the world, as could not have been expected in the like case at any Christian Prince's hands besides herself, the causes urging every way so much to the contrary. Yet many discontented persons opposing themselves to her majesty's course and proceeding in the course of religion, and others undeservedly maligning her highness's great prosperities and glory—such has always been the nature of envy, and the reward of the greatest and most excellent virtue—have given forth many speeches to the contrary, and seeking to abuse the popular simplicity by sinister persuasions and reports, spare not to charge her majesty—as far forth as they dare—in honour and for many parts of her demeanour in this action . . . * Some others, who by ignorance do not comprehend the truth, and how sorrowful her majesty has always been to take such a course had she not been forced thereto by the continual intercessions and cries of her people, even more than for the respect of her own safety and life, whereupon their comfort and tranquillity entirely depends, in like manner condemn her majesty, some for injustice, some for cruelty, others for unprincely behaviour in her usage of and proceeding against the said Queen during the time of her captivity here. Which untrue concurring with sinister opinion being spread abroad to the blemish of her majesty's good renown, if they should be suffered to sink deeply and be imprinted—especially in the ruder minds—and should not be speedily suppressed and notoriously disproved with the very weapons of truth, or rather vanquished, might be in some sort to her majesty's great ignominy, and detriment towards the good amity and reputation of Christian princes and others of the best and worthiest, which her majesty holds very dear and precious above all worldly treasure.

It has behoved her majesty's honest subjects and well willers for her—and even if no other person would vouchsafe to attempt it for her sake, even she herself is bound by all reason—publicly to lament to the world the said injuries, for the due satisfaction of all such as are not utterly alienated from her majesty in good will, and yet retain an equitable opinion in the said causes, and to the intent that no part of her majesty's behaviour or doings therein should be covered or hidden, as that which she would be loth for the world to know . . . * which might best serve the enemies . . . * maintain their said evil bruits and . . . * unto they

* The upper part of each leaf is destroyed by fire.

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may easily tender objections for their most advantage, and in which points they may happily "ween" to be able to prove her majesty most evidently to have failed in the duty of a noble Prince, either for injustice or rigour shown to the Scottish Queen her enemy, or for no due regard used to the majesty and good degree of her best friends, neighbours and allies, the great Princes and potentates of Christendom, who had been interested for her, or for any other part of her majesty's behaviour and usage towards the said unfortunate lady during her abode here, which could not be avouched by the rules of honour and right even of the universal right of the world, wherein her majesty has always shown herself most affectionately desirous to be a known partaker and concurrent in every honourable action with them all so far forth as reason would and the law of necessity, surmounting every other law, allows any absolute Prince of the world to "acconsent" to, especially such as the law of God's justice permits, being the first original and force of all human justice and laws, and only sufficient warrant of all our doings in this world, be they either private or princely.

In this respect her majesty will not refuse of her own most gracious and voluntary disposition, being otherwise not constrainable to yield any account of her doings but to God only, the founder and protector of princes, to have laid open and unfolded the most secret parts of the said cause which have fallen out from the beginning of this business between her majesty and the Scottish Queen, and how her majesty has intreated the said unfortunate Queen and been herself intreated by the said Queen, whereupon the occasions given on any or both sides to do as has been done in the said cause, and what the world may conceive thereof to leave to all godly and indifferent judgments.

And truly it may seem a very strange accident, whereof no precedent is found among the memories of Princes, that an absolute and hereditary Queen ruling in sovereignty, not controlled by the marriage of any husband or other superior, should be condemned by law to die, or that so great a personage—by the common opinion exempt of all superior jurisdiction—should be made justly culpable of such a crime as might deserve so sharp a correction, and that such an offender's captivity might not seem a sufficient redress and revenge of any injury or wrong offered by her, and that the entreaty of most great princes for her delivery, [be sufficient] that she could not be set at liberty either upon ransom or other reasonable "paction" and covenant offered on other parts. Finally, that a Queen to a Queen, a woman to a woman, should show so small favour, her majesty's near neighbour and kinswoman even then flying to her for succour and seeking revenge at her hands, and every other way so distressed and overwhelmed in calamities as might seem to deserve commiseration and to be pitied in the most vile and miserable wretch in the world, and not in a Prince of so great name and honour of blood, and anointed and crowned as she was said to have been.

To this they also add a great many more points of no small consideration particularly examined, upon which they majesty's ignominy and blemish

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to her good renown. . . . that immediately upon the entry of the said Scottish Queen into this realm, made in the time of amity and good peace between both Princes and their people, and coming to crave her majesty's courtesy, or rather the benefit of her regal protection against her own rebels of Scotland, who with all extremity persecuted her life, she was made prisoner contrary to law and right. Then, that the continuance of her imprisonment for eighteen years was yet more injurious and contrary to the law of arms, which allow ransom to any captive Prince, and so to her if she had been her majesty's lawful prisoner, as they say she was not.

Then, at length perceiving her said restraint was not warrantable by any justice, and her wrong to be pitied by all Christian Princes and others of any degree, and no lawful cause appearing why she should be detained, her majesty has enforced causes against her not truly criminal by any law, and grown since the time of her imprisonment to the end to warrant her first wrongful taking and surprise, and that the same causes not being sufficient to "convince" her of crime by the universal law of the world, her process was framed by such a private law as diametrically repugns the said universal law and especially the law of arms by which all absolute Princes for their life ought to be sentenced, and by no other human law. And so by an unknown provincial constitution or law, of her majesty's own making, at her own appetite she has— . . . they allege—attainted her, and by the . . . her most mortal enemies, and for many other causes, . . . her no competent judges, being her majesty's own vassals and subjects, and many of them her own kinsfolk or domestic servants, who by no reasonable "intendment" could be indifferent parties for her trial, she being a stranger born, and "pretendant" to the succession of that crown, whereto by all possible means they sought her hindrance and disherison.

So being unjustly attainted she was made subject to the penalty of a most shameful death, her majesty refusing all such good appointment and means of accord as have been offered her, and from all antiquity have been used and accepted in like cases, and in honour and justice are due between Princes, especially those who account themselves fellows and members of the Christian society and congregation.

Finally, her majesty by extraordinary actions of cruelty, under cover of justice, not only sought to deface and blennish all sovereign majesty and authority, but has opened a passage to the manifest danger of all Princes who upon confidence or by misfortune shall enter their neighbours' territories, or without evil intent fall into their hands, as many ways may come to pass, so that no Prince whether in time of peace or war or more in amity than enmity can assure himself of another to solace their persons, as has been accustomed, if need should require. This is the substance of such matters, and the worst her majesty's "no well willers" can allege and verify to her disgrace. If it were true, as by God's grace it shall never be proved, it were perchance somewhat to "envye" upon her majesty's credit, whereof as her majesty stands in no fear at all, possessing a clear conscience, having truth as her

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So if the said hateful imputation may be salved by some reasonable answer to the contentment of the most wise Princes having greatest interest in this case, and all other good and virtuous personages, it is hoped that it shall sufficiently prevail with the rest who through affection or ignorance have been led into any error about these causes. And at least if they will not be satisfied with reason, that their untrue reports shall be little able to annoy her majesty for ever after.

But first before any other point be spoken of, of those to be remembered in this justification, though the said unfortunate lady is now dead, and not without apparent warrant from her majesty sufficiently avouching the fact by such persons as were needful to assist the execution thereof by their presence, consent or other kind of ministry requisite in such cases, and that it is now to small purpose for her majesty to excuse it, much less to show any repentance for that which cannot be undone, nor stand with that regal wisdom and constancy which all men acknowledge to be in her majesty, yet it ought to be fully believed that her majesty never absolutely determined her pleasure in it more than by subsigning the warrant in general terms without limitation of time in which the feat should be accomplished, and more than the delivery of the same to her Secretary to be kept, and not to take place before her majesty's verbal commandment for ratification and despatch of the same.

Her heart was never brought to like well of that course, nor did she by open speeches give consent to the deed, and she never intended to have it done, though the same warrant was suffered to pass from her to the intent only—as she often protested—that the notice of it to her Privy Council should suffice them and her nobility for the stedfast perseverance in that purpose to which they had so pressed her, and that the general knowledge of such a warrant might be an expedient mean to interrupt all further dangerous attempts against her majesty by the favourers of the Scottish Queen. So her majesty, if the fact has been hardly conceived of, is sufficiently cleared from any fault therein.

Yet it could not seem to deserve blame to the discredit of her majesty's Privy Council, who receiving the warrant from the Secretary without any such notice, caused the same to be executed with all diligence for her majesty's final security. If they had used any delay and any evil consequences had happened, it might have called their loyalty in question. If the worst construction be made of their doings, it could not be but an honourable consideration used by their lordships in a case of so great moment and so firmly resolved upon by the whole realm that it might not become any man to think it meet to be controlled. And looking further into her majesty's dangers than perhaps her own heart, always replenished with princely magnanimity, could be afraid of, so in the end by the provident advice of her Council such peril was speedily prevented, and is now in their lordships a great service, well allowable, and nothing inglorious to her majesty.

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This that has been said of her majesty's intent may well be and seem not unlikely to such as know her gracious good nature, which has now become so obdurate as it were to all adversities that she has been heard to say she had resolved rather to hazard her person and state to all uttermost danger than the said Queen could work, than take away that poor life of hers which her majesty had for so many years rescued from other men's assaults. Neither was this intent of her majesty so secret but that many about her have been acquainted with it by her own mouth, and if it were otherwise, it were sufficient by her majesty's own protestations, made in fear of God and in all princely honour, to satisfy every person remaining ignorant or unsatisfied of her majesty's intent, but especially all noble princes who by the same prerogative would challenge credit to their own oaths.

Nevertheless her majesty, as one who fears no indignation but God's only, and is subject to no human authority within her own realm nor accountable to be justified by any superior jurisdiction, so long as it pleases God to keep her out of the hands of her enemies, does not wholly stand upon that on that point, nor would she have the world conceive that if her said intent had been otherwise than has been said, the matter having now fallen out as it has, she goes about to excuse herself of error or of the fact of iniquity in anyway appearing justly, but following her noble nature with virtuous remorse constantly protests that she has done nothing in this affair from first to last wherewith her conscience ought to be grieved, as wrought either upon any ambitious mind or appetite of revenge, or otherwise not warrantable by the rule of right and justice, nor even by the express letter of the law, and which may not also be avouched by courtesy and the honourable usage of Princes

But contrarywise that to her majesty's extreme and hazard of her estate, she has for 18 years suffered the said unfortunate lady, her just and lawful prisoner, to live not as prisoners are wont, but in all princely abundance and security of life, being pursued by her own natural subjects not only by arms, but by practice when arms could not prevail, sparing no manner of entreaty, persuasion or offers of service or gratitude to her majesty to have her delivered up to the hands of such as had been first authors of her disgrace, renunciation to the Crown and regal administration of that realm of Scotland, which her majesty not only with great fidelity refused to do, but also entreated her with all the amiable entertainment that could be used—saving only the advantage of her restraint, which it behoved her majesty to retain for the surety of her own person and State, and tranquillity of her whole realm, never in all the 18 years rejoiced in anything so much as to be able to show her courtesy and to cherish her unfortunate prisoner, lamenting both their fortunes to each other so adverse and uncomfortable, being so near neighbours, so equal in years and degree as by a natural resemblance they could not be a more lovely equality between sisters than them, and for that very respect during all the time of that lady's abode within this realm never used less regard to her than if she had been her own natural sister.

I call it her abode, nor scarce a restraint, where in effect the

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Her majesty's favours towards the said unfortunate lady in no point diminished. Nay, whereas the said lady had long before stood with her majesty competitor for the crown of England to the great disquiet and trouble of the whole state till it was by her desisted and put in surcease, yet not leaving to pretend to the succession with little less discontentment to the whole realm than before, her majesty, being urged in sundry parliaments to consent to such establishment of the crown as must have proved to the disherison of the said unfortunate lady and her posterity, could not be brought to consent to that, but always held herself indifferent and free from any violation of right resting in the said lady or her children, leaving the decision thereof to the will of God.

To all these great favours her majesty yet . . . the rest, to wit, the careful defence of the King then very young, environed round about with enemies and manifest dangers from his own people by faction, and from strangers by an usurped force, and assisted his education until his riper years. Now being come to man's estate he is able to perceive and acknowledge her majesty's motherly benignity and good mind towards him. Never was her majesty wearied with the excessive charge of the said lady's entertainment nor of any manner of bounty, daily and hourly bestowed upon her, nor of any good counsel that could be yielded her, nor neglected the heed of her health at such times as she had been sick, but sent her majesty's own physicians and the most precious and comfortable drugs that could be gotten for the recovery of her health and prolongation of her life, albeit her majesty was not ignorant that her death had been a great deal more for her safety, the present contentment of the people and future tranquillity of the realm.

Though her majesty was not uninformed of many undue means which the said lady, being restrained, practised from time to time . . . great danger, she winked . . . for her princely leniency would . . . to perceive or be known thereof to any in the world, no, not her own Privy Council, because she would not willingly be discomforted by any contrary advice, nor be persuaded to alter her good meaning from the said lady's preservation.

Now finally after many heinous conspiracies wrought by the said Queen prisoner against her majesty and the realm, her highness has not sought her safeguard, which reason requires, by her coercion, but rather by the punishment of sundry of her majesty's

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noble subjects and kinsfolk entangled in the said conspiracies, namely the Duke of Norfolk, the two Earls of Northumberland, the Earls of Westmorland, Southampton, and many others of good account, some by death, others by imprisonment or banishment, and others by more milder coercions than they deserved. Yet for all that her majesty still spared the said Queen delinquent, and would never exercise her lawful power over her than for the continuance of her restraint which it behoved her majesty not to release without order taken for her better security, which manifestly may declare a most noble nature in her majesty and how great a desire she had to have her live and do well.

There could be no greater regard of kindness shown by a Queen to a Queen, by a sister to a sister, by a mother to the child of her own body, than her majesty used towards the said unfortunate and evil deserving lady for the space of 18 years, until the last conspiracy with Babington and the rest who had taken a solemn oath to murder her majesty, and stir tumult in the realm, upon which foreign powers should have been brought in to have wrought further invasion of the State, revenge upon the present magistrates, destruction of the people, and desolation of the land.

Thereupon her majesty and Privy Council perceiving that her leniency wrought no amendment in the said unfortunate lady, but rather that the disease being suffered to run out at large, unlooked to, the cure became daily more desperate, it was not thought any longer delay should be used for a final reformation of the said lady's excesses and prevention of the greatest evil. For it was in every man's opinion impossible that her majesty could be preserved from destruction any small time, if the said Scottish Queen should be suffered to live, or if her majesty should have any longer neglected the occasion last presented, which of all other attempts before was most horrible.

Her majesty at the earnest request of her nobility and people in open parliament was in manner enforced to consent to the redress of the said lady's enormities, or else have lost their love, by such means and in such form of justice as the laws of the land allow and require. The same nevertheless proceeded so slowly and with such inward grief to her majesty as has already been "remembered," wherein it is feared that, whatsoever countenance it please her for her regal constancy to set upon it, that will hardly be comforted during her life, though her majesty's good fortune in this affair would perchance be reputed by any other ambitious or vindictive Prince a most glorious victory and matter to triumph at.

But her majesty takes not after that sort, as a princess fearing God, charitable, and of much moderation. For she sorrows at it not a little, and rebuked the popular rejoicing by banquets and bonfires made throughout her realm for that cause, and heartily wished that the occasion had never been given, and that in the eye and sense of man's understanding the regard of state and regal administration were not so great and obligatory to all as they are, but that the Queen's governments might without ignominy and detriment of their people use such toleration in cases of offence done to them, as private persons might be allowed to do, and which in respect of their charge, which is but a function assigned by God to their direction, is not allowable always for them to do.

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This is no small portion of infelicity that her majesty confesses to be hers, common with every absolute Prince, that they may not in all cases use mercy and forgive when they would be best contented so to do, but when their office and duty of administration permits it best, and the case of the commonwealth requires it, but not their own appetites, to wit, in the things that merely belong not to their persons but to their people so deeply that one may say it concerns the total adversity or prosperity of them, as in this case by all the wiser judgments of the realm and the three estates assembled in full parliament has been upon great deliberation resolved.

It was not for any scruple that ought to remain in her majesty's conscience nor that she . . . acknowledge any justice in the same, for she had therein before received full satisfaction by the greatest clerks in Christendom, both lawyers and divines, who had studiously consulted upon the case and delivered their opinion therein. But the cause only was for the great grief her majesty had conceived—wherein no man can justly blame her—to think that she of all Christian princes should be the first author of so strange a precedent, in justice so far contrary to her nature, to her sex, to the manner of her life, who had always professed peace, amity, mercy and indulgence to all offenders, even her greatest enemies, as now to be driven after a long and glorious reign to imbrue her hands in the blood of a Queen, a kinswoman, a prisoner of so many years' preserving, and of which merit to lose all the thanks and glory in a day, it must needs be very grievous.

Then besides her majesty seeking all the days of her life to get good renown by clemency and leniency, to make herself in the end famous by an action of such apparent cruelty, and by so dolorous a sentence as no heart that were not made of marble or steel or not sufficiently informed of the said unfortunate lady's evil merits but might worthily seem to mourn, which act though it be not seen how it could possibly have been avoided is nevertheless sorrowfully and with grief without any repentance to be lamented.

Thus much then may suffice for the knowledge that many great personages near about her majesty have received and delivered with all fidelity from her own regal mouth her sincere intent in the subscription, delivery and use of the said warrant given for the execution of the said unfortunate lady, and of the manner of her majesty's first information of their dolorous feat, and of the great sorrow she conceived that the same was at the beginning occasioned, or that it now happened in some sort unexpectedly and without her majesty's further participation in the cause, leastwise for the manner and time of her death, besides all her majesty's kind usage to the said lady so many years, and of her constant determination to have done her good if her infinite misdemeanours had not provoked the whole realm to just indignation, which enforced her to consent to the lady's longer imprisonment than was at first determined and now finally . . . lawful conviction and attainder . . . that is to her majesty no little grief ensuing thereupon.

To the manner of her majesty's defence of all her mean proceedings against the said unfortunate lady, albeit she

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acknowledges no necessity therein, save only the due regard her majesty has always had to right and justice, her own good renown and to the honour of all Princes of which she is in fellowship of the Christian congregation, yet she will not seem grieved that the same justification be by her honest well-willers truly presented to the view of the world, to whom upon earth are only incident the censure and arbitrament of all princely merit, that thereby it may appear her majesty is neither in deed nor in her own conscience guilty of any wrong, malice, or unprincely behaviour in any part of her proceeding, which her enemies may perchance otherwise publish; to stay also the rash reports and to stanch the riotous speeches of the popular, full of intemperance, and to satisfy besides all persons, princely and private, who by ignorance of the case or partiality of minds shall happen to be irresolute and not well satisfied in all the said causes.

It is therefore delivered by way of veritable affection for all men to examine and judge upon sensibly and freely, without affection. First, it is not denied that the said unfortunate lady, entering into this realm of England upon the sudden, with certain troops of horsemen, a matter directly against the law of our Borders and generally of all Princes Marchers, whether in time of peace or war, their purpose not before known, and being secretly harboured in places of those parts, nothing seemly for so great a personage, the warden of her majesty's Borders being informed thereof resorted to her with all possible speed, entreated her to change her lodging to some more commodious place at his appointment, and that it would please her there to stay herself till the Queen's majesty should be advertised of her arrival and it should be known back again what should be done in that case, either for the intelligence of her misfortunes or provision of relief to her distresses, and showed therein great discretion.

What stranger accident could have happened than to see a Queen come in such sort into the territory of another Prince, unlooked for, uncompelled, without licence or safe-conduct? Or what could have been of greater importance to bind her majesty's lieutenant and subjects of those parts to use great care in an occasion so strangely presented and in many ways suspicious, and of a princess whose person both to see and confer with upon their great causes it might much behove her majesty? The opportunity so well serving for that purpose, in such sort as to have let her depart without her majesty privity, had not only been a foul omission of his duty, but also dangerous to the said lord warden of the same Marches. So that the stay of her return, whether it were by pretext of the law of the Borders, or for any other respect, till such time as her majesty's pleasure might be known, was done both wisely and justifiably by him.

No Prince in the world would otherwise have used the same occasion, and so we find by many examples of great antiquity, which long ago overruled this case and made it a precedent of very good justice, even when no necessity of the state or peril of the Prince of that dominion enforced, as now it did.

What time King Philip of Castile, son to Maximilian the Emperor, about the years of Henry VII., her majesty's grand-

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father, was by tempest cast upon the English coast, as he would have gone to Spain, the King's lieutenant of the west country entreated him to stay till the King's further pleasure might be known, whereupon the King's majesty commanded that the said King of Castile should be honourably attended and under safe convoy brought up to London, where and in all other places during the rest of his abode within the realm he was most magnificently entertained and with great honour conveyed to the port where his passage lay most convenient for him to embark towards Spain. For all the honours showed him by the King he was never . . . knowing himself to be in the King's power to use as his lawful prisoner . . . necessity to drove him in, and not his own voluntary desire, and feared it so much that when the King would have brought him to the Tower of London to see the antiquities thereof with the great store of treasure and habiliments of war there, he prayed the King not to desire it, for he had made a vow never to enter any castle, prison, or other strong piece of any foreign prince unless he were thereunto compelled against his will. He so acknowledged himself to stand for his liberty at the King's courtesy, and not otherwise upon any assurance of law he took his leave.

The like chance happened in the — year of King Henry VIII. upon Charles the First, Emperor, coming out of Spain into the Low Countries, and was in like sort entreated by the King's majesty. So it was not thought unlawful to stay them from sudden departure, which either of them desired, though they came in nothing boldly nor presumptuously, as did the Scottish Queen, but compelled by force of weather.

They were also known to be the King's good friends and in amity with them by an ancient league between England and the house of Burgundy, and were not known to be professed enemies to the state of England, much less competitors to the crown, as was the said Scottish Queen. Many years after, the said Charles the First, being animated to displeasure against his rebels, subjects of Gaunt, whose revolt asked for speedy redress, would not enter the frontiers of France to come the shorter way before he had the French King's placard of safe-conduct to pass through the realm of France, albeit both Princes were at that present in great amity, and allied by the marriage of Lady Eleanor, Queen Dowager of Portugal, the said Emperor's sister, to the said Francis the First, French King; insomuch, as being entered into the realm by licence, he stood in great doubt of himself lest the French King would have repaid him with as hard conditions as the Emperor had before offered him at Madrid, when the French King, being taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, was enforced to renounce all his title to the kingdom of Naples, and Duchy of . . . with other territories, whereto the same King pretended the lawful interest, and was very like to have come to pass if the Emperor had not very politically made the Duchess of Estampes, the King's only favourite, a mean to remove the King from that determination.

King Richard the First, called "Cuerdelyon," returning from the siege of Jerusalem and passing through the country of Austria, was by Duke Leopold taken prisoner in his inn and in apparel

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If it should be otherwise used between such manner of personages, many inconveniences might ensue as well to the one as the other of them, for by ignorance or malice of the people, where such great Prince should happen suddenly to arrive, some violence might be offered their persons which might touch the lord in sovereignty of the same country in honour. Again, upon such tolerable adventures on the other side, danger might be induced to the Prince of that country where such arrivals at large should be allowed as lawful, the same being perchance used for colourable pretexts of necessity or peradventure of amity when their intents might be nothing friendly.

Such entries therefore of foreign Princes in their proper persons, unlicensed, yet though they be slenderly accompanied, are not allowed by the law of princely regimen, but accounted rather sly invasions than friendly entries, which otherwise ought to be spoken of every wise and noble Prince desiring to entertain amity and alliance with their good neighbours without suspicion. And this law, if it failed in any country of the world, as it appears not to do, yet does it not fail, but is precisely observed between the realms of England, where in respect of the feud between the nations it is not permitted to the meanest person of the same countries to pass into each other's frontiers without a passport, and if they do, may be taken for just and lawful prisoners by such as shall happen to lay first hands on them, though it be in London or the midst of the realm.

This has chanced to many persons and daily does in the Borders, and a few years ago came to pass in the case of Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, in the time of the late northern rebellion undertaken by him and the Earl of Westmorland for the said Scottish Queen's causes, who, flying into that realm and being found without his passport from the warden of the Scottish Borders, was taken prisoner and as a lawful to the taker [*sic*] sold to a subject of England for a small sum of money and afterwards executed at York, as he had well deserved.

If this custom take place between the meanest persons, as soldiers, merchants, travellers and others whose errand is into the realm, for traffic or other beneficial cause, for pleasure's sake, as to hawk, to hunt, to visit and confer with their acquaintance, with how much greater validity ought it to inure against the sovereign princes of the same realms making such sudden and unlicensed entries as did the Scottish Queen, who to the knowledge of all the world not many years before had offered her majesty great and

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notorious disgraces and injuries? In the time of Francis the Second, her late husband, she laid claim to her majesty's crown, attributing to herself the right patrimony thereof by two public and famous evidences, bearing quarters in her coin and otherwise the arms of England and France without difference, another, in taking upon her the title and regal style of her majesty's realms of England and Ireland, matters of great malice and manifest hostility, and even now when she entered the realm, stood her majesty's competitor to the same crowns, because the former quarrels had not been before extinguished nor cleared by any good accord or capitulation, but still remained in the said Scottish Queen by pretence, unrenounced, forborne only for a time.

So, without some reasonable cause other than to say she was driven into the realm by the pursuit of her enemies and fled for succour to her majesty, it could not be reputed lawful nor to proceed from any ignorance, but might very well be deemed a subtle pretence to "enseazon" herself of the state and crown which she had so presumptuously challenged before when she was in France. Also by continuing her abode upon her majesty's protection against her own persecutors might be meant for a compendious way to sound the secrets of the realm and to search out the favourers which she might hope to serve her turn another day in any attempt to be made by her for the same, which is too truly fallen out, as all men see.

For that cause her entry was unlawful, suspicious and dangerous to her majesty and the whole realm, and a manifest breach of their ordinary league of the common peace, and a plain infringement of all princely custom. Such an indiscreet manner of usage, with no few other great presumptions of evil meant and intended by the said Scottish Queen towards her majesty and her realm in time to come, bewrayed as well by the reports of some of her own subjects as also many times unadvisedly issuing from her own mouth, gave sufficient matter to her majesty, not only to hinder her speedy departure out of the realm, but also constitute the said Queen her just and lawful prisoner, though she were surprised in peace and not in time of war. And since as well the said lady's departure as her abode here, if the same should have been without restraint, might many ways have been used by the said Scottish Queen to her majesty's grievance, therefore her stay and also her restraint are justifiable. For in all ages it has been seen that practice and slight have proved more harmful and dangerous to the state of princes than open arms, and battle many times less bloody than a covinous and forged peace.

If the Scottish Queen's evil demeanour in those former claims and now in this unlicensed entering of the realm be by no pretext tolerable, the integrity of their ordinary league seeming thereby to be violated and their amity justly dissolved, what cause can make her imprisonment unjust, either by the law of the kings and kingdoms, or by the law of arms, if there be any such law, till the said prisoner's captivity were redeemed by ransom, and all former injuries remaining yet unredressed by some equitable sentence decided and compounded, as in her case it was not?

How can it be imputed to her majesty's dishonour or laid a

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burden to her conscience, to have providently seen to the safety of her own estate, then standing in so great a hazard and as it were trembling for fear of the said Queen's injuries and claims, and if she gladly embraced so commodious an occasion given her by the providence of God as a singular mean to pacify all former unfriendly quarrels betwixt them, and avoid many evils that might have ensued to the people of both realms whenever such claims should have happened to be renewed by open hostility in time to come?

No doubt it had been expedient in all good policy to be no otherwise used than it was, and on the other part, to have been negligently omitted might have been some note to her majesty's good renown and stain to the glory of her government, for much improvidence shown towards herself and her realm in so weighty a cause as the like never concerned her, since all great princes and governors are then thought wisest and most worthy of their administration when they be vigilant and let not slip any good and honest advantage offered them, and can discreetly and with virtuous moderation use prosperity and good fortune when it is presented, insomuch as for a Prince to seek by any convenient and not ungodly mean the quietness of the crown, and extinguishment of all such quarrels by which many millions of Christian people may be destroyed and whole countries and kingdoms brought to dissolution, has ever been permitted and deemed in the most righteous judgments and by all laws, divine and human, justifiable.

So was the Scottish Queen her majesty's lawful prisoner, not injured by her first stay nor by any longer restraint thereupon issuing, until it might appear by some other law or right and upon some other reason that such restraint ought to have been within any certain time released, which as yet does not appear. Nor does it altogether resemble the case of the King of Castile and Charles the First, emperor, who were driven into the realm, the one by the outrageous tempest of the sea, the other, some say, with the King's consent and participation of his mind for his arrival. Also in the first case necessity might seem to have deserved excuse and mitigation of the law of the land because his will consented not to his action, neither had there been any former quarrels of enmity between the said Princes to infer any danger to the estate or presumptions of war in time to come or any likelihood of practice or appearance of controversy of less moment and interest than a crown or any league broken or amity infringed by the manifest and vehement suspicion of any secret pretence to use such refuge and harbour to purposes of hostility that could any manner of ways . . . So the cases differ very much . . . if the like had happened by the French King at this usurping her possession and right to the crown of France—which no man need be afraid to say, being warranted by the laws of the realm and her majesty's continual claim and pretence in armoury—or if it had fallen out by the Kings of Denmark, ancient competitors and pretendants to this crown, it had been questionless in her majesty's lawful election to have detained either of them both prisoners till they had made open renunciation of their pretended titles or paid their ransoms, or otherwise composed their business to her majesty's contentment, albeit to

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such as more precisely balance this case it is doubted whether the law of Princes or of arms permit any absolute prince, "though out of a prince marcher nor anywise pretendant," to presume personally upon his peers' territories for any cause or colour whatsoever, seeming that the very print of a Prince's foot upon his neighbour claims an interest where the . . . not warranted by their common consents.

So great is the jealousy of estate and so highly favoured of all equity and laws, so dangerous also is sovereign puissance either to offend or be offended, and it seems very reasonable that it be so conceived, since in private possessions the laws adjudge it a trespass for me to march upon my neighbour's ground—unless it be in a path or highway—without his leave, and provide action for it and reasonable amercement according to the rate of the wrong.

By the rule of this law it is thought that those two great Princes of the house of Austria, Philip and Charles, might by our King have been detained prisoners till they ransomed their persons with such reasonable price as might seem to be due for such an offence, and which they might incur by ignorance or misfortune as well by hostility as usage of arms, and whereof the advantage might with as good reason have been taken by our King as the Duke of Austria. Their ancestors took prisoner King Richard "Curede-lion" returning from a travel of so great merit and service to all Christendom as the said King Richard then did, and which great favour of our two Kings aforesaid showed to those two . . . of Austria may stand for a perpetual reco . . . of all regal courtesy rather than by any law or immunity by honour or arms, who of their kingly magnanimity despising all unhonourable advantages, and abhorring both a verity and rigour, not mindful of the great injury done by the same house to their noble predecessors, so favourably entreated the posterity of that family in those two mighty Princes before remembered, neither "confirms" with the case of common persons, who for inter-traffic's sake are allowed by common right to haunt and negotiate in any foreign country for the weal of the universal society of man, unless it be after open intimation of wars betwixt the same nations or upon some ordinance, custom or prescription of those making such inter-traffic unlawful, and as well the offence as the penalties of such laws and customs notoriously known to all resorters at their perils.

Whereas the Scottish Queen, being so great a princess and for so many enterprises of utter enmity detected to her majesty, being also her neighbour marcher, and for the small strength of her majesty's borders and nearness . . . a limit, most apt of all others to . . . her majesty and the realm by any sudden "road" or incursion, needing not to pass either seas or rivers or marches or mountains, or in effect in any other place of difficulty to invade her majesty's country many miles space in one night, then also for the ancient enmity between both peoples and the law of the Borders expressly inhibiting such unlicensed entries, the same made not by a mean subject of that realm whose coming in could not have wrought any dangerous effect, but made by the sovereign herself, a known competitor to the crown of England, a disturber of the common quiet and terror to the State by training in such

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forces and aids as by pretext of her attendants and company must needs follow her, it could not stand with honourable wisdom of so great a Queen and governor as her majesty is to suffer without her evident peril, dread of her people and danger of her own disherison, her majesty therefore could do no less than first to stay the said Scottish Queen, and afterwards, upon deeper advice to hold her person in longer restraint and under safer guards than before, such restraint nevertheless—as if the same unfortunate lady were now alive to confess the truth—was no imprisonment all being duly . . . a most honourable and safe liberty . . . her case then stood, her death being sought by her own subjects with all indignity and put in extreme hazard had she not been shielded under the wings of her majesty's protection, and which liberty, if she had been suffered to use at large to her own appetite she was likely enough to have misused either to her majesty's harms or perchance to her own confusion, by stirring strifes in all the places where she should come.

So restless was her courage, and naturally bent to all unquietness, in such wise as for many years as she continued her majesty's prisoner so many years she may be said to have continued her life withal, and being now dead it cannot justly be imputed to her majesty's will but to her own maltalent, and to the "rator" of her chiefest favourers, the papists and others, whose folly and arrogancy by busy attempts set her forward to do so doleful an end, humbling her headlong into those adversities and misfortunes which they maliciously desired to have seen fallen upon her majesty.

But they on the other side will perchance say that the said lady's restraint continued many years longer than it ought to have done, and that to "noy" her liberty by any possible mean or device, she ought to be holden excused. Admitting her entry to be unlawful and herself her majesty's just prisoner, as well by her adverse fortune and oversight, as if she had been her captive in arms, yet upon reasonable ransom, that she should have been delivered by equity of the same law of arms, forasmuch as every captivity is maintained by force, whereof arms are a most honourable degree, for answer thereof I will ask them but this question:—

What it is that they call the law of arms whose authority they so much extol as a thing in dignity surmounting all other laws in the world? Then, whereupon it is grounded, when it took its commencement, how largely it extends, and who shall be judges, triers and executioners of the same law?

I for my part know nothing of the matter than of certain customs and orders of military discipline prescribed by generals and captains for the leading of their armies, good order and obedience of their soldiers, and wise conduct of the rest of their business, whereof victory is the principal mark, and consequently peace. For what Prince would have war but to the end to purchase quietness? Therefore our wise forefathers have always preferred the law of peace before the law of . . . and that of pleading before the other of . . .

So, if there is any such custom in ancient usage to that purpose they speak of, it seems to be grounded on another reason, as per-

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chance policy to establish and fortify that part of justice in man's behaviour, which is to be retained in duty and only remediable by force when neither persuasion nor process can prevail, and *in fine*, tend all to one end, and that is to stablish and continue peace between the great Princes, dominators of the world, not otherwise subject to any terror, jurisdiction, coercion of law or penalty that can be imposed upon them.

This stands with great reason and justice, for otherwise how should the injuries of Princes be reformed and their irregular appetites be restrained and bridled, since it is not meet that any mortal man conversant among men be utterly dispunishable of this crime, which by the frailty of human nature he may commit so long as any convenient mean may be advised by man to bring it to pass?

Man's wit therefore by the suggestion of nature has ordained that the law of force shall be lord and superior of all other laws so far forth perchance as reason and equity will affirm. It may be that such law of . . . never thought meet to be contained in written records, but rather to stand in strength, depending upon the will of the conqueror or him that shall happen to be superior in puissance. For it is absurd to say that there should be anything able to bind or vanquish force itself, which subdues every other thing to his subjection.

This being admitted, it cannot be said that there is a certain law of arms, but rather customs and ordinances in the usage of force and arms, alterable at the appetite of the superior puissance, showing either mercy or rigour as occasion and the equity of their own breast shall allow, and stir them unto. One of the ordinances of this law says that the enemy being taken in battle or otherwise armed, if he yield himself prisoner, cast away his weapon and pray life, and be thereupon spared, ought to be delivered upon competent ransom, and great reason, for life is sweet and dear to every man, and as it were a common treasure, and in all men is subject to casualty and violence, and therefore of all men who be not utterly barbarous and without humanity, greatly to be favoured.

Yet do we daily see that for respect of more importance to the conqueror than the prisoner's ransom or saving of his life they are oftentimes all slain though they would willingly pay their If so many prisoners should be taken . . . or skirmish as could not be safely guarded or would trouble the conqueror's camp to be kept in hold, or would spend up his victuals in time of scarcity, and for twenty other causes, wherein they might work his danger or annoyance, they be all upon a sudden put to the sword, no reason serving why such prisoners should be kept all alive.

So it is the dedication or yielding up of towns, castles and fortresses, and of Princes themselves submitting their persons, estates and dignities to the mercy of their more mighty, in which respect we have seen some saved, some spoiled of their lives, some deposed, some restored to their dignities, and the promises of the more puissant with no less equity broken than performed. Such the causes and respects may be, and herein I could [] infinite examples, so that it seems the law of arms, if there be any such law, is but the very will of the vanquisher, and no certain rule of inviolable justice.

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Likewise to assess the prisoner's ransom I know no text of law otherwise than by the will of him that can conquer his person. For we have known prisoners of private and also princely degree, who, not being able in all men's knowledge to pay the ransom demanded, have been enforced to borrow or beg it from their friends, ould still have remained in prison and there starved. We find others of them that could never be released for any ransom, great or small, as the Duke of Orleans, who lay two and twenty years here prisoner in England, and in that state died. So was Ludovic Sforza, Duke of Milan, used by Francis, the French King, and died neither a prisoner nor at his full liberty, but with reasonable entertainment restrained at large within the limits of France.

No more it is by the law of arms for the cause of captivity, for though it be seldom seen that any Prince has been taken prisoner but with his weapon in his hand, declaring indeed a mind of utter hostility, yet when they be enemies well known, or else very doubtful and suspected friends, and happen to be surprised by practice or sleight, or fallen by mischance into the hands of the more mighty, not bound to the contrary by any paction civil, which ought to be qualification of all extremities and the measure of man's justice, they will be accounted lawful prisoners though they were taken in their beds, naked, and not in any battle or fought seige or sack of town or otherwise there may be apparent of enmity between them.

It is not the sword in fist, but the malice of man's courage and hostile mind that makes him an enemy, and in the one and the other case Princes have been adjudged lawful prisoners, as King John of France and Francis the First being taken in battle and bright arms, King Richard of England being taken as a pilgrim in a cloak, for that is all the reason whereupon the Duke of Austria maintained his action against the King, because he said he knew the King to be his enemy, for a quarrel of unkindness happened betwixt them at the siege of Jerusalem. What, I pray you? Forsooth, because he pulled down and trampled under his feet a paper of the Duke's arms, which he had set up upon a gate of the city of Acre, whereof the King challenged the whole conquest, and the Duke with him—nevertheless a sufficient pretext to detain him prisoner as he came homeward and to make him pay a hundred thousand pounds for his ransom.

If that be so, no doubt there can be justification for her majesty . . . the law of arms—if any such be— . . . common reason and equity, which ought to rule the actions of Princes, where civil paction binds not to the contrary, that the Scottish Queen for the former pretence to the disherison of her majesty and anticipation of her crown, and upon the same, not being purged upon any later accord, should be her majesty's just prisoner, and the said Queen's peaceable entry adjudged as lawful a cause of captivity as if she had entered the realm with an army of men, and being surprised asleep in her bed, all one as if she had been taken in a bloody battle.

Otherwise it may be said to be unlawful to take any Queen prisoner, though she invaded the realm with sword and fire, because

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commonly women go unarmed and fight with other folk's weapons, and not with their own.

But I pray you speak indifferently. Would any Christian Prince have used this case otherwise than did the Queen our sovereign lady? Let it be supposed of Charles the Emperor, if Francis the French King . . . The longer continuance of the said lady's imprisonment was therefore justifiable, *etc.* . . . for time of the war can establish . . . right and justice of Princes . . . fortune in all peaceable events such as may lead Princes into the danger of their enemies, more puissant than themselves, may erect and establish a like law for them of as great justice, and by those examples that have been remembered of Princes taken prisoner and ransomed or put to death, her majesty's justice in this case has precedents enough, of good authority.

So have not Princes sly invasions and heinous conspiracies against the state under which they enjoy safety and protection any precedent of exemption either from imprisonment or death, inasmuch as all such Princes are bound to use loyalty to the sovereign of the place where their captivity lies, and if not for their residence and protection sake—being as they will say, a forced benefit which is not worth thanks—yet for their inferiority in puissance and disability to resist and amend the case of their calamity, whereunto their own evil fortune or indiscretion has led them to their enemies' advantage, as it befel to the said Scottish Queen.

Now, if there had been no former quarrel between the said two Princes, nor by . . . intendment could be, nor that the said Queen's sinister practices after she came into the realm had not been to be laid unto charge, perchance the case were somewhat altered. But the said Scottish Queen's malice and treasons were not hidden from the world, either before she came into the realm or since. Being therefore by the providence of God fallen upon the person and place that have power over life, with lawful authority to decide right, and revenge their own injury as well by civil judgment as by the sword, and in which it is all but force and necessity in them, both the one to do, the other to suffer, her majesty may not doubt to use either of them at her election and good pleasure without injustice. And therefore the prorogation of the said lady's restraint might very well be thought not an injury but a favour much exceeding her merits, when her majesty, having so good cause and by title of superiority in arms, power to put her to the sword without answer or allegation of her most merciful nature forebore to do it, contented only with a mild coercion by way of restraint for her own safeguard.

If equity be duly exacted at the conqueror's hands to qualify . . . his appetite, much rather should it . . . the hands of the conquered in his debility to tender obedience and troth for his protection, the selfsame reason seeming to overrule and command them both, the one well and equitably to use his empire, the other his subjection and thralldom; and by whom life is preserved, that to him be due some grateful retribution.

But in a prisoner, loyalty and obedience it is to him that

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happens to be superior in arms, and is so even by the law of arms, whereof they talk so much. If not, I am sure by the law of nature and reason, whereupon all other laws are grounded. For it is no reason at all the vanquisher shall be tied to any formality of justice, suppose for his honour's sake, or pity, or charity, [he desire] to save his prisoner's life, and that his prisoner shall be bound to be unto him thankful for the same not only while he remains his prisoner, but for ever after.

Otherwise, wherefore should I spare his life that would kill me if he could, and be an instrument of his safeguard who desires my destruction? [*sic*]. Verily there were little equity in such a law. Therefore the Scottish Queen, howsoever she . . . this adversity—if yet she came . . . that her fortune was such—and whether the causes of her first restraint were lawful or not lawful, as lawful no doubt they were, yet since her case was that superiority by puissance held her her majesty's prisoner, she ought not to have striven against the stream, or to conceive of herself what she was in degree, but in fortune, nor what she had been in times past but what she was now become, and to have measured her appetite by her present estate, and if her life lay in her majesty's hands to dispose at her pleasure, to have sought remission by her good behaviour during the time of her captivity, rather than by resistance and evil attempts.

If she had done this, and could have borne her adversity patiently and quietly, she might have expected her majesty's better favours, working the mitigation of her displeasures by all such humble means, earnestly, and with all simplicity and true meaning attending unto the business of her accord, whereunto her majesty was never unwilling to give ear. She, the said most unfortunate of Queens, could not, having remained so long a prisoner by many . . . she did, for her majesty at the . . . meant not that she should have been long restrained from her full liberty, than that the time might conveniently serve them to talk together or to compound their causes by themselves or their friends, which at the first was no uneasy matter to do.

But the said unfortunate and unquiet-minded Queen, intending nothing less than perfect amity, trifled of her accord, and even in the prime of her majesty's gentleness and most honourable entreaty of her person, caused some of her subjects, one Harvy by name, a Scottish priest remaining with the Bishop of Ross her ambassador "leidger" here in England, to prefer to the print a certain seditious pamphlet, declaring her title to the Crown of England, a matter of so great danger to the state, though in appearance she seemed to shoot but at the next succession, that the said books were speedily surprised, the priest sent to prison, and the printer well punished for his labour.

Moreover, in the same time of her majesty's greatest favours showed to her, she caused the ambassador Ross, and others abroad, to solicit marriage betwixt . . . and sundry foreign Princes, namely Philip King of Spain, then lately become a widower by the death of his third wife, the daughter of France, which King, not so well liking the matter for himself, nevertheless embraced the offer for Don John of Austria, his brother, governor and general of arms

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in the Low Countries, whereof might have grown much harm to this realm though it had been but upon bare affiance and without any solemnization at all or consummation such as the orders of the church require. For by that act alone he was to have a sufficient interest in her person to have demanded her from her majesty as well by the law as by arms.

Long before this device by the unexpected death of Don John was overthrown, the like practice was set on foot by her busy ministers between her and the Duke of Norfolk, more as it is thought in hope of his aids and favours within the realm to be used for her delivery than for any good love she bare him, as afterwards by the event appeared. If these and many like attempts of hers had not been, her majesty had set her at liberty within short time after she was taken, which may appear . . . credible for before her majesty had . . . so manifest proof of the said lady's evil affection towards her by many perilous assays to have encumbered her and the state, her highness was so well minded towards her, and so far from all unfriendly intention, as marvellously much desiring to see her and confer with her personally, as to solace themselves together with all amiable conversation.

Her majesty was determined that summer to have her progress to York, where it was appointed the said Scottish Queen should have met her attended with all the nobility of Scotland with great magnificence, which journey anon, after, upon discovery of some further devices set "abroach" by the said Bishop of Ross her ambassador, was suddenly "dashed," and the said bishop sent to the Tower, afterwards at the great instance of the said lady, delivered and despatched out of the realm quit.

So if the lady's imprisonment continued longer by many years than was first intended by her majesty, the same was long of herself, and of her busy friends, who by indirect means sought her enlargement and not in such due order as became a prisoner . . . to use, being by all wise men's opinion a very ridiculous point for her to do, the thing that might merit rigour weening afterwards to win favour by allegation, and when force and arms are superior to civil laws as we often see, put them to silence, for the said lady to hope in evil behaviours to be shielded by the law of peace, which by proof of her present misery she felt to be under arms and force very much inferior.

The constitutions therefore of this supposed law of arms in a plea or obligation, if there be any such, should seem to be grounded upon a certain equity, that is, for the conqueror and more puissant to use honour and mercy, the captive loyalty and gratitude reciprocally. So the Scottish Queen could justly challenge no more advantage by the laws of arms in plea or in process than her majesty might do by the same law without process or plea, having her sword in hand unsheathed, ready to take away her prisoner's life for a due revenge if her majesty had so listed.

And since in my humble conceit they may be in both cases and the law of arms the one in feat, the other in . . . a mere folly for any prisoner abusing . . . one to appeal for help to the other, and lying in daily danger to be oppressed by force, when

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neither practice nor resistance could prevail to seek to shun it by litigious argument and not by submission. So when the said lady saw that her forces failed and could not serve her turn, then did it in all wisdom become her to humble herself and stoop, which not doing, but vainly "affying" herself still upon her friends' practices, she well deserved the rigour of the law of arms to be showed her, without any compassion or favour.

Now, again, if the same law of arms be generally allowed, as they say, to decide the differences of Princes, such only as concern their lives and be not grievous nor repined at by them, then ought the Scottish Queen, standing at the vanquisher's mercy to have been put to the sword at her majesty's will, to be much less grieved to be by her kept in durance under honourable guard. Whereunto, because of the treacherous means she offered "rescouse" even by the same law, she was worthy to lose her life satisfaction of those and all other former towards her majesty, I for my own opinion making no difference at all between that force of a conqueror by arms at his own appetite, and that which a peaceable Prince—as her majesty—possessing by good fortune the person of his enemy, uses without weapon, clothed in purple robes and sitting in a chair of state, peace and civil jurisdiction, injured nevertheless with many more thousands of naked men to be armed at commandment than any two emperors can bring to the field under their ensigns.

For if force by the dint of the sword shall be said to make the laws of arms prevail and give it also equity, then no doubt is necessity any other way as strong a law to man as if it were by weapon. But that necessity lay also in this case of the same unfortunate Queen.

It may be thus concluded that the same unfortunate lady, being both to feel this uttermost extremity of the law of arms, which were to lose her life, and without any judgment at all if her majesty had so listed, she ought willingly and without contradiction be tried by her majesty's law and civil jurisdiction, and not to think "had any wrong, right so her majesty's pleasure was to pass upon her life and death by her civil jurisdiction," that is, by the law of the land, and by no other country's law, because, as well her crime as her captivity being local, she could receive no other manner of process so fit and indifferent.

So, by the laws of England in the highest degree of honour and justice the said unfortunate Queen was condemned to die, and suffered upon the 8th day of February, 1586[-7], at Fotheringay Castle, co. Northampton, all such solemn and honourable regards being used as were in such a case due and requisite. Nevertheless because the said lady's favourers find themselves no less grieved than if she had been wickedly murdered contrary to all justice, either civil or martial, alleging by way of exception many defaults and imperfections in her said attainder, as "partially" in her triers, incompetency in her judges, and iniquity of the sentence, whereupon they would infer an utter ignominy to her majesty, and invalidity of the whole action, we will now briefly answer these points, and as we trust, give good satisfaction to all men of sound judgment and equitable opinion.

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To speak of her process, and the manner of her attainder and death, whereunto the said Scottish Queen's favourers imputed no little disorder and imperfection, urging it greatly to her majesty's dishonour—

It is so that if ever in all the time of her gracious reign, or in any one act that ever she did, as she has done many and great, worthy of everlasting fame, that has been in this only above all others and by which she ought to reap the greatest glory, and be accounted worthy the name and office of a Christian Prince and governor, that her majesty would have it judicially done, and not upon her indignation without judgment, which not only infinite examples both of foreign Princes and her own noble progenitors might have warranted her to do, but also is allowed by the law of arms whereof they make such account, the said unfortunate lady being fallen into her majesty's hands and standing every way in her mercy, to be disposed . . . right, to her majesty's pleasure in . . . should be tried by the law of the land and by such only course of the same law wherein the greatest honour and equity might appear, in respect of her blood, greatness of her person, and might of the cause.

The greatest Princes and peers of the land have but one form of ordinary trial, which is by the verdict of twelve men sworn to enquire into the fact, and thereupon by some able person appointed by her majesty's commission to be judged, her majesty in this case neither liking so base a kind of trial, "nor much less to herself judge of her own jury"—allowed nevertheless in every superior by arms, and as most Princes of the world without any solemnity or circumstance—was content that the said Queen's cause should be decided by all the minds and voices of the realm, that is, the three estates assembled in full parliament to the number of 450, authorised to be her judges in all justice, equity, freedom of speech and opinion, and with all reasonable leisure and delay possible to be allowed for such a business.

So, for examination and proof of her . . . she has not one or two mean . . . appointed to examine her, but 36 of the greatest princes and peers of the realm, furnished with sufficient commission to charge and oppose her in all her misdemeanours. For manifest proof of her offence she has not any false or suborned witnesses produced against her, but the voluntary confessions of her confederates, lately before condemned and executed, letters of her own handwriting, and her own subsignation to her own crime, also the subscription of the same 36 commissioners, parties to the examination, consideration and registering of the said whole process, and for 12 triers of the fact, 450, for one substitute judge, a person of a mean account, all the princes and people of the realm, and the majesty of state to sentence her, the same sentence with all solemn and universal publication pronounced.

So, the favourers of that unfortunate lady, more miserable than any other Queen in the world, cannot truly say that any part of her affair was secretly demeaned or handled in "hugger mugger," or ruffled up in haste, or that her cause was not indifferently heard and plentifully debated, and with all formality of justice proceeded in, much less . . . was done without any justice or . . .

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at all by such secret and ungodly means could not be warranted in any conscience or by the law of God or man, as has many times happened to other most mighty Princes unfortunate as herself.

So, nothing can be truly objected to this part of her majesty's proceeding, which in any reason ought to incur to her majesty's discredit or blame, or that may persuade any indifferent person in the world to think that it might have been with better justice, or more honourably performed.

If they will haply say that she, being an absolute Prince of her own authority, and not subject to any superior jurisdiction but only God's, ought not to be judged by her majesty or any of her deputies, that were very absurd. So should the most heinous sins and offences that could be committed, and the greatest evils of the world and mankind escape unpunished, and be remediless, which God would not. For who doubts but that personages of greatest puissance may commit the greatest enormities and oftener, and also more harmfully err, than any other?

So, albeit the Divine Majesty . . . has reserved to His own secret . . . both the penance and reward of men's merits in the future life, yet will He that the greatest of all mortal men while they be here conversant among men, should be no doubt some manner of ways restrained and their actions rectified even by the power of man. Otherwise it could not stand with His divine justice, since in every other regard than for excellency of degree and function, all men are of equal estimation to God, by the quality of their deserts, providing for us all one manner of redemption, one everlasting felicity, wherein is no odds of priority of person, place or degree, but all alike and all as one.

They that think or affirm otherwise be very hardly affected towards the inferior sort of men, and let the reins a little too loose to the lives of all Princes, and more than any good and godly Prince being wise and virtuous would challenge or like. For why should they be otherwise obeyed and honoured above the rest, but that they are presumed to be worthy of more honour and obedience for their good parts, and to be not only just and good themselves, but also by their authority and example of life preservers of justice . . . of the same to all others who be subject to them, that thereby they most resemble and represent the majesty of God, and be not for any other cause raised by him to that eminent degree above the rest?

This consideration duly falls into their minds—How came the greatest Prince of the world to take it in evil part to be made subject to the justice of man's law in cases wherein for the frailty of man's nature he should seem to pass the bounds of right and justice to others? Yet must we all confess that every Prince such as the tradition of man allows for absolute in his own realm, using jurisdiction upon all others under him, ought to be subject to no other person's sentence in the same place of his residence, but is punishable of any crime that can be by him committed, or may concern his life, or other corporal penalty, because there is no other person able, as the law intends, to inflict any corporal penance upon his person which he would patiently suffer and abide, for by nature no man would do it, nor the due consideration of the law

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allow it, because it should rather impair the virtue and good nature of such governors, and exasperate their . . . to cruelty and revenge, which is much more hurtful than the correction would avail, and besides, work no or little amendment in themselves or in their subjects by their examples.

This may perchance be the reason that all absolute Princes within their own dominions are, for their persons only, privileged and exempt from the rigour of their own laws, *soluti legibus*, and in distributing both reward and pain to the subjects may themselves receive neither reward nor punishment by compulsion otherwise than only of their own good will and by contract, and in the cases not concerning their persons.

This excellent prerogative being by many men mistaken, and instead of advancement utterly abused, they do unskilfully apply all Princes in generality, in what place soever their crime shall be committed, and specially to the defence of this unfortunate lady's case, saying that she could not be lawfully sentenced by her majesty nor tried by her laws, as it were by herself, and after her own appetite, the said lady being—though so unhappy as to fall into so great an adversity to be her majesty's prisoner—yet a Queen anointed and crowned absolute and hereditary and exempt of all civil jurisdiction . . . touching her life, and by that . . . that her process and attainder was not lawful, "as made by her no competent judges," and say that of any civil jurisdiction, only the imperial ought to bind her, as the highest and superior on earth, but not her majesty's.

They infer by the same prerogative law that because she was a Queen, her majesty's equal and peer—as they say—she could not be judged by her majesty as by her superior, which were in justice requisite, and fortify it by this text, *par in parem [non] habet iurisdictionem*, a peer over a peer has no jurisdiction, for clearing of which point, a satisfaction of many irresolute minds, we must needs say somewhat, and for manner's sake more than for any necessity, because it were absurd to think that the effect of justice should go rather by form and letter of law than by the equity of it, or that a law has any vigour or virtue to work but where it has authority, *potestatem armorum*, and force ready at hand to uphold the same and defend it from violation.

Our law of the land has this, but not the law imperial, though they happily concur in one equitable sense. Yet they match not in authority and puissance, for the laws of the empire never . . . received within this realm for di . . . ssion of temporal causes, nor now could be withholden within this realm by any foreign puissance of greater force than her majesty's own, nor never were obeyed here, the King of this realm not recognising their dignities to any emperor or higher power of the world, but unto God only. So is her majesty's government both regal and imperative of itself, within her own realm.

Neither could it be but very absurd to think that the laws of the empire should bear sway but where the puissance might prevail, as in England it cannot, though "they would any such rebuke unto the Luke." Neither could it be but frivolous to say that the said Scottish Queen, offending within this realm, and against the

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majesty of state, should be tried by such a law as neither can be transferred into this realm, nor the appellant from the place of her captivity. Neither is it truly said that her majesty has any peer or equal within her own realm, but such only as it shall please her to allow, or God to make her superior in arms, though he were a foreign King or Emperor over never so many peoples and nations.

To this purpose we will . . . the matter better, with this distinction . . . peerdom or equality they speak of . . . intended by the civil laws is no manner of impeachment to her majesty's jurisdiction over the Scottish Queen, but also is allowed by her own laws of England, and with no less equity and favour than the imperial laws use it, because it is not the equality of blood or of birth, nor yet of sex or degree or else of riches or any other part in the person, that hinders it, but only puissance and eminent authority invested in the same person by virtue of some law, or by common approbation of the world or of the people and place where that excellency is allowed, with power to decide right.

Otherwise it would come to pass that for equality's sake of some one sort or another, none or very few would find competent judges and take exception to the jurisdiction, and so should escape all punishment and correction, a free man in that respect having no lawful jurisdiction over another free man, nor a rich over a rich, nor a poor or young or unnoble over their equal in wealth, years, or birth, and many other ways, which, notwithstanding, we know to be untrue, and that reason and necessity will have it otherwise.

Therefore no Prince to punish another Prince delinquent in the place of his re . . . and dominion there is no manner of . . . betwixt their persons to impeach . . ., saving only equality of force and authority to decide right. Therefore it be thus conceived that *par parem cogere non potest*, and that is true, for an unequal in force cannot overmatch or compel his equal in force. Or thus, *par in parem imperium non habet*—in an unequal over his equal there is no lawful superiority to command—for in that in one commands, there ought to be a right of superiority, and such a right as the other way may not encounter or control with all his forces or authority by virtue of any other preeminence in her person remaining.

In this sort, who doubts but that the said unfortunate lady was much her majesty's inferior, and might lawfully be justified by her as by her superior in arms and puissance, and every other way, though the said lady was also a Queen in name and title? Yet was she not therein or in any other respect her majesty's equal, if either you compare them by their years, dignities, estates, forces or their fortunes. For her majesty will always and in all opinions remain her superior if she were alive, for eldership, for eminence of estate, being a . . . of many realms, the other only nominated . . . rather of none at all, a Queen anointed, the other not anointed.

If that shall be accounted any respect of pre-eminence, her majesty a Queen of great and good renown, the other nothing, less superior for riches and welfare, for subjects, vassals, dominions and empire, also in puissance of all sorts able to uphold the honour,

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authority and dignity of a Prince, and most of all her superior in virtue and good fortune, wherein happily she surmounts far all other Christian Princes now living, even those of her own most worthy progenitors that are dead.

Therefore that law takes no place in any other sense than as has been "remembered," no, not in any part of the imperial jurisdiction and territory, and takes place in our law of the land by equitable construction, wherein our said laws and the imperial concurring, we are enforced to say that the said unfortunate lady's trial and sentence was righteous and just, and not insufficient or wrongful, as her favourers partially affirm. So, if they will take exception to . . . and lawful jurisdiction, they . . . not be able, aye perchance, to the competency of the judges or cause of the crime to be heard.

First, for that cause the judges shall be said to be incompetent, that is, not fit to be admitted to deem of her fact, or to sit upon her life and death. Their authority was good, derived from the highest powers, that is, from her majesty, who has received the same immediately from God, and which she might lawfully assign over because it could not in her own case become her to sound any sentence that might concern herself. So had the three estates of the realm, besides their own, her majesty's authority and warrant. Then is there no allegation of incompetency to be alleged against them, but either if they were ignorant or partially affected.

The first were hard to be believed, for if 450 of the greatest, wisest, and most honourable sort of men should err in the discussing the verity of a fact, not of a point in law or any such subtilty as passed their learning or understanding, it were a wonder. The other is . . . to think, for no man of a thousand, obliged to such a necessity as they, both for discharge of their consciences and saving of their credit and honour to the world, would willingly be found so loose, false, and faithless, or so base indeed, as willingly to cast away a Queen, to whom for many respects, they might think themselves "redevable" of right and justice, yea, of reverence next to her majesty their natural Prince and governor, being the nearest kinswoman, and in her lifetime revered of her majesty.

Therefore, no doubt the said lady's judges ought not to be disabled though they were her majesty's vassals and domitable sworn servants, or some of them her near kinsfolk. For it is presumed that every man's own conscience is, and ought to be, dearer to him than his Princes favour or any other worldly respect, and though those parts of man's frailty, ignorance and affection, be in all common trials of right exceptions allowable enough, and of great force, yet in this case it ought not to be so, because necessity enforces the contrary, and this is . . . manner of trial admitted by the . . . of the realm, unless it were for the basest sort of subjects, which in so great a cause, and concerning such a person, had been very reproachful, and not decent for her majesty to work by and in so great an assembly. And so honourable was this parliament, in which were no feed or mercenary men as advocates and councillors, but all judges speaking in conscience and simplicity, it was not to be intended that any of them should

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In this case of contradiction is it not almost to be suspected that any man would show any affection or ignorance if he might choose. And if you will take from man this part of his credit in the highest causes and in the highest courts, then take away all ordinary justice from the earth. For how should one person be trusted [with] a thousand men's right, if five hundred minds acc . . . voices shall not be allowed for . . . for the like purpose.

It could not be otherwise done than it was, unless you would have had it left undone, which had been the least reason and justice of both. As for the causes, that is to say, the right of the fact and crime. Alas, they were so apparent both by proof and her own confession, as needed no trial at all! And they were not, as before is alleged, bare trespasses of arms, or breach of league, or any matter of mean difference between Princes, but conspiracies, acts, and attempts of the highest treason and hostility that could be imagined, to speak nothing of her ingratitude toward her so benign protector, the most heinous offence of any other, and for which no sufficient and worthy retribution could be made or invented. Justice therefore she had, to be attainted and executed as she was, for so the form of the law of England bears, and not otherwise.

The premises considered, how can it be imputed to be her majesty's dishonour that . . . principal matter, whereupon, . . . me to rely that she has refused all manner of reasonable appointment and good accord which had been offered her majesty, wherein no reason was ever offered her, nor could be, to satisfy so great a justice to God, the world, the realm, and also her majesty, who had more interest in the case than any earthly besides.

Also, if her majesty yielded not to the entreaties of great Princes, her neighbours, allies, and whatsoever they were who, not being touched with the grief nor daily informed of the right, could not comprehend her majesty's danger and injury, and therefore might without any offence be denied their unreasonable requests, and not without her majesty's extreme peril have been granted them, especially if any of them or of theirs might lawfully be suspected for any sinister working or intelligence in the said affair, —if it be so, the more is her majesty to be excused, and the greater is her wrong.

But if any of that side, not yet well satisfied with this, would haply allege that no Christian Prince in the world ought to be so immeasurably tender over themselves, as for safety of their own lives they should neglect every other body's, and to be so precise in their covenants as to refuse all such reasonable and ordinary assurance . . . Princes in all honour and integrity . . . be content to accept for their security . . . offered in simplicity and truth, since to enjoin a man to more than his ability or man's wit by any provision can possibly compass were utterly unreasonable and a matter of much extremity.

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Those persons are to be answered in this sort. They mistake the matter in two ways : one in not perceiving that this case between her majesty and the Scottish Queen touched not only herself, but her people and realm, who had the greater interest, and over whose welfare she cannot be said to be too tender and careful : the other, for that it is not true, as before remembered, that the Scottish Queen or her friends ever offered any such assurance to her majesty as might be thought reasonable, and much less that which by man's wit has been devised, for that neither did they offer, nor if they had offered it her majesty would seem to have received it.

For who doubts but that she might stand in more surety of her person and estate to have the said lady imprisoned than at liberty, dead than imprisoned, and beside herself her chiefest favourers to be suppressed with her . . . because their malice . . . might haply supply the others . . . ?

And perchance exact policy might yet be stretched somewhat further, and her majesty cannot be said to live in perfect security so long as the young King of Scots remain alive, aspiring to the same states as his mother did, and having either power or desire to revenge her death, and so to have him likewise made sure one way or another, which after any ungodly sort her majesty would not set her mind upon for millions of gold but as a most Christian and virtuous Princess utterly detests all such manner of policy, and holds it in great horror and abomination and all those that would presume to give her any such advice.

Contrariwise as she has always done hitherto, so she intends still to do the said young King all the good she can, and to be instead of a mother unto him, and a mean to make him—if his merits correspond—capable of greater fortunes than any of all his ancestors, Scottish Kings have been, so that he will be wise and bear himself moderately in this discomfort of his, and not be wilful or ill advised against her majesty.

And yet peradventure such deserts . . . be warranted by worldly policy . . . have good authorities and also examples, for Alexander the Great,—as the history reports—never thought himself sure of Asia so long as “ Ocius,” young son to Darius lived, nor Octavian the Emperor so long as “ Caesarius ” his uncle's son lived, and many others, which it were pity to remember, made away by that persuasion. For authority there are the sayings of Sophocles, which the Prince of “ Policiens ” usurps *stultus quinatos occiso patre reliquit*, thinking it necessary the children's authorities and reputation in a commonweal should be abused, whose parents had either been put to death or greatly injured by the State, namely, a great folly to kill the parent first, and let the child live for a revenge.

These profane and ungodly advices be not meet for a good and godly Princess, nor be not here recited that they should be followed, but answer the objection of those who say that her majesty had offered her that assurance which man's wit could not possibly by any provision devise for her security. For they neither offered her majesty the said lady's young son for an hostage, nor . . . thing of surety equivalent to her majesty's danger, as before has been debated at large.

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For the rest that is objected against her majesty, that she should seem to intend by this action of hers any foil or blemish to the sovereignty of foreign princes or defacing of principality, or that she has opened any gap or passage to the contempt and prejudice thereof in any man's estimation, or to the perils of other persons, no man may be so bold so to think of her intent or judge of her act. But rather she has meant and wrought the contrary, as honour, estimation, credit, and assurance to all princely majesty, by reason she has used her lawful power and authority over one unfortunate Princess, giving a precedent to all others of the same degree, both to deal honourably and justly with their peers, and honourably and exactly to use their own jurisdiction and sovereignty with like justices in cases that may by fortune and consequences of time happen unto themselves.

No man of any mean discretion can doubt but that such majesty is more excellent, more princely, and honourable where the sovereignty is absolute, than that which . . . from and by any higher or superior . . . puissance controlled. So it is seen that by God's ordinances the people should be punished by their Princes, and one Prince delinquent by another, the superior in arms always prevailing against his inferior by God's permission. To this end it may dutifully be thought that God, when it pleases Him, lends both arms and superiority to men, and that the greatest faults should be as well punished as the smallest, and the greatest persons as well as the meanest, at one time or another, so that no crime for want of convenient mean be dispunishable, and lack chastisement more in this life than in the life to come.

Besides all this, if her majesty should have done otherwise than she has, she should have mightily offended God, and done an open wrong to her people and realm. So necessity also in that part enforced her to take the present occasion lawfully, and with good opportunity establish, besides her own surety, God's glory, and peace of her people, whom . . . majesty had brought into so . . . terms as even now she saw before her eyes her own death, alteration of religion which her majesty had planted, and the total subversion of the State, to the desolation of her realm and all her posterity, right well knowing of what disposition the said Scottish Queen was towards herself, the religion, and the realm, and how much disproportioned to the form of the State.

So, if ever she could have taken her turn in the succession, and come to the place whereunto she eagerly aspired, her majesty might be well assured that she would have spared no device or unmerciful feat to have accomplished her will, in revenge of her imprisonment, persecution of the Protestants, transformation of the laws, rights, and usages of the realm to the appetite of strangers whose forces and advices she would have used and always has done to that intent; which matter could not but have been a very heavy burden to her majesty's conscience to see and know, and not to be willing to prevent it when her powers well served thereunto, and that she might . . . it by a just and lawful cause . . . said Scottish Queen and with a . . . marvellous occasion and good opportunity to put it in execution.

So, her subjects' case was very lamentable, being not ignorant

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that she herself had been first author to lead her people into all these dangers, when by her ordinance and authority she made them Protestants, altering the religion which she found them in what time God cast upon her the regal right and administration of this crown, the same being at that time reduced to the obedience of the Roman Church, from whose usurped authority she would needs seem to rescue them, giving them the exercise of the true doctrine of the Gospel, and restoring them to the freedom of their consciences in that behalf; which form of religion, nevertheless, being repugnant to that of the greater part of Christendom, they could not [but] be assured of all the hatred and "maltallant" of their most mighty neighbours and others not embracing the said religion.

So, if they persevered in it, they were sure of man's displeasure, and if they . . . to God's wrath, and in . . . For if her majesty's religion were the true and according to God's word—as all believe—then should it have been a great sting to her majesty's conscience to let it be abandoned and left to abolition by such a successor as the said Scottish Queen with all extremity of sword and fire would seek to exterminate it quite.

On the other hand, if the same religion were not the true, nor warranted by the word of God, [it were] no less burthen to her majesty's conscience to have endured and established it, so that it may now be demanded by her majesty's subjects whether it could stand with her majesty's justice to leave them in this plight, or how she could acquit herself of her oath to God and the realm, and of the duty of a noble governor, to show herself careless of their preservation, whom she had always found so loyal subjects, and having so faithfully honoured and obeyed her in all respects.

But when we have said all we can, and maintained our cause by the rule of right and worldly justice, and by the honour of arms . . . every other way, what avails our . . . cation and defence if by God's law it cannot be defended? For what can be well done by man that is not by the direction of His commandment, or tolerable without His permission, or honourable that should any way redound to His dishonour? We will therefore cleave to that as unto our strongest argument and principal pillar of all her majesty's defence.

He says "Thou shalt not kill," and that whoso spilleth blood, his blood shall be spilt. But the Scottish Queen has sought to take away her majesty's life, and been cause to spill many of her subjects' blood which cried upon Him for their revenge. Again, "Thou shalt not touch my anointed, nor lay any violent hands upon him." But the Scottish Queen conspired with her majesty's subjects to have had her murdered in the field, in the chamber, in her bed, with daggers, with pistols, with poison, or any other ways. Again, "Thou shalt obey the superior power as sent . . ." The Queen's majesty was not only an anointed Prince sent by God for the government of the realm, but was also the said lady's superior in power and sovereign protector while she remained in this realm, whom the said unfortunate lady not only disobeyed, but also by violence sought her supplantation and her death.

Her majesty has repaid it with death and done no wrong.

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It is said again, "Such measure as you meet such shall be moten unto you," either giving us warning to deal straightly and uprightly with our conversants, or after a manner dispensing with some evil retribution in this world to such as do otherwise, and if at any man's hands at theirs chiefly who receive the wrong. For her injuries and bloody attempts against her majesty, the Scottish Queen's own blood is spilt again. She has therefore her just reward even by the sentence of God.

And if she herself has been the cause of it make it her majesty's blame nor to the world nor offence to God. It is said again, "Do to thy neighbour as thou wouldest be done unto." Her majesty has done right and justice to the said Queen and never refused to have right and justice to have done unto herself. She has consented to her death. So would she have been contented to receive death at her hands, if her majesty had been within the dominion of Scotland and the said lady her protector and sovereign, if her majesty had offered ingratitude, injury, and murder to the said Scottish Queen.

"How know you this?" say they. Forsooth, because her majesty never yet offered any such wrong to the said lady nor to any other creature otherwise than by death to such as deserved it by the justice of her laws, and not by violence and practice, but by form of justice and to fewer by many than deserved it, whom she rescued by her princely mercy and benignity. Can there be any better proof of her majesty's will than "abstenant" from the fact, which she might so so easily have performed would?

No verily, for where power will wants not there is no impediment why the purpose should not take effect, being a true maxim in reason *quod possumus et volumus parum abest quin fiat*. Her majesty had puissance to put her to death every hour she had cause to move her. She did it not, because she had no will to do it. If she neither did it not for that her noble and most merciful nature would not do it when she might, then has her majesty precisely observed that law, and can justify herself very well. For she has not done otherwise to the said unfortunate Queen than her majesty would have been contented to have had the same Queen done to her in case she had been superior in puissance to her majesty, and had sore offended and abused her in the place of her greatest honour, sovereignty and jurisdiction, and by so many good turns and gratitudes been obliged to the same.

But if her majesty "have done the Scottish Queen to die, and were more than her majesty would be contented she should have done to her"—every man's life is so dear to him as all men might reasonably be suspected of partiality in that behalf—yet has her majesty Queen as the Scottish Queen done to her and no more, nor otherwise, but a great deal less, since the said lady—if her practice has prevailed—would without any law or judgment have had her majesty murdered, whereas her majesty having the power of the law civil, and also of arms in her own hands, would not do so, but rather have her die by the justice of the laws of the realm than by extraordinary violence. So her majesty has not infringed either God's laws or the law of nature

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This universal consent and uniformity of man's opinion and will, though it be not properly a justifying law, nor altogether not a law—for that all men or the wisest and most worthy allow it to be taken for honest and good—and that with all or the wiser and worthiest sort of men affirm is taken for true, this general concurrence of minds in the . . . concerning man's conversation is . . . and infallible method and rule of man's actions, because it has been observed in [all] ages, by all nations approved, in all places of the world exercised, and so gives sentence for her majesty's side. For example, for David the holiest of Kings put Kings to death; Solomon the wisest of Kings did so too; Alexander the most glorious—and seeking by all his actions honour and fame—did the like, and feared not thereby any infamy; Octavian and Marcus the most merciful Emperors did no less, and infinite others. So would any Christian Prince at this day have done, not excepting the Catholic King of all them that live most renowned for patience or moderation, nor the French King, a most benign and honourable Prince; for when his ambassador Marshal Decreet coming into this realm to inform her majesty of the King's success in that bloody massacre done at Paris against the Admiral Castillian and other Protestants, being asked the question by the gravest councillors of this realm how it could stand with his majesty's honour to consent to such a cruel act, quoth he “Again I pray you tell me what the Queen your mistress would have done . . . been in the like case, being disobeyed . . . and defaced by her own subjects. My master was *ad quod non fuit responsum*.”

It seems an argument impossible to be refuted and of more force than the position of any act or law that any man should be reprehended for the fault which the reprehender, being asked the question upon his conscience, could not deny but that he himself would have done the same, and those not of the meanest and most ignorant, but of the best and wisest of men.

That such universal accord of man's appetite and opinions appearing in the usage of our conversation should in all respects retain the force and equity of a law so far forth as any other ordinance and constitution of man, and such example, growing out of our own wits and being bred in our flesh and blood, used and tolerated by man, we may in nowise think it strange or horrible.

Whatsoever all men's judgments allow ought to be deemed good, and if it should be reckoned a fault or frailty of man, it is yet inseparable from our nature whilst we live in . . . steous world, and bears so . . . sway over the actions of the children of men, that it is found that the law of God itself oftentimes and in many cases dispenses with such manner of frailties as tend to the universal benefit of mankind and maintenance of the civil society, using a marvellous mild and gentle toleration of them, knowing that we be where our life and conversation is to continue at His appointment, what our weakness is, and the manifold impediments of our perfections. And for special regards

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importing the universal comfort of man, and by the same rule to every commonwealth and worthy corporation where the greater good is preferred before the smaller, the general before the special and the cases of necessity before those that are not necessary, the future good that lasts long, before the present of little durability, God himself suffers some few evils to prefer many good, according to the saying of Jason Thesalus, *oportet nonnulla facere iniuste ut plurima faciamus iusta*, as, thanks be to God, in her majesty's behalf it is not. But of it had been, it were sufficiently vouchable for the causes . . .

So her majesty's conscience nor yet her honour are any ways to be impeached for this fact, but are in all respects entirely saved and defended by the truth itself. And all that has been recited in the said unfortunate lady's behaviour and of her majesty's proceedings in this affair is true.

What would you more? Either you must believe it or give me leave to hold my peace, for truth being the only just measure of all things, with our opinion in the defence of truth itself, there is a certain measure to be used.

95½ pp. Copy.

March.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 133.

331. WALSINGHAM TO [THE CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND].

I am sorry to find by your letters that the execution of the King your sovereign's mother should be likely to bring forth any such effects as you seem to affirm will undoubtedly ensue upon the knowledge thereof in Scotland, and work an alienation in the King your sovereign's mind and of that people from the amity of this realm, the continuance whereof has been ever so carefully sought and desired.

But it is hoped here, besides the King's own singular judgment, that you and others of wisdom and experience about him that depend upon your said sovereign's fortune, whose advice he will use in a matter of so great importance, deeply weighing the same, shall easily judge how unfit it will prove every way for his own estate to enter into that course that cannot cure that already done, and in the end but turn to his own dishonour, danger, and certain prejudice instead of reputation, a credit which he may seem to affect thereby.

For if hereupon he will needs make war with this realm three things would be considered. First, how just and how honest this war will appear in the eyes of the world. 2. What means he has to go through with all. 3. Lastly, what may be the consequence thereof any way, and specially in respect of that he pretends in the succession of this crown, which hereby shall come in question.

And for the justice of the quarrel, without which it is not only unlawful to enter into war, but nothing else can be expected but unhappy success, he taking arms against this realm in revenge of an action so necessarily done by general consent for the safety of her majesty's person and this estate, accompanied with that justice as all the world may be made judges of the honourable upright proceeding used in that . . . it can no way . . . he must be said to oppose himself to the . . . of justice, and

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1586-7. so consequently to the judgment of God, whose minister this state was in the execution thereof. And so we, standing in defence of justice, shall not lack the arm of assistance of the Almighty against all the potentates of the world that shall in so unjust and desperate a quarrel attempt anything against this realm.

And as for the means of going through with such an enterprise, if your sovereign shall trust to his own strength and force, no man can be so simple as not to see that Scotland of itself is not in case to make head against England, augmented in power and wealth as Scotland is "disseased," by reason France which served themselves thereof in times past to annoy England withal—which then had a footing in France—having not now the like use of that realm as heretofore they have had, has not the like respect.

And as for foreign means, when you have considered how long you shall solicit for a little assistance, as the King's mother found by experience to her cost, and when you have it how uncertain the success may be of all your attempts against England's forces and resistance, which by the conjunction of Holland and Zealand has gotten that strength by sea as by God's grace though all the Princes of Europe were banded against the realm we should have no just cause to fear they should prevail to do us harm, standing upon our defence—if therefore due consideration be had of these things and with all the consequence of this war if the King—things that have heretofore fallen out in experience—should happen either to be taken or be overcome in field, or otherwise forced to retire himself of his realm, having justly incensed this estate against him so far as they shall think meet utterly to disable him for the succession, as by law they may, to what extremity he should be reduced I doubt not but it will be seen by men of judgment, not transported with passion, to be every way best for his majesty to forbear such a desperate and violent . . . course as may render him small . . . hazard and inconveniences, where on the other side, carrying himself with that moderation that becomes a Prince of his perfections and education, and is necessary in this remediless accident, he shall both in the meanwhile happily provide for his own security, and for the time to come, through his kind and good usage her majesty—who has deserved so greatly at his hands—win unto himself the hearty good wills and affections of the whole body of the realm.

It cannot but fall out that if a course of revenge should be taken upon this late accident, whereof the people of this realm should be brought to draw blood one of another, the ancient enmity between the two nations, which now in a manner lies quite extinct and buried, should be revived in such sort as the English would never endure nor accept him for their Prince who had been an author of so unfortunate a breach and disturbance of the common quiet of both realms, the same being grounded upon so unjust a quarrel.

But specially the whole nobility, by whose sentence the late Queen was condemned, the same being approved by Parliament, seeing the King take the matter so heinously and carry such a bloody, vindictive mind, should have good cause to think it touched them near. And you may be sure they would rather hazard the marching over their bellies than yield to the government of such a

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Prince as they should stand in doubt of would call their honours and lives in question.

What relief or remedy he might expect to obtain in such an extremity at foreign potentates' hands, who are not over hasty in these days to embark themselves in dangerous enterprises for other men's sakes, without further discourse, Don Anthonio may serve for a lively example, wherein as a mirror he may behold his fortune falling into the like hard and distressed estate.

And yet consideration of this point there are but two potentates which you can make account
"For to deal with any such enterprise that the French King and the King of Spain, either of which to depend on as through whose assistance he may attain to a present possession of this crown, whosoever shall go about to persuade him to take such a course of counsel shall in the opinion of men of best understanding discover either great passion or else plain want of fidelity and judgment."

For first, in common reason it is not safe for any Prince to repose his strength and trust in them in whose desires and designs his greatness and good success may prove an impediment and hindrance, in which respect neither of the two Kings can wish your sovereign's good. As you know, his religion is odious to them both, and if heretofore it bred a difficulty in his mother's proceedings with the Catholic Princes when it was hoped that his mother's wisdom and authority, being at liberty, should alter his honour and disposition that way, which notwithstanding moved her to proceed after that manner in the enterprise now lastly without any consideration of him, promising to make the King of Spain her heir in case her son became not Catholic, much more now shall these Princes think they have cause to be backward in the advancement of such a one to this crown who shall be likely every way most prejudicial to the Roman religion, being a man and so much more mighty by the union of the crowns.

Besides, it is merely repugnant to the policy of France, were it but in respect of the ancient claim England makes to that crown, in any case to suffer the uniting of this island under one Prince, so as for a King of France to help a King of Scotland to the crown of England were in truth but to enable and strengthen him one day to prosecute his title to that crown. But as the state of France presently stands, I think you shall not find the King very forward to cast himself into any foreign war well known that he was feared by them of the house of have entangled and embarked that estate, for which as he has good cause whatsoever show he now makes, no doubt he hates them and wishes their confusion in heart.

If perhaps the French politics should be content, although it lie in us divers ways to stop and prevent any such malicious practice, for their own ease and quiet to serve themselves of your sovereign's quarrel for the present, for to transport the war out of their country into this island, yet you may thereby plainly discern how your King shall be but used as an instrument for to serve a turn as his predecessors heretofore have been, to the effusion of much Scottish blood and the spoil of that realm. Besides, it were no good counsel to be given by those that depend upon the French King's

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fortune, to advance a King of Scots, by whose assistance their design to possess that crown and to depose the King—a matter by him greatly doubted—may the better take effect.

Now, for the assistance of the Spaniard, it is thought his age and unsettled estate every way would move him rather to incline to peace if it were offered, than to hearken to any new enterprises, but otherwise if he should give ear thereunto, it cannot but be most dangerous to the King, considering his ambition, his practices, his power, his colour of right.

It is well known how he had figured himself an empire over all these parts of the world, what plots he laid for the compassing thereof. A foundation was laid for the subduing of the land in Queen Mary's time, he being then our King in right of his wife. The conquest was fully concluded afterwards under colour of religion, as by the Prince of Orange, then of the Privy Council, was since revealed. He now pretends himself to be the first Catholic Prince of the blood royal of England, being before reputed, though falsely, heir of the house of Lancaster, as by the pedigree and book published by the Bishop of Ross and others in his favour may appear.

It was practised during the late Queen of Scots' life by the Jesuits and divers gentlemen to advance her to the throne by way of election as meetest to restore the Romish both here and elsewhere, for although the sovereign's disposition to that religion was desperate, they assured themselves that he would not part with the supremacy no more than King Henry the Eighth. We may easily and rightly judge how far he would prevail of the donation made of the late Queen of Scots in her letters, promised to be confirmed by her last will and testament, whereof his ambassador at Paris, Don Bernardino de Mendoza sticks not already to make open vaunt, and what herself has practised to that effect with her servants since her condemnation, God knows. Lastly, being the strongest, what should let him to dispose of the prey as he boasts warrant he could want none so long as the Pope's may be, as they are of his own and only making.

All this laid together manifestly argues how dangerous a matter it might prove for your sovereign to depend upon the said Spaniard or any such kind of friend's assistance, which might be converted to his own disherison as well as to his adversary's annoyance. By change of this religion that he shall be able to mend the matter or better his condition in any respect is very improbable, considering that the same private respects of their own estates and pretensions will still remain. And for the King of Spain's part, the usurpation of the kingdom of Portugal gives evident proof that his ambition cannot be restrained when he has the advantage, by any bond of religion, honour, or justice. And the simple assistance poor Don Antonio has received notwithstanding he is a Catholic, sufficiently shows what is to be hoped if aught happen to your sovereign in the like case.

But contrariwise, the King's revolt from religion—which God defend—likely to be judged a want of religion rather than a change, will be his utter overthrow and discredit in all Christendom, for as it shall lose him his natural and faithful subjects and well-willers

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both at home and abroad, so will it win him but hollow hearted friends, in respect that no assurance can be had of his constancy in any religion if it shall appear that upon stomach he shall fall from his God, and that . . . religion he was extraordinarily . . . brought up. Neither can he in reason look upon the sudden and at an instant to be an inheritor of his mother's part and credit in that respect here, which notwithstanding was not sufficient to hold all the Catholics of England united.

As for any other objections which may be made, whereby he should seem to be urged and constrained to seek after foreign supports, as in respect of the offence that may be already taken by the nobility and people of this land, that he has, contrary to their earnest desires and joint pursuit being assembled in Parliament, mediated for his mother's life, it lies in his own power to remove the same if he leave when it is time, as he persisted while there was hope. As also touching that point of his honour and reputation whereupon you all seem so much to stand with, surely he shall be judged sufficiently to have cared for and preserved in mediating for his said mother so long as there was hope, she being alive, whereof all the world can bear him witness? But seeing she is now dead and that the justice and necessity of her execution stops the course of all slanderous reports that may be made thereof, the whole proceedings being imparted to all such as he can desire or cares to have satisfied, it shall be the more for his honour assuredly to show how he can moderate his passion by reason.

And so it is wished by all good men, both for the common good of the island and for his own greatness every way, that he were advised, and to thank God who has delivered him by this means of so great a burden of conscience, which otherwise must have lain upon him, as at whose hand God would have looked for a revenge of his father's blood so insolently and horribly spilt by her consent and privity, not to speak of the goodness of God herein towards him, in establishing his throne, continually undermined by her practices. The end thereof if he be well counselled will . . . happiness in Scotland where justice . . . sent for an "ostage" or ward to Pope or Spaniard as the said Queen would have made . . . he may now absolutely and quietly reign.

Thus you see how the care and desire I have of the continuance of amity between the two crowns has carried me into a longer discourse than I purposed, but having collected these and a number of reasons more, concerning the weal as I hope of both realms to be imparted to you by [blank] for that I find him unwilling to meddle therewith I thought good to write thus much unto yourself, whom I trust I shall not need to exhort and encourage to do all the good offices which on your part shall be possible, considering that our satisfaction in this behalf shall be joined with the service of God, your own sovereign and country, which thereby shall reap the blessed fruits of peace.

7½ pp. Copy.

Copy of the same.

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332. MONSIEUR PINART TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

April 3.

I often received letters from you when I was down in Poitou on the journey that I made thither with the Queen, the King's mother, which [letters] you wrote to me or to Monsieur d'Esneval. The latter has gone a tour as far as his own house, whence I hope he will return in two or three days. Meanwhile, a despatch being sent into England, and having heard that you have written hither as Monsieur Brulart has told me, I was fain to send you this short letter, which the King writes you, awaiting the return into Scotland of Monsieur Desneval, who has a very great desire to be helpful to you; and you may also believe that I will employ myself for you very willingly and with all my heart. Monsieur d'Esneval has told me that he has provided for money to be sent to you, and that he will attend to it again at Rouen. Paris. 13 April 1587. *Signed: Pinart.*

1 p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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333. [BURGHLEY] TO SIR ROBERT CARY.

My very good lord, I am sure that you will think it a long time to have had no answer from hence by me of your letters sent with the copies of the Scottish King's letters, and certain articles sent from him to you in answer of your former letters, brought by Carmichael; but my excuse shall be sufficient for your satisfaction in this sort following:—

I myself at the receipt of your letters, being unable by some infirmity to deliver them to her majesty's own hands, presently sent them sealed up as they came to me, and so within one or two days I sent to know her majesty's pleasure, what answer I should make to you. But I perceived by her majesty's answer that she had so considered of the strange course held by the King in most of his articles, contrary to her expectation, as she thought it but a vain thing to answer the King upon the points of the articles, further than she had already done. For, as she said, she had done enough to satisfy him, or else she must think him not disposed to hear the truth from her, her innocency being both by herself avowed, and by many arguments sufficiently proved.

Yet, nevertheless, after some more days past I renewed the matter, only to have some answer to your lordship, in this manner following:—That your lordship, if you perceived that there was any expectation of answer from you, should then let it be notified by Carmichael, or otherwise as you should have occasion, that her majesty found by the articles sent in the King's name such strange kind of speeches delivered, and so repugnant from the former usage of the amity between the King and her, as she had no mind by her answer to fall into altercation for words, but to pass over the same until the King might by some better deliberation change this course unto that which before time has been pleasing and profitable unto them both.

And yet because the King should not think that he is by lack of some kind of answer neglected, her majesty's pleasure is that when you shall perceive that he will look for some answer, you shall hold

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this course following:—You shall let him understand that her majesty looked to have received some kind offer of renovation of his former amity, a thing good for them both to be recontinued, without giving to their common enemies occasion of doubt thereof. But instead thereof she finds by his articles a disposition to suspend his former manner of intelligence until he may be better satisfied of her majesty's innocency, wherein he uses many words for trial and clearing, as though it were for decision of a cause litigious before him as a judge, whereupon her majesty might gather absurd senses unmeet to be applied to her, being a Queen and a Prince sovereign, answerable to none for her actions, otherwise than she shall be disposed of her own free will, but the Almighty God alone.

And yet to leave questions of words, and to answer that which is material and sufficient for the King's satisfaction, she answers and so has she written with her own hand, and always avows that she was innocent and ignorant of the fact done or to be done, which the King calls a wrong done to him; and she was altogether ignorant of the deed either to be done, or as it was done, until a good time after the same was done and published by common fame. And though this were sufficient for her justification to avow the same both by her word and writing as a Christian Prince uttered with a free conscience in the sight of God, Who is the only searcher of hearts, yet for further maintenance thereof, besides her own avow, she thought that many good proofs of her innocency had been made known to the King, not only by private advertisement from his minister Archibald Douglas who had manifestly understood the same, but also by public report of many public arguments that proceeded both before and after the act done.

And because your lordship is not ignorant of many things tending to this purpose, for maintenance of her majesty's innocency, which are meet to be uttered by others than by herself in her own name, her pleasure is that, if you find the King not to be satisfied with that which has been written and avowed by herself, wherewith she thinks he ought to be contented, as she would in like case be satisfied from him, being so seriously avowed, you shall then for further proof declare certain things hereafter following, being notoriously true and direct for maintenance of her majesty's innocency.

First, you shall declare that after the judgment given for condemnation of the party by commissioners specially delegated, the same was newly examined by the three estates of the realm in Parliament, and by them all in their several places of session confirmed, and by them afterwards urged to be executed without delay, for the which they came sundry times to her majesty's presence with public requests and prayers. But yet, so much did her majesty's mind repugn to assent to their desire, as after sundry repulses made to them, being the three estates of parliament, they departed with no small grief of mind for her refusal.

In like sort it is well known how after the parliament ended both her private councillors, and the councillors of the realm, continued their former solicitations for her assent to justice, but yet they were dismissed all unsatisfied, with no other reason but that it was a natural disposition in her, utterly repugnant to her mind. And of

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Now, for the present time and manner of the fact done, she was utterly ignorant, and so all such of her Council that had any knowledge thereof confessed that otherwise than by a report of one of her secretaries, whose office was in all great affairs to deliver to them knowledge of her majesty's liking or misliking, they never knew by any speech of her majesty of her assent or knowledge of the thing to be done. But yet such was the universal desire of all persons to have justice done, as none of them had any disposition to doubt of the reports.

And so it appeared manifestly that her majesty was ignorant, and the report made of her assent untrue, as afterwards it was confessed and proved. For upon knowledge brought to her of the deed done, rather by common fame than by any direct signification, she fell into such deep grief of mind, accompanied with daily unfeigned weeping as the like had never been seen in her for any accident in all her life, and joining to her sorrow her offence, she charged all her councillors which were privy thereunto, most bitterly. And though they affirmed that they thought she had assented to the matter, being both just and necessary for herself and her realm, as they were informed only by the Secretary, yet she not only commanded the Secretary to the Tower, who had confessed his abuse in the report, but also commanded the greater part of his principal councillors to depart from her presence, notwithstanding the great need she had of their services at the same time.

In this manner they continued a long time banished, and she herself a long time also in sorrow. And for further declaration of her displeasure and offence against them, she sent for divers of her judges and men learned in the law, declaring how she had been abused and charging them straightly to examine not only her secretary of the grounds of his action, and how many were privy to the same, but also the more part of the Privy Councillors.

To that end she gave a large commission to a number of the noblemen of the best estates of the realm, and to two archbishops, and all other her chief judges of the realm, to proceed to the inquisition of as many as might be found culpable herein. And after several examinations had of divers of her greatest councillors, to their no small disgrace in the sight of the world, and after such inquisition used, finding no direct matter of offence in any but in the Secretary, they publicly proceeded against him by open sentence, adjudging him to imprisonment in the Tower of London, and to the fine of 20 marks, notwithstanding his presence for his fault that he had done the same as moved in conscience to do that which he misreported, for the safety of her majesty's person, the performance of justice and the contentation of the whole realm.

Of this proceeding and sentence there remains a very solemn and public act in the highest court of the realm next to the parliament, by the which also is declared as well by the voluntary confession of

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the Secretary, as by many other good proofs, the ignorance of her majesty, and her unwillingness to have the deed done.

Of all these things your lordship has as much knowledge as any other of the fame of the proceeding. And yet because your lordship may more directly affirm the just ground of this sentence in clearing of her majesty, I send unto you the copy of the act and sentence in the Star Chamber, with the names of the persons that were judges there at that time, whereby your lordship may more particularly maintain the verity thereof. In like manner, because your lordship was privy to the notable suits made to her majesty by the parliament, and of her refusal and unwillingness to assent to their desires, for your particular remembrance of the things there passed, I send also unto you the report of the same as immediate after the parliament ended the same was written and printed, directed to my Lord of Leicester—a thing confessed by all persons to be very truly reported.

Now, my lord, her majesty having the testimony of her conscience clear, and so many full proofs of her innocency, she cannot but think it very hard to be moved by the King to have further trial, and for that she knew the King's ambassador Archibald Douglas was privy to all these things, though now it be alleged by the King that he did not allow him as his ambassador, which was a thing utterly unknown to her, yet she cannot think that he omitted to notify the same to the King, either directly by his own letters, or otherwise by messengers, having had the use of very many, all this last year past, of good report and credit.

And as to certain articles delivered by him to the Queen's majesty on behalf of the King, and answered by her majesty very friendly and kindly, whereof the King alleges ignorance, her majesty is very sorry to have been so abused, for that she persuaded herself that her answer, being declared to the King, ought in reason to have satisfied him. And for his further contentation she thought also that your lordship had heretofore made Carmichael acquainted with the same, for that upon some signification from your lordship of the doubt of the sending of those answers by Archibald Douglas, I sent to your lordships a copy of the substance thereof, which, if you did not heretofore shew to Carmichael, you may now impart the contents thereof to him, adding that if after the consideration thereof by the King he shall acquaint her majesty wherein he will require her majesty's further performance of anything therein promised, she will be ready to perform it.

6½ pp. *Draft. Alterations in Burghley's hand. Indorsed by him: "Rob. Cary."*

Copy of the same. *Indorsed: "3 Aprilis. Touching the Queen's ignorance about the execution of the Q. of Sc."*

April 3. **334.** MONSIEUR D'ESNEVAL TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I have been for the last fortnight at Gazeran to set in order some affairs that I had there, whence having returned to-day to this town, I have found a despatch which his majesty sends you ready to start, with which I have been fain to put this note, to tell

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you that this little journey which I made to Gazeran aforesaid has caused some delay in your affairs, not having been so warmly solicited in my absence as if I had been here present. But now that I have returned and am assisted by the presence of Monsieur Pinart, I hope that we shall have better justice than we have been able to obtain in the past; and chiefly on account of a warrant for five hundred crowns which I have lately caused to be granted to you, wherewith you will very soon be succoured, awaiting other better commodity and my return thither. I have often written to you all this time past, whereunto I await reply from you with great eagerness, being very desirous to be able to hear that all is going well there. As to news of these parts I will reserve myself to acquaint you more fully therewith an other time, confining myself, for this occasion, to that which you will learn thereof by the said despatch from his majesty, and what the said Sieur Pinart may also write to you thereof. Paris. 13 April 1587. *Signed*: Desneval.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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Cott. Calig.,
D. 1,
fol. 215.

335. PROPOSITION CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF LAWS IN SCOTLAND.

“ . . . of this commonweal efter ryp advyse . . .
. . . the glory of God and uniformitie of religion,
abolishing . . . and ressaving of the treuth.”

“ . . . onelie for the observing of the precept that
man sould love his nyetbour . . . that it sould not be leseum
to thevis or rubbers to have place in the land . . . lauborars of
the grund and uthers the Kingis legis for the suppressing of uthe
. . . he bene justiciars and guardians instatute quha never
have abusit the office . . . as this day that declaris thame
selfis favorars and intertenears of thevis, opp . . .
raisers of fyre and murtherers, quha may be callit conforme to the
act of parliament to underly the lawis, and puneist in thair bodie
and guddis for resset of theft . . . murtherers. The tenor of
thei tway articlis being weill ponderat, it sall eselie be sene quha is
the wilful breker of the prencis law, and the cheritabill law that
hes ordaynit to mankynd and to put the same in execution by way
of act.”

“ Regles pour le Roy et son pays.”

“ Becaus the people of the land ar subiect to divers emotions
mair depen . . . of will nor reason, and that certane it is that
the Spanish King quha is maist liklie to subdew and subiect the
privilegis of the Law Cuntreis in Flanders and . . .
tyrannicall governement to thrall the consciences of gude Christiens
ther red . . . be that moeyen to send his forces in this realme
to do the lyk as in Portugal and uthers places, unto the quhilk
attempt the nobles of Scotland additit to Papistrie have conspyrit
indeid, and the inferior sort not . . . that practik in
thair haitis, reddie to employ thameselfis quhilk undouttitlie is
preiudiciall to the King and estait, to alter baith cevill and

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ecclesiasticall policie, subvert the Kingis royall dignitie, to mak him subiect to Roman and imperiall powar altogether usurpit."

"It is necessair that thir interpris be preventit be the best way that possiblie may be devysit. First that nniformitie of profession may be estableist amang the subiects conforme to the law, for eschewing of forayne tyrannie quhilk is gret and cev . . . discension quhilk is mair odious and hurtfull to the countrie becaus in that belyf nather Prence nor commonweal is respectit. And gif parteis having discension not eselie to be reconcelit will not subiect thame selfis to reasonable arbitration, bayth the cheif be incarcerat and thair fameleis and kynnisfolk commaundit to obey the chargeis of tua newtrall persones for the preservation of the . . . the 'manveindor' foresaid and defence of the Prence in his inequitie of . . . with the estableist constitutions of his parlement . . ."

"Secundlie that everie nobill subiect geve attestation of his obedience writ under his subscription manuell, that he may conforme his association with his Prence be that moeyen as inviolable with this condition that everie . . . cum in the contrar ather wilfulle or be . . . of his nyctbour, he sall forfeit his heretage for ever to be applyit to the use of his Prence and anexit to the crown alsmoche for crymes of lese majeste and betraying his . . . The association sall contene ther heiddis . . . ence to the Prence in a . . . actionis and caussis, that it sall nott be lesum to the subiectis to reclame from his jurisdiction for quhatsoever respect and to defend and mentene . . . and . . . bayth in word and dead aganis his rebellious subjectis gif ony sall appeir to . . . and speciallie aganis tyrannicall strayngeris professing another forme or religioun than that at the present estableist in thir realme."

1 p. *In a Scottish hand. No indorsement.*

April 6. **336.** [BURGHLEY] TO HUNSDON.

My very good lord, though you will think it long since you sent hither such articles as Carnichael brought to you from the King of Scots, having had no answer thereto, yet besides the let of my sickness, whereby I could not have opportunity to solicit her majesty, which has been some cause of delay, in very truth I understand that her majesty upon the reading of the said articles, found such cause of misliking of sundry parts thereof as she was not well disposed to make any answer thereto.

But yet at length because neither the King shall think himself neglected for want of answer, nor yet her majesty willingly suffer him to take so strange course as he does in his form of answer without a friendly and plain admonition, her majesty has commanded that you shall let him know both the causes of her misliking, and her opinion also for redress thereof, in this sort following:—

First, where he pretends that he could do no less than suspend such form of intelligence as had been between them until he might have a full trial of her innocency, neither could he, notwithstanding her majesty's declaration made to him by her letter and

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In this strange manner of speeches, with some other following, as though her majesty had given no proofs of her innocency, the King offers to her majesty great cause of offence, for not only hereby he seems to have a hard and doubtful opinion of her innocency, but in a strange manner to require a trial thereof.

For the first, considering how she has by her own letters and message clearly, and as she would answer before God, ascertained the King of her clearness for knowledge, assent, or allowance of the fact, and afterwards by public proceeding in the face of the world and in place of the highest judgment of her realm made it manifest by good proofs how that fact was committed not only without her knowledge but against her will, and in what sort her name and authority was abused by a secretary of hers, being for the same, upon his own confession beside others proofs, openly condemned and punished, her majesty, knowing herself innocent as she does, must think herself very hardly used to have the same, after such evident proofs, brought into doubt and question.

She would never do the like against any person in a cause so evidently proved, much less against a Christian Prince of birth and state. But more strange it is that the King also by his words seems to exact a further trial for his satisfaction, wherein her majesty marvels what kind of further trial he would have, other than has been. For if neither her own word and writing as a Christian Prince, with the testimony of her conscience, nor unfeigned sorrows for the fact without her knowledge committed, nor her grievous offences and indignations against such as were privy to the matter, and concealed it from her, nor yet the earnest and severe proceeding to try out the offenders, nor the judgment in public place given him that was the principal and the only offender, shall serve for a trial to clear her majesty, it must necessarily follow that such as will not therewith be satisfied, are to be thought either peremptorily or unnaturally disposed to reject all truth and reason, and howsoever they may seem to use the words 'to have trial,' yet indeed to allow of none.

And therefore, because the circumstances of the proofs may better appear, your lordship shall declare how earnest, before the fact done, the demands of the parliament were, by sundry long declarations and persuasions used to her majesty, to have had her assented, and yet how always her majesty refused and with a natural repugnance of her mind denied it, to the offence of all her people, at which actions yourself was present.

And for the abusing of her by her secretary in making a false report of her majesty, to procure the execution directly contrary to her will, and without her knowledge, your lordship shall have the form of the process against him, and his own confession in place of judgment, and the sentence given by persons of the greatest estate and the principal judges of the realm against him, which was not done in any private place, or in private form, but in the highest court of the realm.

And after you shall have declared these proceedings, with their circumstances, you shall say that her majesty cannot imagine what

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1587. other course she might take further to content him, except he should propound to her majesty some of these three projects that follow :—

First, to have her majesty to proceed otherwise than she has done, to show her displeasure against such of her Council as was privy thereto, but yet altogether deserved by the secretary affirming to them that she had assented, which indeed they seemed to be glad of in respect of the surety and general quietness of the realm that might grow thereby.

Secondly, to demand the blood of the secretary to be shed without warrant of law, and generally to the abhorring of the people of the realm, whose good wills her majesty thinks the King would be very loth so to lose.

Lastly, to have the said secretary sent to him, by whom he may be duly and clearly informed how innocent her majesty was for this fact, and how culpable only he was himself for the sin. But yet it may also be doubted if this latter will smally avail otherwise than to have malice extended against him without profit.

Finally, you shall conclude that if it shall please the King like a Christian Prince to think of her majesty as a Prince that would not offend God in avowing of an untruth, and as one that if she had been assenting to the fact she might have avowed as just by the law of God and man, and so she would not have feared to have done, and thereupon will change this his late course showed by his answer, and return to the form of their former intelligences and exercise of kindness and amity, he shall find her majesty as ready to show trial offices of firm friendship not only in words but also in deeds as he shall or can reasonably require.

4 pp. In *Burghley's hand*. Many corrections. Indorsed: "6 Aprilis. 1587. The last draught."

Copy of the same. *Corrections in Burghley's hand*. Indorsed by him: "To ye L. of Hunsdon for ye K. of Scottis."

April 7. 337. ELIZABETH'S ANSWER TO CERTAIN PROPOSITIONS.

"Her majesty's answeare to certaine propositions made by the ambassador of Scotland."

First, touching the yielding of some honourable satisfaction for the execution of the King's mother, her majesty says that she doubts not but where the ambassador shall have made true report both of her particular grief—whereof he himself has been an eye-witness—and her severe proceeding against the principal actors therein, as she assures herself he will, the said King his master will, as in reason he ought, rest satisfied withal.

Secondly, touching the doubt conceived that the sentence given against the said King's mother may work some prejudice by corruption of blood, to his pretended title after her majesty's deccase, her majesty offers in case the said King shall not rest satisfied with the opinion of the judges delivered by speech in the presence of the said ambassador and his colleague Mr. Keith, as also in the presence of certain her privy councillors she can be content for his further satisfaction, that divers of the principal commissioners, together with the judges, shall testify under their

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1587. hands, that the said sentence does in no sort prejudice any pretence he may make to the said crown.

Thirdly, touching the inheritance belonging to the late Lord Darnley, her majesty prays the King to consider that she cannot yield therein in course of justice without first examining the title, in respect of the pretence made to the said inheritance by the young Lady Darnley, by opening and unfolding thereof there might fall out some such matter as would not be to the King's best liking : for the avoiding whereof—in respect of the good will she bears unto him—she has thought it meet to sequester the land without regard of any particular benefit to herself, being otherwise disposed—as already she has made it appear to the King—to extend a far greater benefit upon him than the said inheritance can in any sort yield.

Lastly, touching the griefs of the subjects, her majesty has given order to certain special commissioners, as your ambassador knows, to see satisfaction yielded, agreeable with justice, to such of the King's subjects as shall be found by good proof to have been damned by any of her highness' subjects.

$4\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Draft. Corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

April 8. **338. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.**

“ Pleis your honour, upon Thursday last it was her majesteis pleaser to promes that yow shuld informe me before Saturday of what solyde course her hyenes wold be pleased to go throw wyth the King my maister. In this mydd tyme it pleased her to command me to absteyn from wryting theyther. Albeit be letteris that I ressawed this morning be sea, berand dayt 11^o Aprilis, and be wtheris that I ressawed from your self of the dayt 1^o Aprilis, it may be considered that the present state of that cuntrey requires that gud advise shuld be send to his hyenes my maister, zet must I obey her majesteis command, and thairfor must tak the boldnes to pray yow to put her majestie in remembrance of her sayde promesse, to the end that I may perform my deuty to my sayde maister.”

“ And so awayting upon your anser, I tak my leave, this 8 of April. Your honouris always to be commandit, A. Douglas.”

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 9. **339. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.**

“ Sir, I have understande be the reporte ressaved from your honour of her majesties meaninge anent that matter it pleased her heighnes to speake to me upone Thursday last such diuersitie in meaninge from that I consawed that I cannot tell what to write therof to my master, nather what to thinke thairupone with my self.”

“ It did appeare to me that her majestie wold have had me fullie to have satisfied the King my master anent the contentis of the first article, concerning the decreit gevin aganis his mother, whiche be your honouris reporte I persawe to be limitat.”

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"Item, in lyke maner it did appeare to me, albeit her majestie did alledge that the title of the landis whiche did appertene to single the Earle of Lennox was doubtfull to whome it shuld appertene, that she rather inelynit to mak gift therof to my maister than to suffer him to come to the successione therof be forme of law, wherwith incertan what to do she twik herselff to advisit, and now be your reporte it wold appeir that she wold mak Ladie Arbella competitour to him as haveing enteres to the saidis landis or appering right thairunto."

"Item, that her majestie is altogether myndit to insist in her excuse and justifie her innocencie of this late fact agains the Quene, mother to the King of Scotlande."

"Trewlie, sir, gif ather her majestie or your honour shuld stand in doubt of my upright meaning for the helpinge to repair suche mater as is owt of France in that realme, I ressavd at your handis therbye grit injurie, whiche I lwike not for, wherupone I do presentlye tak the gretar boldnes to unfold onto your honour my opinione in these materis, wherwithe I wold be content her majestie may be aequented."

"As to the first artiele, albeit it be a matter of no grit importance gif that whiche the judges affermis to be law be trew, yit the forme therof as it was spokin in presens of my lord tresorare being performed wold carve some appearance of outward satisfacione to my maister and to his subiectis, at the leist furneis grounde wherupone I might founde argumentis to mowe my maister and his said subiectis to think that ressonne is offered onto them, whiche is the gretast effect which I think this first article can wirk."

"As concerning her majesteis purgation of this lait fact, trewlie, so far as I can imagine therbye, her highnes offerris to my maister gretar advantage than weill can stand with her honour. The fact is knowne to be done within her realme, and be her proceedingis it will appeir that she aekawldgis the unjustie therof, and yet offerris na satisfaction therfore."

"Besydis this, one of the gretest sclander [*sic*] that boythe my maister and uther Princeis consaiveis of this proceadure hathe bene that she, being ane saered Prince, is judged be the voice subiectis, whiche fant is not takin away nether dewydit from her owne doinge be onye matter contenit in her excuse that hathe beyn offered. When I shew this mater to her majestie, it was her pleasour to anser that she might hawe done all that was done upone suche ressonne as it was her pleasour to utter at that tyme."

"And gif those ressonis be trew, wherupone I mynd not to move any argument, the hole proees and all that followit is more able to be iustified be those ressonis, and hathe gretar appearance of princelie dealinge, then to introduce suche matter as may bring her majesteis plane dealinge that hitherto had bene esteemed voide of all questione in so doubtfull termes that men shall not know what to belewe in onye tyme heirefter."

"So far as may concerne her majesteis meaning to mak the Ladie Arbella competitor to the King my maister in the landis that did apperten to the late Earle of Lennox, and his awis, trewlie, sir, I can not persuade my selff utherwise bot when her majestie shall consider that therby she oppinnis a vindow to my maister to forme

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ane request be himselff, and to mowe all uther Princis to request with him that the right of that lande may be devydit be her parliament, but it will than pleis her highnes to thinke that therbye gretar matteris may be brocht in questione than her majestie shuld be contented to be decydit upone there. For my owne part, I was ever of this opinione that a more solide and quiet course might have bene takin with that young Prince, wherby all these curious questionis might have bene bwried."

"I twik upone me this journey to this realme for this effect, that such orour might have bene takin heir that he shall have bene induced to have belewed that his owne cuntrey culd not have bene quietlie governit at home without her majesteis assistance, which might have bene perfourmed gif her majestie wold have cummed or yet wold come to any finell resolutione. Bot it doeth appeare that the Almightye God who governis the hartis of all Princis will not suffer that gude worke to go fordwart be anye suche meanes as men dewises."

"My maister is lyke at this tyme be uther meanes then herris to be maister ower his realme, wherof I am glaid, bot wold have bene moir glade that it might have proceeded from any grounde careinge aperance to haif cumme from her."

"In all this it hathe bene your pleaser to informe me of be derectione from her majestie, ther doeth appeare nather assured grounde nather gude forme wherupone I can mak depeshe to mowe my master to tak anye assured course in her effaires with hir heighnes. Therefore I have thocht it best, leist abstening from wrytinge might do harme, to mak ane short depeshe towartis him rather to refene materis in suspence than to incourage him to anye certaine resolutione onto suche tyme as her majestie shalbe pleased to more fullye and assuredlie utter her meaning to him what course she myndis to tak with him: in what kynd or degree it shall seame best to her heighnes to do it, I must leawe it to her more gravear consideratione."

"Becaus I have rwined my selff throw longe awaitting heir, onder hoipe to have done gude service to boythe there majesteis and ther realmes, I must pray your honour to mowe onto her majestie suche mater as doeth concerne the Master of Gray."

"The jewellis layde in pande, for the whiche I have gewin my worde, will be worthe the sowme of 1100*l.* to her, gif thai shalbe lowsed, and gif not, thay will pereish and I condemned in the sowme of 600*l.* more then the principall sowme, throw forfaltour of my bande, gevin for no uther respect bot for her majesteis service. If it shall pleis her majestie to helpe me owt of this trouble wherin I am fallin for gude meaning, I shall not fall in the ylike for that man, oneles he shall better deserve it than hitherto it hathe appeared."

"I wolde be glade to know her majesteis pleasour in this mater, to the end that I might prowde for my releiff the best maner I may before my departure. And so praying your honour to excuse my boldnes in these premissis, I tak my leawe. From London, this ix of Aprile, 1587. Your honouris alwayes to be commandit, A. Douglas."

3½ pp. Indorsed by Thomas Philippes: "From Mr. Archibald

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1587. Douglas to Mr. Secretary Walsingham. Towching the Q. satisfaction of the K. of Sc. after his mother's death."

April 10.

340. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO THOMAS PHELIPPES.

"I have sene the extrait of my lettre, wherof I do lyke verie weill, be reasone it is consawed according to the meaning therof. I have added two or thrie wordis upone the occasione of some adverteisment whiche I ressaved sen the writing of the said letter, whiche ye will persawe be the reding of the said extrait that I do returne to yow with this berare."

"I have made ane depeshe for Scotlande. I wold be glade Sir Francis might see it before it war sent away. Gif his lasare can not serwe I shall declare the contentis yarof to his honour at meting."

"As to that matter that doeth concerne the Master of Gray, I am content it shall rest accordinge to his owne dessire, and so I commit yow to the protectione of the Almightye. From Londone, this x of Aprile, 1587. Youris at powar to be commandit, A. Douglas."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Addressed: "To his speciall gude freind Thomas Philipps, for the pnt. at Courte, be these deliverit." Indorsed.

April 13.

341. KING OF FRANCE TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Cott. Calig.
D. 1.,
fol. 213.

February and eighth details of the affairs of Scotland; and even by the last . . . of the grief and displeasure [wherewith] the King of Scotland my nephew has heard of the execution of the Queen his mother my sister-in-law.

Which for my part I received with so much for the honour that she had had of having in her first marriage espoused the late French King my [brother] that I cannot put away from myself the remembrance of the great wrong that those have done who have caused so tragic and extraordinary an execution. I await news hereupon from my said nephew [the King] of Scotland, and the ambassador whom you say he wishes to send to me.

In the meanwhile, if he [speaks] to you, you can assure him that I shall never fail him in all good offices the friendship so long ago contracted between my predecessors and his and our kingdoms: [although] I have just occasion to complain, as I have already done, that he has so lightly himself with the Queen of England without communicating anything thereof to me or to the Sieur d'Esneval [my] ambassador there, who was then there, and without calling him thither, or paying regard to the which he made him thereupon. All which you will, however, keep to yourself.

But while awaiting the return of the said Sieur d'Esneval, which will be as soon as the passage shall be a little more , you will still entertain in him the good affection which you write me that he has towards me, as he ought; and moreover he may well consider that my friendship and alliance [are] more useful and

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necessary than any other that he can desire, as his p[redecessors] have found by experience of mine; which you can enlarge upon by all [good] words and offers of friendship and benevolence towards him; whereof he ought to await the effects, according as I shall see his demeanour towards me.

[For the rest] I desire that you continue to keep me advertised often and very fully of all occurrences there, and that you address and send me your despatches by way of the Sieur de C[hasteauneuf], my councillor and ambassador in England, to whom you will make the first . . . , and address thereof, as you have been wont to do, unless some other [safer] opportunity by sea should offer itself, as sometimes happens.

Meanwhile I [may tell] you that I am about to proceed to justice against those who in these last days tried to surprise Soissons, who are of the new [opinion], come from Sedan, as is said, in order to do this. I will also tell you that I am sending . . . against those who have taken possession of Dourlans and of Rotoy in Picardy to do justice [upon them]. Although I could much wish, while overlooking such faults, however great and heavy they may be, that those who have seized it might give it up, as likewise those who perhaps may have induced them to do it might bear themselves As also on the other side I could much wish that the King of Navarre well to do the contrary, for they are preparing themselves to foreigners into my realm. Which is the reason that I am about to make ready a strong and powerful army in which I intend to go in p[erson] anything which may be done for the honour of God, the welfare and repose of this kingdom [and the] relief of my subjects. Paris. 13 April 1587. Signed: Henry: Pinart.

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. French. Addressed. Edges burnt.

April 26. 342. [] TO WALSHINGHAM.

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 56.

"I wrate unto your lordshippe in my last letters some purpose concerning the Master of Gray, wherof I have gotten no answer as yett, and therefore will suspende my judgement of that matter till I here your honor's opinion in particular."

"Alwayes—*ut candide cum amicis agam*—true it is that he is become a verye great enemye to yowr Quenes majestye, your contrye and all your procedings, and thinke [*sic*] hereafter til follow forth his first cowlse by all meanes possible, and so to give no occasion to the Catholikes to mistrust him, who as yett have no soch confidence in him as is requisite to effectuate any good turne."

"For the whilke cawse, after mature deliberation, esteeming his standing to consist in some notable turne to the advancement of the Catholike religion or alteration of the present estate, he accompanied me with his letters of creditt to the Erle of Huntley, who being a precise Catholike mislikes also of the present state and government, and hath the whole nobilitye of this contrye banded together to assist and defende with him, and he with them in all his and theyr adoes, sike as Crauforde, Montrosse, Marshall, Ogilvye, Cathnesse, Sutherlande, Saltoune, Elphinston, Forbes, Graye,

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with the greatest part of ovr hyelandes, and all the barons and contrye men."

"He offred in his letter and by me to lay a platt—having his assistance—to gett our Kinge owt of theyr men's handes, and so not onlye to move his majesty to take armes agaynst Englande, wheruppon libertye of conscience shold necessarye followe, but also to persuade him to take jorneye to France, that therbye all thinges might attayne to theyr desired effects."

"I travelled with my Lord Huntley in this purpose, who was more then willing therto and verye curious to know the forme of this plott in particular, promising all kinde of assistance to the furthering of the same that colde be required. For whilke cawse not having that in commission, he wrate backe with me letters full of creditt to the Master of Gray, having promised that one of his maist specialles, Capitayne Kar, who is a vehement Catholike, sholde have followed me with expedition, that he and I might have spoken with the Master at lenght in that purpose."

"Alwayes at my back cumming matters was altered and men putt to theyr dyett, partelye by his majesties riding uppon my Lorde Maxwell and partlye by the Master's disgrace, who hes not bene at cowrt since, and yett he assures me that his disgrace is nothing else but pollycye to please the Secretarye, his ennemye, and theyr Lordes Angus and Mar who hes alredye conceaved a jelousye agaynst him."

"The plott was that the Kinge shold have bene drawne to Dunfermelinge, accompaned with sike of his owne domestikes as were for the purpose and so to have perswaded his majesty to have written for my Lord of Huntley, who shold have bene with all his forces alredye coming forwarde for that effect; so that the King shold never have knowen the veritye of that enterprise till the turne had bene done, and matters settled with owt any hazard or danger of his majestyes awne person; whilke but dowte compelles him to temporise further with thir lordes that are abowt him then otherwise he walde doe; for having discovered sike attemptes of the Erle of Huntley and others meist his majesty forcen of and that as is supponed [rether]* by fayre facilitye of crafte they thinke it not nedefull that his majesty be in any wise forcen of his proceding, being assured to have his favor and good will whensoever theyr conspiracyes shalbe effectuated."

"My Lord of Huntley at his going to the cowrte the 20th of Aprill was stayed by a charge from the Kinges majesty, and yett came forwarde uppon the assurance of a letter from his majesty privilye conveyed to him, whirby he was animated† by the way in Dunfermeling with the Master of Gray, and shold be there at his lordshippes backcuming, at what time full resolution will be taken of all purposes before specified."

"Uppon your resolution I shall not fayle to advertise your lordshippe in hast, to gether with any other thinge of importance shall occurre."

"In this meane time there is great apparance of an alteration at this present, and that in respect of the great miscontentment

* Blank: "æther" supplied from cipher letter.

† Sic: "ane nicht" in cipher letter.

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together that his majesty is uppon the poynt to passe his yeares of revocation; whatsoever the Kinge hes done as yett with France, the Catholikes here hes no hope of it."

"The Secretarye puttes the Lorde of Fentrye in a great opinion that he shall move the Kinge to go the Frenche cowrse. By the whilke assurance Fentrye did what he colde to renew the frendshippe betwixt them, which was not effectuated. Fentrye writt into France in the sayd Secretaries favor to the Bishop of Glasgo and others, but his letters were intercepted and [he]* had in the lesse estimation in respect of his overgreat simplicitie."

2 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Copy.*

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 54.

Original of the same, partly in cipher, deciphered.

April 26. **343.** LAIRD OF POURY OGILVIE TO WALSINGHAM.

I send you this bearer quite expressly to recall myself to your good graces, and seeing that I have been for a long time absent from the court also to learn good news of you and of your prosperity, and to let me know when you expect to be in the land of Fyff, that we may take our journey among the "sauvages" to see that country, their manner of hunting the deer, and other things wherein we shall there find pleasure and controversy, and according to your advertisement I will hold myself in readiness to bear you company both there and elsewhere. From your house of Ogilwy, 26 April 1587.

Postscript. As to the money which I received as a loan from your lordship, it will be in readiness against your coming into this country. *Signed:* P. Ogilwy.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. (P.S. Latin.) Addressed.*

April 29. **344.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

Was of mind not to have dealt with her majesty in any serious matter during the time of her progress. Yet on receipt of his letters that it pleased him to send yesterday, wherein is some matter necessary to be known to her highness, has taken occasion by letter to the Lord Chamberlain to pray him to know when her majesty may be pleased that he should repair to her for that effect. Has thought it expedient to make him acquainted therewith, that he, upon knowledge of his diet in remaining at Court or elsewhere, may thereafter repair towards him, who in this suspicious time is so difficult to be found or talked with. London. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

[April.] **345.** REASONS FOR PREFERRING AMITY WITH ENGLAND.

That it can be no way for the good of the King of Scots to harken to the advice of such as shall go about to persuade him, either for revenge of his mother's death or assurance of his interest in the succession of this crown, to join with the French and

* "he" supplied from cipher letter.

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1587. Spaniard, but every way to depend upon her majesty's favour and to seek to hold the amity of England.

First, it is not safe for any Prince to repose his trust and strength in those to whose desires and designs his greatness and good success may prove an impediment. Neither French nor Spaniard can simply wish him good. His religion is odious to them; and it is not likely they will be ready to do any great matter in favour of his continuing Protestant, considering it was the special obstacle which his mother's agents found in pursuit of the enterprise intended against England, 1584, when they treated of their association. Mendoza affirmed that it stood not with sense that the Pope, the King of Spain, or any other Catholic potentate, should employ themselves for advancement of such a one, who was likely to be more prejudicial to them and the Catholic cause than the Queen, being a woman, and commanding over part of the island only.

The conceit had that his mother's authority being at liberty should have altered his humour, caused them not to stand upon that difficulty, but hereupon his mother was moved to proceed after that manner in the enterprise now lastly, without any consideration of him, promising to make the King of Spain her heir in case her son became not Catholic.

It is merely repugnant to the policy of France, were it but in respect of the ancient claim England makes both to the crown of France itself and severally to the principal dominions thereof, in any case to suffer the uniting of this island under one Prince. So the French will but use him as an instrument—by all appearance—to hold the Queen of England occupied and in fear, as some of his predecessors have been, and if it be possible, to transport the war raised by the Guisards out of his own realm into this island, for the present, not caring what become of him and his title in the end, but wishing rather he should for the reason abovesaid run upon his own ruin and destruction.

The assistance of the Spaniard cannot but be most dangerous, considering every way his ambition, his practices, his power, his colour of right. For it is well known how they have figured themselves an empire over all this part of the world, what plots they have laid for compassing thereof, and specially the subversion of the liberty of the Low Countries and the conquest of the islands. They began to lay the foundation in Queen Mary's time. The Queen dying without issue, and her majesty that now is refusing his marriage, it was debated and concluded in Council to make a conquest of this land under colour of religion, by the Pope's authority, as appears by his courses at that time, clearly discovered since by the Prince of Orange, who was then of the Privy Council. He presently pretends to be, as he was a long time before the late Queen Mary's death, the next Catholic Prince of the blood of England, being heir of the Duchy of Lancaster, as may appear by the pedigrees and books published by his favourers, whereof the Bishop of Ross is one, among others.

It was practised during the Scottish Queen's life, by the Jesuits and a number of gentlemen, to have preferred his title to her prejudice by the way of election, as being the meetest manner to

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maintain the Catholic cause in Europe. It may be easily judged how far he would prevail of the donations made by the late Queen of Scots in her letters, whereof Don Bernardino de Mendoza, his ambassador in France, has already vaunted, openly blowing abroad his master's immediate right to the crown of England, as well by right of succession as by virtue of the Scottish Queen's gift, promised to be confirmed by her last will and testament.

Lastly, being the strongest, he would pay himself his hire, and dispose all at his pleasure, which should want no warrant so long as the Popes may be of his only and own making.

That the King of Scots, by change of his religion—if God spoil him so far of his—shall be able to mend the matter, and better his conditions in this behalf, is very improbable considering the same private respects shall remain on all sides. And the Spaniard has given an evident proof that his ambition cannot be restrained by any bonds of religion, honour, and justice, in the usurpation of the kingdom of Portugal. And what simple assistance may be expected of a King of France in such a case, so things may stand notwithstanding it imported his own estate, Don Antonio will testify.

Contrariwise, the King of Scots' revolt from his religion will be his utter overthrow, and be judged a want rather than a change of religion, lose him his natural and faithful subjects and well willers, and win him hollow-hearted friends. For what assurance can they have of his constancy when he has deceived their expectation who brought him up? He may not look at an instant to be inheritor of his mother's credit that way.

If he were assured that the French and Spaniard would without fraud second all his desires and enterprises, it were notwithstanding uncertain whether they should be able to prevail against the resistance and efforts of England, which, having a long time foreseen the danger of foreign invasion by his mother's practices, has provided for the same accordingly, the realm being thoroughly furnished with arms and munition, the freeholders and such as have to lose, trained in all counties, the Queen having many secret leagues and pensioners in all places to serve her turn upon an extremity, the riches of the realm and treasure not to be spared if such an occasion happen.

It were a madness then for the King of Scots, things thus standing, to hazard the loss of that which he is certain of, and depend upon an uncertainty.

Neither does the present state of the French and Spaniard permit them to assist the said King, as were requisite in such a resolution, France being entangled with an irreconcilable civil war which it lies with the Queen of England to nourish at her pleasure, and the affairs of Spain wonderfully disordered by the wars of the Low Countries, where the Queen has means to annoy him far otherwise, if he give her cause, by the cutting off his treasure from the Indies, which require a great part of his care and forces to repair what Drake has done, and to prevent the like hereafter, by the doubtful expectation of Don Antonio, whom the Queen may be provoked to set again in his kingdom.

Now this conjunction with Spain or France must needs quite

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alienate the English hearts from him, and will give the Queen occasion, where presently all other competitors are of no view in comparison of him, to raise up some of them to his prejudice, and perhaps such a one as may draw part of his foreign assistance from him. He cannot be ignorant what might be wrought even with the marriage of his cousin Arabella.

It lies in his own power to remove the offence that may have been taken already by the people of this land in respect that, contrary to their pursuit of the contrary, he has mediated for his mother's life so earnestly, if he leave when it is time, as he persisted while there was hope. He has sufficiently served his honour and reputation in mediating for his mother so long as there was hope, she being alive. But seeing she is dead, and that the justness and necessity of her execution was such, it shall be more for his honour to suffer himself now to be directed by reason in his proceedings than by passion or affection.

3 pp. In Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsed.

Copy of the same.

April.

C.P., vol. XXI.

346. HOUSEHOLD CHARGES AT FOTHERINGAY.

An estimate of the household charges like to be at Fotheringay Castle after the departure thence of Sir Amias Powlet. By the week.

The charges of 33 persons of the Scottish Queen's train.

The diet of the Scottish train being 33 persons with all incidents belonging to it will amount unto by estimation—15*l.* 6*s.*

The charges of 6 horses allowed hitherto—28*s.*

And the wages of 2 laundresses for their sheets and napery, hitherto also defrayed by her majesty—16*s.*

Sum—17*l.* 10*s.*

The charge of 13 persons left of her majesty's household.

The diet of 13 persons to be left of her majesty's household, viz., Marmaduke Darell and his two men, five soldiers, a butler, a cook, a turnbroche, a labourer for carriage of wood and coals, and a purveyor, will be by estimation—118*s.*

The charges of 2 horses allowed to Mr. Darell—9*s.* 4*d.*

And the weekly wages of the said five soldiers and five household officers by estimation—24*s.* 8*d.*

Sum—7*l.* 12*s.*

For the service of both the families.

For falling, dressing, making and carriage of wood and coals, whereof Mr. Houghton the surveyor has the charge—66*s.* 8*d.*

And for divers necessities, as rushes, brooms, carriage of water, cooperage of casks, and such like—16*s.* 8*d.*

Sum—4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

Sum total—29*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

Signed: Mar: Darell.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. Indorsed: "An estimate of the weeklie expences of the howshold at Fotheringhay, April, 1587."

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347. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

May 4.

"Sir, I haif takin boldnis to send to you this pacquett, and to pray you that it may be derected away wyth speid. Thayr wilbe neyde of better advise in that cuntrey whear it shulde go than any I can gewe, alwayis I haif vrytin my opinion so weill as I can. The convention thayr is prorogate to the x of May, bot I belewe it shall not holde."

"I haif thoct it expedient to mak your honour acquaynted that two Scottis marchantis com yesternycht from France. The one of thaym hath beyn in the Low Cuntreys whear he spak wyth Colonell Stewart, who is preparing him self to go to Scotland, derected from the Prince of Parma. He declared onto him that he had send ane gentillman called Nathaniell to his soverayn, and that he daylye loked for his returning. Immediatlye thayrefter he myndit to tak his journey."

"The state of France I think be to yow better kuawin than they can open it, uthervayes I wold haif send thaym to yow. Such letteris as cummis from our cuntrey to France ar derected to Mr. George Hacbret at Campheir who sendis thaym be sea wyth ane Scottisman appoynted for the purpose, to Calise, and from thence to the Court, or than to the Ducke of Guyse."

"The Scottisman to whome your honour did schaw favour anent the dischargeing of your customar at Brisco to crave ony fordar custome of him than for that which did mayk saele off, not-wytstanding the breking of bowlk, doeth afferm that he left ane obligation and som uther mater in the hand of your customar. The maner I knaw not, I leave to the declaration of the berar instructed be the partye for that effect. Thayr dessire is to haif your letter for the recovery thayrof. What is to be done thayrin I leave to your honouris moyr grave consideration."

"I have so many materis to speik onto yow that I can not vryte thaym all, and thayrfor I must pray yow to lat me knaw when your lesare may serve, that I may speik wyth your honour. And so I take my leave. From London, this feyrd of Maii." *Signed: A. Douglas.*

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 10.

348. [CORNEILLIS ?] TO [BURGHLEY ?]

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 216.

*"The execution of the Scottes Queen hath driven them into a wonderfull rage on that side, but it stroke them into a mase for the alteration of theyr desseings necessarye ensuing theruppon."

They are divided into two factions. Allen, Parsons, Owen, and that flock, which is the greatest, desire to advance the King of Spain's title, and Don Bernardino openly says his master is King of England. Morgan, Paget, Lord Paget, Throgmorton and theirs rest for the King of Scots, whom Morgan says he will never forsake, as the pledge which the Queen his mistress left, and has already laid a bait for him [*sic*] and he rails at them of Rome and Rheims who incline the other way. Charles Paget told the writer hereof

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he would shortly tell him good news. "Tressame had made a partye for the Prince of Parma but it was by and bye dashed."

On Morgan's side it is resolved that D. Gifford and Raynoldes, one or both, should go with Guise's letters into Scotland, and other instructions. He is urged to associate, wherein he requests advice and assurance if he come into England.

They expect Guise's answer which they have solicited. "Morgan urgeth the course vehemently. He feareth only the emulation of Scottes men. He hath written also to the Duke of Guise requiring him to write to D. Lewes at Rome to continue for the King of Scottes that which he had begonne for the mother." His drift is to divide Lewes and Allen, and there is already jealousy, for Lewes' credit was the hindrance that Allen had not the red hat, which notwithstanding he expecteth, having of the King of Spain's gift lately an abbey worth 2500 crowns yearly.

"Westmerlande came late from the Duke of Guise, and affirmeth that the sayd Duke is resolved to bende him selfe wholye for Scotland, whither the sayd Westmerlande is desirows to repayre, and requireth our frendes companye. He will not fayle to give advertisement where to mete them so as Cornellis safetie may be cared for. Some are agaynst Westmerlandes going into Scotland, which are of the Spanish faction. He telleth him they envye his fortune."

Morgan pursues hotly a device for a seminary in Scotland with D. Gifford as principal.

"He assureth that there is not at this day any practise a-foote in Englande from those partes, wherat Morgan is not a little greved as he sayth lest men shold say that the Scottish Queen caused all; wherefore he wold fayne stirre upp new intelligence, and is very earnest uppon Cornellis to hasten after his cosin in England: so doth Paget likewise."

"They have bene in hande with Cordailott to revive the olde accustomed cowrse, which he hath denyed, but they looke to winne him."

[The Archbishop of] Glasgow being restored by King James is appointed his ambassador; he will not accept the charge till he hear from the Pope, but it is *pro forma* only. The King of France gives him good words, as doth the Queen mother, Fitzherbert says, with whom she had long discourse of matters of Scotland, to which party Fitzherbert inclines.

He alleged to her the prejudice to France if King James should seek the King of Spain, the likelihood that the Queen will join with the King of Spain, and that the French King by means of Scotland may divert Guise's forces from France. Some imagine that such a practice was part of Bellièvre's errand to Guise, as Westmorland affirmed. "They thinke it to be Queen mothers errand now to propound to Guise to the same effect, whither she was to go at that instant."

"Don Bernardino being in conference with Throgmorton of late, and urged to assiste the King of Scottes, answered there was no helpe to be expected from Spayne for an heretike."

For George Gifford he answers that he knew nothing of the matter but by conjecture at his first coming over, when he brought

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this message from D. Gifford "that he wold devise a cownse for him to live honorablye, the state standing as it doth," requesting him to come over to him.

At his second coming into England he knew more, but having delivered the said message, and now perceiving it tended to bad effect, he feared to discover it to Walsingham "consydring his greene acquayntance with him"; so forbore, especially for that he knew George Gifford to be unfit to build on. But now he finds there was such a device in hand, and that Nau had the handling of it and delivered money for it in Throgmorton's time, and Charles Arundell laid it out.

He uses great caution in the discovery. It may be laid upon George Gifford himself, for men think he had discovered it *a principio*, or upon Nau, "or els sayd that Haywood uttered it, who hath spoken it to diverse in these partes. Guise wold give nothing before hande."

"Lillie protesteth him selfe deprived of retorning into England by Modye, to whome he uttered from time to time all his harte."

"Master Wade hath bene abused by Swigo, who proceded in all thinges as Don Bernardino and Morgan tolde him so with great rejoycing."

3 pp. Indorsed: "10 May 1587. From Cornellis."

May 12.

349. SIR HENRY WODDRYNGTON TO WALSHINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 202.

. . . * Lientenant Carvell with the convoy of the town, and brought no answer of those letters, because the time was not convenient, nor the . . . * and Council at leisure, for that upon the 10th of this instant the Master of Gray and Sir William Stewart were brought before the King and Council, where the Master was an hour and a half in secret conference with the King. The King coming from the Master of Gray called all the Council and the noblemen together, where both the Master of Gray and Sir William Stewart were brought face to face before the King, Council and whole nobility, where Sir William Stewart accused him of certain points of treason. One was that he pretended to have slain the King's secretary, whereby the Court might have been changed and the King delivered to the northern lords, another that he wrote a letter secretly to her majesty that if she determined to execute the Queen it might be done closely and quietly; finally, that all his proceedings were but dissimulation with his majesty, and that the Earl of Huntly and Lord Claud were of the . . . with the Master for the killing of the l[ady] secretly. He charged him before the King that he lied falsely, or any other that would take his part, to avouch that matter of the . . . and that if he had been sufficient in vocat . . . they would have proved themselves upon him, charging him he was ever accounted nothing but a liar and murderer himself.

Sure they were no other would witness . . . * who was his informer and . . . * said George was brought in and charged that he had informed Sir William Stewart of anything. He flatly answered he lied, and said that being as good a gentleman as he

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every way, he would prove it upon him that he falsely belied him. So Sir William greatly discredited himself.

The King seems to be greatly displeased with the Master of Gray, and has given Dunfermline to Earl Huntly. If the lords had not stood well with the Master it is thought the King had struck off his head.

The Master of Gray was carried to Edinburgh Castle to prison again that night, as was Sir William likewise. Their examination the first day continued from two in the afternoon till nine at night, and the next day following they were to be brought before the King, Council and lords again.

For the next day's proceedings, as yet I hear not further of it, but by the next your honour shall understand more at large of the whole proceeding, as I shall receive int ence.

The whole nobility is in Court at the and have been ever since the 9th of this month, save only the Earl of Angus, who is not, but . . . * understands that the King minds to take Dalkeith from him. Berwick. *Signed: Henry Woddryngton.*

2½ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 18.† **350. BILL OF MERCHANDISE FOR MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

Here followeth the merchandise furnished to Monsieur de Courcelles by Henry Nisbet, merchant, dwelling at Edinburgh, beginning the 12th day of January 1586, according to the calculation of Scotland.

First, nine ells and a quarter of fine cloth, dyed a violet crimson, to make two cloaks and two pairs of breeches for two of your gentlemen, at seven pounds and a half the ell, amounts to the sum of 69^{li.} 7^{s.} 6^{d.}

A quarter of black velvet for the collars of the cloaks 50^{s.}

Four ounces and a quarter of fine silk laces for the cloaks at 22^{s.} the ounce 4^{li.} 13^{s.} 6^{d.}

Two ounces and a half of grey silk, 22^{s.} the ounce 55^{s.}

Further, half an ounce of grey laces 11^{s.}

A dozen and a half of grey silk buttons at 10^{s.} the dozen 15^{s.}

Two ells of grey cord for the said buttons 5^{s.}

One pair of fine stockings of English worsted 3^{li.} 15^{s.}

One pair of garters of black silk 30^{s.}

One ell of green ribbon of Florence, one ell of grey and one ell of black, the three ells 7^{s.} 6^{d.}

One dozen points of blue silk 10^{s.}

The 17th day of February 1586, one quarter of black velvet and one sixteenth to line two hats amounts to 3^{li.} 12^{s.} 6^{d.}

The 23rd day of the said month, in laces to fasten one of your cloaks 7^{s.}

The 13th day of March 1586, 24 ells of serge of Beauvais dyed in silk to clothe your people in mourning at 4^{li.} the ell 96^{li.}

Twenty ells of black bombazine to make doublets at 30^{s.} the ell 30^{li.}

Seven ells of coarse canvas of silk for Monsieur at 30^{s.} the ell 10^{li.} 10^{s.}

Carry forward 227^{li.} 9^{s.}

* Decayed.

† New style.

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The 16th of March 1586, seven ells of white bocasin to line
doublets at 10^s. the ell 3^{li}. 10^s.
More six ells of serge of Beauvais at 4^{li}. the ell 24^{li}.
Two ounces and a half of black silk at 16^s. the ounce 40^s.
One ell and a half of ribbon of Florence for your shoes 4^s.
One pair of garters of black silk 30^s.
Two ells of black bocasin 20^s.
Half an ell and half a quarter of coarse silk canvas 18^s. 9^d.
Half an ounce, half a quarter and one sixteenth of laces of silk
for your cloak and to fasten your hose at the knee 14^s.
One ell and three quarters of green worsted of England at 40^s.
the ell 3^{li}. 10^s.
One pair of brushes of the large sort, gilt, 15^s.
The 8th of April 1587, a quarter of an ounce of laces for a cloak
5^s.
Six pounds of cotton for the mourning garments at 20^s. for the
pound 6^{li}.
One ell and a half of black frise at 24^s. the ell amounts to 36^s.
One ounce of tawny laces 24^s.
One quarter of an ounce and half a quarter of tawny silk 8^s.
The 8th of May 1587, one beaver hat with a double cord of silk
crêpe 8^{li}.
Two ells and half a quarter of broad white taffeta at 50^s. the ell,
sum 5^{li}. 6^s. 3^d.
Half an ounce of white silk 11^s.
Three ells and three quarters of white bocasin at 10^s. the ell
37^s. 6^d.
Two dozen silk points 40^s.

Carry forward 65^{li}. 9^s. 6^d.

The sum total of these matters furnished to Monsieur
Courcelles by me, Henry Nisbett, amounts to the sum of two
hundred four score and twelve pounds 18^s. 6^d. Made at
Edinburgh this 12th day of May 1587.

The bill aforesaid has been settled by me at the sum of two
hundred four score and twelve pounds 18^s. 6^d. which I owe to Mr.
Henry Nisbet, and which I promise to pay to him either in France
or in this town at his will. Made at Edinburgh the 28th day of
May 1587. *Signed: De Courcelles.*

2 pp. *French. Indorsed.*

May.

351. JAMES VI. TO [THE LORD CHANCELLOR].

Add. MSS. 23,
241, fol. 13.

“Because I ame makand nou to my pilgrimage I man
remember you that is resident to garr keip goode order and uatche
in his toune during my absence, and have good intelligence of any
folkis steiring be south oure hande. As for me I will flitt euerie
tua or three dayes anis as I taulde you yistrein. Retein all folkis
by publick and priuate commande from cumming to truble me, and
garr thaim auait upon my cumming euerie tua or three dayes anis
to this toune for doing of business. As for the horsemen lett thaim
naite on in sum placis neir me, but forbid thaim to remain
directlie uith me.”

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"I recomend to youre memorie and diligence all my affaires. Especiallie remember the stay of Gray quhair he is."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph.* No address.

[1587.] **352.** PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADORS IN ENGLAND
[May.] ON BEHALF OF MARY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HER DEATH.

Add. MSS. 30,
663, fol. 436.

My Lord; I received that which you were pleased to write to me on the 17th of last month, whereby I understood that you have received and seen the proposals of Monsieur de Bellièvre made to the Queen of England, but that you still desire to know what judgment has been given against the Queen of Scotland and the result thereof. I will tell you what has happened about it and what I have been able to learn and gather thereof as truly as has been possible to me.

My said lord [Bellièvre] started from Paris to go to England, setting forth on the 26th of November, and arrived at Calais the 27th, where he received letters from Monsieur de Chasteauneuf whereby he begged him to make all possible haste, forasmuch as the Queen of England and the estates of her realm were proceeding with such force to the criminal trial against the said lady the Queen of Scotland, as my said lord heard yet more particularly from the Sieur de Brenal, his near kinsman, from Monsieur de la Bessée, a native of Lyons, a very honest man who is with Monsieur de Chasteauneuf, who had come expressly from London to Calais aforesaid to bring thither an English vessel for the passage of my said lord to Dover.

The said vessel having arrived with a favourable wind, which was then contrary to us, it was necessary to await the turn of the wind at the said town of Calais for two or three days; yet in spite of contrary wind and some great risk, my said lord nevertheless, for the desire that he had to be able to arrive before resolution was taken about the matter of the said Queen of Scotland, embarked on Friday the 28th of the month of November about midnight, and we arrived at Dover the next day about 9 o'clock in the morning, not without having endured somewhat of the usual sea-sickness, except my said lord, who stayed the whole of the said day at Dover aforesaid to cause and to allow the gentlemen who had accompanied him to rest, who were much shaken by the sea.

On Sunday morning the 30th of the said month he entered the coach which Monsieur de Chasteauneuf had sent him by Monsieur de Brancalion, and we others of the suite on post horses which are found easily and in great number all along the road from Dover aforesaid to London, the distance from one to the other being 25 French leagues, which are usually done in two days.

My said lord and his whole company having arrived in London on Monday the first day of December at noon, the next day he sent the Sieur de Villiers, one of the gentlemen who had followed him, to the Queen of England, who was holding her court at her castle of Richmond, 3 French leagues distant from London aforesaid, to pray her to be pleased to give him audience.

And as the malice of this woman is infinite, she wished to defer seeing my said lord for some days, during which she caused the

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estates and Parliament to proceed secretly to the extraordinary trial of that poor princess the Queen of Scotland, and caused an ill rumour to be spread in order meanwhile to delay the audience of my said lord for which he was causing her to be warmly pressed, she making two occasions and false suppositions to be sown and put forth.

To gain time and to perfect the said procedure upon these delays and inventions she in the first place caused a rumour to spread at her court and in London that all my lord's company was full of contagion, and that three or four of his people had died of plague at Calais, and others remained ill upon the road.

The other common bruit was that there were in his company some unknown men, and they were come thither with him expressly to kill her.

These two false pretexts lasted during a whole week and until the 7th of December, when the said Queen sent to seek my said lord in the morning that he might go to her that afternoon at the said place of Richmond, accompanied by all the gentlemen who were come from France with him.

Entering the pleasure chamber he found the said lady seated on her royal throne, accompanied and surrounded by great nobles, lords of the realm.

My said lord and likewise Monsieur de Chasteauneuf having saluted her, he began to make to her on behalf of the King the remonstrances which are contained in the great proposition which I have already sent you thereof, to which she made reply upon nearly all the points and in good terms in the French language.

And as though possessed by some passion, which appeared in her countenance, her majesty declared that the Queen of Scotland had always pursued her, and that it was the third time that she had sought to make an attempt upon her life by an infinity of means; which she had borne too long with much patience; and that nothing had ever touched her heart so keenly as this last accident, by reason whereof she had spent more sighs and tears than she had done on the occasion of the loss of all her kinsfolk; and so much the more because the said Queen of Scotland was her own kinswoman, and that she was also so closely akin to the King.

And because by the said remonstrances my said lord had put before her many examples drawn from history, she told him that she had read and seen much of books in her life, and more than any other of her sex and quality, and that she had never found nor heard tell of such an act as that which had been designed against her and pursued by her own kinswoman, whom the King her brother-in-law could not and ought not to support in her malice, but should rather aid her to bring her speedily to justice as an example: saying that she had good proofs and experience of the estate of this world, knew what it is to be a subject and a sovereign, what it is to have good neighbours, and sometimes declared illwill; that she had found treason where she had every confidence; that she had seen great benefits little recognised, and in place of gratitude enterprises to overthrow her: saying to the said Monsieur de Bellièvre that she greatly regretted that he had not been deputed and sent to her for a better occasion, and that in a few days she

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After this discourse she retired into her chamber, and my lord aforesaid returned the same day to London, where he remained some days awaiting the answer of the said Queen of England, for which he incessantly urged her and the lords of her Council, who nevertheless constantly postpone the affairs of the poor Queen of Scotland; for which reason my lord aforesaid returned to the court at Richmond to make fresh representations to the Queen of England of that which he had understood to be determined about that poor princess.

It was the 15th of December that he prayed and entreated her, since she had proceeded so far as to sentence of death against her, and there was no need for him to make longer sojourn in England, begging her to give him his safe-conduct to return to the King, which she promised to do within two or three days afterwards.

He returned thence to London the same day, which was Monday. The Tuesday following, 16th of the said month, in the morning, all those of the estates and Parliament of the realm were assembled at the palace called Westminster, where were also the principal lords of the realm and of the Council of the said Queen, whom she had convoked: in which place, and in the presence of all the afore-named, the sentence of death against that poor princess was proclaimed and pronounced in full audience, and with great solemnity and ceremony at all open spaces and cross-roads of London aforesaid, and subsequently throughout the said realm.

And upon this proclamation they caused the bells of the said town to be rung for 24 hours without ceasing, and every one of the inhabitants was commanded to light bonfires in the streets before their doors, as we do in France on the eve of St. John the Baptist.

The next day the said sentence of death was carried and pronounced to the said lady the Queen of Scotland by some, and they the first, of the Council of the realm, accompanied by great numbers of officers of justice, who went to seek her in the place and castle of Fotheringay ["Faudunsay"], ten leagues distant from London.

It is reported that that poor princess was not greatly astonished, but with great constancy told them that all the contents of the said sentence were mere lies and suppositions fabricated against her, and the proceeding therein had been made in the same form as the Scribes and Pharisees had used against Jesus Christ; and that she could not be subject to nor under the jurisdiction of the laws and statutes of the realm, as she had afore protested when she had by constraint answered and spoken before them. The which replies and interrogatories, at least according to that which I have been able to gather thereof, are hereafter written down.

And upon those open proclamations which my lord aforesaid had been able to see and hear, he resolved to write to the Queen of England the letter which follows:—

"Madam, we departed yesterday from your majesty, expecting, as it had pleased you to tell us, to have within a few days your good

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answer to the prayer which we made to you on behalf of the King our master your good brother for the Queen of Scotland his sister-in-law and ally.

And forasmuch as we have this morning been advertised that the judgment given against the said lady the Queen has been proclaimed throughout this town of London, although we assure ourselves that we may rely upon your clemency and the friendship which you bear to the said lord the King your good brother, yet in order to omit nothing of that which I esteemed to be our duty and the desire of his majesty, we would not fail to write you the present letter, whereby we entreat you again and very humbly that you will not refuse his majesty the very instant and very affectionate prayer which he has made to you that it may please you to preserve the life of the said lady the Queen of Scotland, which the said lord the King will receive as the greatest pleasure which your majesty or any other could do him, as on the contrary nothing could befall him which would cause him more regret and displeasure, and which would touch him more to the heart than if severity were used against the said lady the Queen, being what she is to him.

And for this cause, madam, that the said lord the King our master your good brother, when he despatched me to your majesty for this effect, did not deem that it was in any wise possible to make resolution so promptly in such an execution, we entreat you very humbly, before permitting further proceeding, to give us some time during which we will advertise him of the state of the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, in order that before your majesty takes a final resolution therein you may hear what it shall please his most Christian majesty to say and represent to you upon the greatest matter which within our memory has been put to the judgment of men.

The Sieur de St. Cyr, who will deliver the present [letter] to your majesty, will, if so please you, bring us your good answer. London, this 16 Dec. 1586."

It was the said 16th day of December that the said Monsieur de St. Cyr and other French lords made their way to the court of the said Queen of England to present to her the letters above written, which were signed by my lord aforesaid and by Monsieur de Chasteauneuf. The said Queen would not let herself be seen on the said day, excusing herself upon a certain indisposition.

The said letter was left with Mr. Walsingham ["Seigneur Wal Singlian"], her chief secretary of state, who assured him that he would send the answer the next day; which nevertheless was awaited two or three days, when the said answer was brought verbally by two gentlemen who came to seek my lord aforesaid at London without any letters; for the English have this custom and order to negotiate nothing by writing, but only to give words, which they revoke two hours afterwards.

The speech which they made to my lord aforesaid on behalf of the Queen was in consequence of the letter which he had written to her a few days before, concerning the desire which he had that she would give him some days' delay to let the King know the state of the affairs of the Queen of Scotland.

The said Queen of England granted him a delay of twelve days,

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so much only, during which he could let the said lord the King know and give him advice of the matters aforesaid.

Which was the cause that Monsieur de Senlis ["Sentilz"], eldest son of Monsieur Brulart, was incontinently despatched into France, the which Seigneur de Senlis, besides the ample despatch that he bore to his majesty upon this subject, had express charge to report to him—as he did faithfully—the things which he had seen to come to pass during his sojourn in England concerning the affairs of the said Queen of Scotland.

Whereupon his majesty resolved to make a sudden despatch, which arrived in London two days after the delay given of twelve; and my lord aforesaid sent on the instant to the said Queen of England, who had approached within a league of London at a castle called Greenwich ["Grenuch"], where she was keeping the feast of Christmas according to the old almanac, to pray her to be pleased to give him audience, which he could not obtain for four or five days by reason of the said festival.

Finally, on the 6th day of January my said lord was sent for by her: he made his way thither the same day, and having entered the said castle of Greenwich with Monsieur de Chasteauneuf into a paved hall which they call the pleasure chamber where the said Queen was, having saluted her, he made to her the second remonstrances and propositions which you have seen, and which the said Queen heard patiently until the end and last words thereof, which caused her to enter into speech very eagerly and almost indignant.

"Monsieur de Bellièvre, have you charge from the King my brother to use such language to me?" He made answer to her, "Yes, Madam, I have very express commandment therein from his majesty." She replied to him, "Have you this power signed by his hand?" He said to her again, "Yes, Madam, the King my master your good brother has expressly commanded and charged me by letters written with his own hand to make the above remonstrances to you." She said to him, "I demand the like from you, signed by your hand": which my said lord sent her the same day.

She then made those who were in the hall go forth and there remained there only herself, the said Messieurs de Bellièvre, de Chasteauneuf and one of his people, where they remained a good hour in conference.

Nevertheless I have not heard that my said lord was able to draw from her any assurance of the life of the Queen of Scotland, but she assured my lord aforesaid that she would send an ambassador to the King, who would be at Paris as soon as he, by whom his majesty would receive resolution upon the affairs of the said Queen of Scotland.

My lord aforesaid leaves the Queen at her castle of Greenwich on Sunday the 6th day of January, having taken leave of her and of the lords of her court, meaning to start two days afterwards, which was Tuesday the 8th, when we were all ready and booted to betake ourselves back to France: but the said Queen on that day sent two of her gentlemen to my said lord to pray him to be pleased to wait yet two or three days.

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Whereupon, in order to obey her, he remained until the 14th of January, when she sent him his passports, and commanded her admiral to make arrangements, and to cause one of her ships to be held in readiness at the port of Dover for the passage of my lord aforesaid on his return.

After having [] at Rochester [“ Regeter ”] and Canterbury [“ Cantorberilz ”], towns and bishoprics of the realm, we arrived at Dover aforesaid on Saturday the 17th of January, and on Sunday morning about 9 o'clock the wind was so favourable to us that after having embarked we found ourselves happily arrived in safety in the harbour of Calais on the same day at one hour after noon; without having, thank God, suffered any inconvenience from the usual sea-sickness, as had befallen us all in going from the said Calais into England.

As to what happened afterwards, and the same day of our departure from England: on that very day commenced a strange tragedy. There appeared an English gentleman named Mr. Stafford, brother of the ambassador who resides in France for the said Queen, who addressed himself to Monsieur de Trappes, telling him that there was a certain prisoner in London, only for debt, who had a desire to communicate to Monsieur de Chasteauneuf something of importance for the service of the King, and which also touched the Queen of Scotland.

The which advice my lord aforesaid willed not to despise; and thinking that there was no hidden evil therein, resolved to send the *Sieur de Trappes* to the said prisoner in the company of the said Mr. Stafford to hear what he had to say.

The said *Sieur de Trappes* being come to the said prisoner, he began to tell him that he was detained there for one hundred or six score crowns, and that, if it would please the said *Monsieur de Chasteauneuf* to lend them to him, he purposed to do a signal service to the Queen of Scotland by the resolution that he had taken to kill the Queen of England.

The said *Sieur de Trappes* having heard these speeches was amazed, and said to the said prisoner and to the said Stafford who had accompanied him thither, that this was a very wicked man if he had resolved upon such a wretched act; and that he was sure that *Monsieur de Chasteauneuf* would deem all these enterprises very evil in which they wished to make him participate and meddle.

He left him without holding longer speech with him, and the said *Trappes* having returned to the said *Monsieur de Chasteauneuf* [the latter] said to Stafford that he found this practice infinitely strange, and that he knew well that it was an artifice, and that this snare had been laid for him by this trick to get him into trouble; and asked him why he had addressed himself to him for so wicked and miserable an occasion, pointing out to him all that might [ensue] thereupon, and prayed the said Stafford to leave his house immediately and never more to return thither, counselling him to absent himself, and that he well saw that he was lost; he went away quite amazed.

The next day the said Stafford went to see the said *De Trappes* [“ *Seigneur de Strappas* ”], who was ready to go into France, and who had prepared to make the said voyage with us, the said Stafford

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praying the said *Sieur de Trappes* to be pleased to do him that favour to help him to cross the sea, of which the said *De Trappes* informed *Monsieur de Chasteauneuf*, who said to the said *De Trappes*, "Go and tell the said *Stafford* that I have forbidden him my lodging, and that I beg him to leave it speedily; and that were it not for my respect for his kinsfolk, I would at once advertise the Queen of these pursuits."

He left the said lodging and the same day he was taken prisoner.

The said *Sieur de Trappes* started the same day by the posts to come to await us at the Dover crossing to pass the sea with my lord aforesaid, and when he was only two posts from London he was arrested and brought back prisoner to the Tower in the said city.

The fact having happened thus as aforesaid, nevertheless the said *De Trappes* having been heard and interrogated by the Council and the Queen it came to pass that the said interrogatories and answers were quite contrary to and different from the truth, and those fine councillors of England had forged, falsified and composed all such writings as they pleased upon this matter by them invented and put forth.

For it must be noted that they never produce the actual original documents of the proceedings signed by the parties, but only copies, wherein they add and take away what pleases them and serves them in their usual inventions.

The next day, or two days after the imprisonment of *De Trappes* and *Stafford*, my said lord of *Chasteauneuf* was sent for to the Council of the Queen, to which the said *Stafford* was brought and confronted with him, who maintained strange things to him, saying that he and the said *De Trappes* had treated with the said prisoner about the death of the Queen of England.

Whereupon the said *Sieur de Chasteauneuf* knew very well how to answer and to defend himself from such and so dangerous inventions, whereof the English are all full and use them upon all those who displease them as does the said *Sieur de Chasteauneuf*, because he is a very honest man, and does the service of his master as a very good and faithful servant of his majesty.

This fine Queen of England, to colour all her fine practices and pursuits, having sent into France an ambassador who arrived eight or ten days after us, by whom I had thought that the King would receive some good answer upon the affairs of the Queen of Scotland, which she had postponed when my said lord left her, to let him know her last will thereupon: but instead of giving him this satisfaction, he brought him new complaints of his ambassador who was with the said Queen, who, she said, shared the counsels of those who wished to kill her without warning, and many speeches full of calumnies, falsehoods and tricks.

This maliciously conceived pretext being sown throughout England so moved and embittered the people of the said realm against the said *Monsieur de Chasteauneuf* and against that poor Queen of Scotland, that at last the said Queen of England, to consummate and crown the crafty pursuit and artifice, took hereupon fresh occasion to show herself much offended at that accident by her freshly befallen and put forth also by the help and pure malice of her people: which all fell and was thrown upon the neck

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of that poor, miserable princess, whom she has by her schemes led to a death so violent; as you will be able to see by a little discourse which I have gathered from those who have spoken of the same with much truth.

The trial of the said Queen of Scotland was made, formed and instructed hereupon; that the Queen of England has pretended and pretends to have proved and verified that the said Queen of Scotland had conspired against her person, against the estate of the realm, and vowed her death, which she had wished to cause to be attempted by those whom she [Elizabeth] had caused to be put to death: the chief of the fourteen gentlemen who were executed at London was called the lord of Babington.

The said Queen of England, in order to obtain proofs of what is aforesaid, determined with her Council that the said Queen of Scotland should be heard, and should answer by word of mouth concerning the matters and articles drawn and resulting from the trial of the executed men: to which she was constrained by reason of the urgent pursnit and threats made to her.

Although she had delayed for some days and had resolved not to answer or put forward anything, yet, in order that by occasion of that silence she might not the rather be thought guilty of that which was imputed to her, she finally resolved to appear before the said commissioners deputed by the said Queen of England, and made the speeches which I have gathered from a good source.

The said lady being seated at the end of the table in the hall, and the said commissioners around her, the Queen of Scots began to speak in these terms.

“I do not consider that any of you who are here assembled are my peers or judges to examine me on any matters; also what I do now and what I say to you is of my own free will, taking God to witness that I am innocent, clear and pure in my conscience from the imputations and calumnies whereof it is desired to accuse me.”

And she began to speak, commencing by way of protestation, saying that she was a free princess and a queen by birth, not subject to any but to God, to whom she ought to give account of her actions, and therefore protested anew that her appearing before the said commissioners might not be prejudicial to her, nor to the kings, princes and potentates her allies, nor to her son; and required that her protest should be registered, and demanded a note thereof.

The chancellor, one of the commissioners, began and protested on the contrary that the said protest of the said Queen of Scotland might not harm nor prejudice the majesty of the Queen of England nor her crown.

The said chancellor ordered their commission to be read in the presence of the said Queen of Scotland, as being founded upon the statute of the law of the realm.

The said Queen of Scotland answers that she protested again that the said statutes and law were to her insufficient and suspect, and that she could not submit herself to them being in no wise subject thereunto; and that neither the law nor the said statute were made for her at all.

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The said chancellor maintains that the law was sufficient to proceed against her : she replied and said to the said chancellor that this law and statute were not for those of her quality.

The chancellor declared that the commission bore to proceed against her although she would not answer, and that he would pass on to the proceeding : and represented to the said Queen that she had offended against two branches of the said statute and of the law, as well by the conspiracy against the Queen as by the occasion of it, and that she herself had practised and forged it. The said lady the Queen answers that she had never even thought thereof.

Hereupon the letters were read to her which they said had been written by her to the Sieur de Babington, and the answer of the said Sieur de Babington to her.

The said lady answers that she has never seen Babington and had had no conference with him ; also she had received no letters from him ; and that she could not hinder any man from going beyond the sea : but that there is no one who can say and maintain with truth that she has ever done any thing whatsoever to the prejudice of, and against the said Queen of England : and being so closely guarded and without any intelligence from a distance and deprived of all her friends, surrounded by enemies and deprived of all counsel, she could not have participated in, nor consented to the practices which were imputed to her ; and that there are many persons who write to her whom she does not know, and many letters are sent to her of which she knows not whence they come.

Upon the confession of Babington which was read to her, she answers that she had never seen such a letter.

The letter to Babington read, she said that if Babington and others had said anything whatsoever against her they were liars. Also she said, " Bring forth to me now and show me my own letter and my own writing and signature which you say that I wrote to Babington : you only show me falsified copies which you have filled with such language as you wish, and I say I have never seen the said letter."

Babington's letter to her she again said she had never seen. It was pointed out to her that she had seen it, as was proved to her by her answer. She said, " I do not in any wise know this answer. If you show me my letter and signature containing what you say, then I will acquiesce in all that you will, but until now you have produced nothing to me worthy of credence, nothing but copies which you have invented and augmented with that which seemed good to you." And then she said, weeping, " If ever I have compassed or consented to such practices as touched the death of my sister, I pray God that he may never have mercy upon me. I confess, indeed, having written to many whom I have prayed to aid in my deliverance from these miserable prisons, as a captive princess and illtreated for 19 years and odd months ; but it has never happened that I have imagined and written such things against the Queen. It is true that I have secretly written for the deliverance of many Catholics, and if I had been able to, or could yet, with my own blood shield them and deliver them from their pains I would have done it, and will always do all in my power for them to hinder their destruction."

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The said lady addressed herself to Secretary Walsingham as in anger, telling him that he had always been a great enemy to her and her son, and solicited against her with certain personages to her prejudice.

The said Walsingham answered her, "Madam, I protest before God, who is my witness, that I have never done anything against you as a private individual unworthy of an honest man, nor as a public person of my estate; and I say before God, that as a man careful of the welfare of my mistress I have been most desirous thereof."

This is all that was done for that day in these proceedings, until the next day when she was again constrained to present herself to the said commissioners. And being seated at the end of the table in the hall, and the said commissioners around it, she began to say to them quite loudly, "You are not ignorant that I am a sovereign Queen, consecrated and anointed in the church of God, and cannot and ought not for any occasion whatsoever to be called into your courts and audiences to be judged by the law, nor by your statutes which you put forward, for I am a free princess and owe nought to any one, or to any prince any more than he owes to me."

"And of all that which is imputed and charged to me against my sister, I cannot answer you therein if you do not allow me to be assisted by my counsel. And if you wish to proceed further, do what you will, but I continue my former protests concerning all your proceedings. I appeal unto God, who is the sovereign, the true and just judge, and to the kings and princes my allies, friends and confederates."

Her protest was again registered, as she had required.

She was told that she had, moreover, written many evil letters to the princes of Christendom, making against the Queen of England and her estate.

She answers, "I do not deny it, and if it were to do again I would do as I have done to seek my liberty. Bethink you and consider that there is no man or woman in the world of less quality than I am, who would not do the same, and would not employ the aid and the succour of their friends to get out of such a captivity as mine. You charge me with certain letters from Babington; I do not deny it, but show me if you find in those letters a single word which makes mention of the Queen my sister; then there will be occasion to prosecute me. I have written to him who wrote to me that he would set me at liberty, that if he could do it without injuring the estate of us both he should set it forward. What of that?"

Moreover, the said lady said, "As to your charging me with my servants and even my secretaries, you have only treated them very harshly; also they cannot and could not have known any facts or produced any witnesses against me. And as to the words of traitors, it is not through taking account of them at this time that they are dead. You can say what you please: let him believe it who will."

Many things were objected against her, but no sufficient proofs.

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This is what can be gathered from the proceedings against the said Queen of Scotland, having been taken from a translation made from English into French.

Proposals made to the said Queen of England by the Sieur de Belliévre about the Queen of Scotland.

If the Queen of Scotland is fallen into this misfortune that it is imputed to her to have participated in the counsels of any of your subjects who have conspired against your majesty, the calamity of so noble a princess is so much the more deplorable that he who speaks against her with violence and animosity thinks thereby and seems to many to be held as your best servant, and most devoted to the preservation of your estate and of your life.

This notwithstanding, madam, the natural goodness of your Majesty detests no less than you the malice of your enemies, that he kindly what the King my master, your good brother and true friend, has commanded me to say to you on his behalf on the subject of this new accident befallen in your realm.

I will tell you in the first place, madam, that his most Christian Majesty detests no less than you the malice of your enemies, that he esteems them his own; and as every ill which should befall your majesty would be common to him, so it was an infinite satisfaction to him to hear of the good order which you have here given to all that which can concern the preservation of your affairs, which having been assured almost as far as it is possible to do by means of your forces and authority, we trust that your majesty will now reestablish them for ever by a very much stronger and more durable power, which I hope from your clemency, goodness and moderation.

I will not enter into the merits of the case that it was desired to impute to the Queen of Scotland, because it is a thing whereof I cannot know the truth, but chiefly because it is quite impossible for me to understand who can be the accuser in this affair, who can be the accused, who can be the judge.

No judgment can subsist without three persons. In the matter which presents itself I find but one, your attorney general. Madam, this is a person lawfully established in sufficient power, given to him by your majesty, to solicit that which concerns your interest against all those who are under your jurisdiction.

But I cannot in any wise whatsoever persuade myself that your majesty, ordained of God sovereign princess in this beautiful and great realm of England, has wished to degrade from the rank of princes and to declare subject to jurisdiction the Queen of Scotland, dowager of France, sister-in-law of the King your good brother, and your cousin german.

Therefore, setting before my eyes the great and worthy qualities of this princess, I say, madam, and say it with assurance, that my speech will not be disagreeable to you, that your majesty will never approve a judgment which would be given rather to the prejudice of the dignity of kings than against the person of the Queen of Scotland.

Kings are not always alike in greatness and power, but in that which concerns royal dignity the greatest have not hitherto wished

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that more should be attributed to them than to those who are their inferiors in power, and have been content among themselves to use the name and laws of brotherhood without presuming that they have power to rule one another. Therefore, madam, truth compels us to confess that one king cannot rule another as the subject of a king may be able to do who is a private person, and as far removed from and inferior to the royal dignity as the earth is from heaven.

God alone can judge kings, and forbids us to touch his anointed. The poet Callimachus in his hymn to Jupiter says that the other gods have the care one of music, another of the chase, of war and such-like things, but that Jupiter has reserved to himself alone to have regard to kings, because there is nothing more divine than the kings to whom he has committed the keeping of cities and the conduct of peoples. *Regum timendorum in proprios greges, reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.*

If those who make profession of wishing to change and to overthrow kingdoms in popular confusion counselled that the dignity of kings should be profaned, it would be less insupportable to listen to them : but that it can enter into the mind of councillors, so wise and virtuous as those of your majesty have the reputation to be, to consent to a thing so prejudicial to the greatness and dignity of their Queen and mistress, it is to me quite impossible to believe it.

Your councillors, madam, according to that which they conscientiously believe, may have said, "The Queen of Scotland has committed such an act," but that they counsel you to cause the penalty of your laws to be executed against the said Queen, that is a thing that I cannot understand.

I am not ignorant, madam, of what is said to the contrary, that a stranger entering into a realm and committing some crime contracts and binds himself to the laws of the realm.

Considering in myself the majesty that I see imprinted, and which shines from the sweetness of your truly royal countenance, I assure myself, madam, that your prudence will never permit that the history of a life full of so many examples of virtue, of goodness and of wisdom as that of Queen Elizabeth of England is, and will be commended to posterity, should be tarnished by a so strange alteration and overthrow of the royal dignity that in her time, and that in her kingdom, there where she has all power and rule, it was resolved and found good that there should be no difference between kings and private persons, who will be held as equal to one another.

This is a thing, madam, which I maintain is quite insupportable to hear, monstrous to tell, and which could not be approved by so wise and royal a princess as it has pleased God to make you by birth.

Plato says that the offspring of low and common men is of lead or of iron, that of kings is of gold. We who are born subjects of kings do not seek to take from them that for which the wisest philosophers and free towns, for the most part enemies of kings, have deemed they should be honoured.

And for final answer to those who maintain that a foreigner is subject to the laws of the realm where he is found to have offended ; without departing in any wise from my former resolution that such laws were never written for sovereign princes, I will say

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then, that if the Queen of Scots had chosen her habitation in England one might apply to her case that Socrates was willing [to conform] to the observation of the laws of Athens because before being summoned to justice it had been lawful for him to choose and to fix his dwelling elsewhere.

But, madam, your goodness will allow me, if you please, in this necessity of the cause which I maintain, to say to you that the Queen of Scotland being your nearest kinswoman and ally, having entered this your realm of England with all assurance and good will, and moreover as a suppliant bringing with her the safe-conduct of God, the most rigorous treatment which it seemed she might expect was that she might be sent back as she had come. Homer says distinctly, "And every suppliant is sent from Jupiter." We read in another poet, *Sed jura fidemque supplicis exhibuit, meque in mea regna remisit*. A sparrow pursued by a hawk took refuge in the bosom of the philosopher Xenocrates, who sheltered it carefully from the violence of the hawk, and by-and-bye let it go in full liberty, saying that it was not lawful to offend the suppliant. All Christendom knows well enough the things which have since befallen, and how much your majesty has been willing that your clemency should surpass the ill-will of those who have troubled your affairs.

I do not believe that the Queen of Scotland is so far forgetful as to have adhered to them, but if it were so that the tedium, the rage and the despair of an imprisonment of 19 years should have driven her to follow some imprudent counsel, it will please you, madam, to call to mind and keep in view the generosity of that great Alexander, who having defeated the Persians found in their army many Greeks who had fought against him. He caused the Athenians and Thessalonians to be rigorously punished, although they had favoured their nation, but as to the Thebans who were in the said army he pardoned them. "Because," said he, "we have taken from them their towns and their lands and have left them nothing."

Rusticiana, wife of Boetius and sister of Gymmachus whom King Theodoric had caused to be put to death, caused the statues of Theodoric to be thrown down. Accused of the crime before Fotillas she was absolved, because it seemed to that king that she had been moved by just grief, avenging as she could the death of her brother and of her husband. Hence I say that even if the Queen of Scotland had been born a private person the occasions which have been able to drive her to this despair are worthy of commiseration, and the reasons which are stated for the defence may find place with the clemency of your majesty, who remembering her former affection will say with Dido *Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*.

God commands his people to remember and have compassion upon pilgrims because they have also been such. If since the imprisonment of the Queen of Scotland anything has happened which has displeased your majesty, theologians and historians teach us that the ills which are committed during a war ought chiefly to be imputed to him who is the cause of the war.

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You are both sovereign princesses. It will be considered in this matter who began the offence.

Within our memory we have known many prisoners of war detained and kept in fortresses have made plans to surprise them, whereby besides the loss of the fortress the death of the master of the prisoner might befall, and that of all the inhabitants, with sack and burning of the town. For this reason it has never yet been found that it was thought right to proceed against all prisoners of war by the usual methods of justice, it being a thing which could not be done without too pronounced injustice, which would be against the law of nations, of which the laws which should be made in this your kingdom or any other whatsoever can change or alter nothing to the prejudice of their neighbours; for the consent of nations and of centuries is held as another law of nature.

That the condition of the Queen of Scotland should be harder than that of a prisoner of war I do not believe, madam, can be rightly maintained.

If they tell you that Conrad, who was the last prince of Guabia, was condemned and put to death by sentence of King Charles, brother of the king St. Louis, for having invaded the peace of the church, usurped the name of King, attempted the life of the said King Charles, I answer that if ever a thing has been blamed both by those who lived at that time and by all histories which have since been written, it is the sentence given and executed against the said Conrad. The French who accompanied King Charles held this judgment in execration, and especially his son-in-law the Count of Flanders, who afterwards killed with his own hand the judge who had given and pronounced so iniquitous a sentence. King Charles was reproached with being more Nero than Nero, more cruel than the Saracens, who having taken King St. Louis prisoner with his brother, had shown more kindness and humanity than the Christians, for they treated them both honourably during the imprisonment and set them at liberty upon honest and tolerable conditions.

Historians attribute the misfortunes which have since befallen the French in the wars of Naples to the cruelty of this judgment, which is held to have been given against the law of nations.

*In quæ triumphato ludibria cuncta Iugurtha afuerunt,
nostræque cadens ferus Hanibal iræ membra tamen Stygias
tulit inviolata sub umbras.*

So let no one, madam, allege to you the example of so dreadful a judgment without the alliance of your good nature, and one which has been very unfortunate for posterity and for the memory of him who was the author of it. And if one should compare the matter of the said Queen of Scotland with that of the said Conrad, I say, madam, that the said Conrad could be condemned with more show of justice than if the said lady should be condemned.

Conrad was accused of having troubled the peace of the church, usurped the name of the King, attempted the life of the said King Charles. Let us admit that all these things are imputed to the said lady the Queen; it remains that what the said Conrad did was not done to save his life, to set himself free, which is the only cause of the charge which may remain against this noble princess, detained so long in your prisons.

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Conrad entered the kingdom of Naples in order to take the life and kingdom of King Charles : the Queen of Scotland did not come into yours to do harm, but only for the hope that she had in her great trouble that the sight of your majesty would be her haven of refuge, and because she could expect no less than to find safety for a few days till she had taken counsel [to return to] her realm of Scotland or to fly to France and put herself entirely into the hands and under the protection of the late King Charles of most high and honourable memory, her brother-in-law.

The enemies of the said Queen of Scotland make a terrible [cry] to be heard among your people that the life of the said lady the Queen is your ruin, and that the lives of both cannot subsist in this same realm. We say at once, what has been may be. It seems that the authors of this utterance would attribute all to the counsels of men and nought to the wisdom of God.

David, chosen of God to be king of the people of Israel and having been heard by the prophet Samuel, was cruelly [persecuted] by Saul, who tried many times to kill him. Saul fell at last into the power of David, who yet would not in any wise harm him, and contented himself with cutting his garment. Those who helped David blamed him because when God had given him means he had not put an end to the enterprises which Saul did not cease to make against his life. The answer of this good king was, " God forbid that I should touch his anointed ; I leave to God to judge the works of his enemy and mine." Instead of attacking Saul he caused the Amalekite who killed him to be put to death, detested and made the greatest imprecations against Mount Gilboa where Saul was killed, " As if," said he, " he had not been anointed by God."

Such was the opinion of this good king, although many deemed that upon the death of Saul depended the preservation of his life and the safety and repose of his kingdom. But he wished to show that his chief trust was in God ; and having to reign, he could not approve or consent to anything which was to the prejudice of the dignity and safety of kings.

Those, madam, who give you these counsels so sanguinary and inhuman, to the ruin of the Queen of Scotland, put before us the wretched counsel so much detested and blamed which was given to King Charles, *Vita Conradini, mors Caroli ; mors Conradini, vita Caroli*.

Let us entrust our guidance to God, knowing that not a single hair of our head will fall without his will. Those who try to avoid one danger often fall into a greater one.

If any Catholic princes resolve upon an undertaking against your kingdom, it will not be to save the Queen of Scotland, it will be for the matter of religion. And the said lady being dead and removed from this realm the cause of the war will not cease, but rather the occasion will be redoubled and the pretext of the said war rendered more specious than it was before, as the just vengeance of an act so strange and so extraordinary, which had been committed against all the laws of the world in the person of a sovereign princess, a Queen consecrated and anointed in the church of God.

I say, madam, that instead of preventing the war and the ills with which it seems to many that this kingdom is menaced, you will

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For there was formerly show of reason in that counsel, that it was fitting to avail yourself of her as a shield to oppose to the arrows which should be launched against your person. You ought not to lose the shield which you have used so long. She is to you like a stone which you hold in your hand : if you once let it go and cast it against your enemy you can no more threaten nor strike him with it ; on the contrary, it is rather in his power to use it against you.

If you cause the Queen of Scotland to be put to death, as some counsel you, her death will animate your enemies with despair, and with an honest pretext to do their worst against you, and will agree with their inclinations.

And the just grief of the kindred and friends of the said lady will cause many to think just all such vengeance as they can and will take for the injury done to their kinswoman.

I will say yet more, that he who shall pursue the vengeance of an injury which it will be claimed was done to all kings in general, will hope to have many kings and princes favourable, and will be able to assure himself that few will be contrary to him.

We know that those who have sworn in their heart the ruin of the Queen of Scotland, seeing that they cannot maintain with any apparent reason that it is right to use severity, resort to utility, and say that being heir apparent of your majesty she cannot [but] be greatly suspected by you.

I detest with Cicero the opinion of those who want to separate utility from rightness. Many say that it was useful to Regulus not to return from Carthage, well foreseeing the torments which he would be made to suffer as soon as he should arrive. But he judged that it was not right to live after he had broken faith.

Actius Verus, warned by his guard of some whom it was pretended were to succeed him, laughed at it. " If it is ordained," said he, " that they shall be my successors, I have no wish to kill them, for no one ever killed his successor."

Andronicus Comnenus, wishing to have Isaac Angelus killed, who it had been predicted was to succeed him, gave occasion for a rising of the people, who were indignant at his cruelty, and killed him himself.

We in France have believed for 19 years past that your most wise and prudent majesty, who know better than any other the interior of your affairs, held as a fundamental counsel that there was nothing which better served to sift many evil designs which might be formed against your service than the object of the right which, the case arising, the Queen of Scotland might claim to your succession. Moreover, we say that he who changes fundamental counsels puts himself in the way to change the state.

If you are told that your Catholic subjects are less obedient to you for the support that they draw from the Queen of Scotland, your prudence judges much better that one need not trouble much about so feeble a support.

And upon this subject I will tell you, madam, what I have been assured by a person of honour : that a certain minister of a prince who may be subject to you said openly, that he desired for the

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greatness of his master that the Queen of Scotland were already lost, because he is very sure that the party of the English Catholics would range itself wholly on the side of his master.

In this discussion of what is useful or harmful, I would entreat you, madam, to be pleased to consider if severity be used against the said lady the Queen of Scotland, the despair into which will be thrown those who belong to her by blood, by alliance, by friendship and by esteem, to whom the injury done to her will be common and quite insupportable. The number, the greatness and the dignity of the princes who declare that they wish to link their fortune with hers will deserve to be taken into your wise consideration.

We are not ignorant, madam, of the great means and gifts which it has pleased God to bestow upon you both of fortune and of prudence; but this last goddess counsels us to seek no risk; that which cannot honourably be avoided to pay attention to it; that which is not necessary must not be joined to it.

Your majesty has reigned long and happily through having always preferred moderate counsels to violence, which makes us believe that those who shall think now to be able by their artifices to change your clemency into severity will rather discover their own ill nature than be able to cause yours to change.

It is said that to arrive at a good resolution of things brought under deliberation, it is necessary that he who counsels [and he who is counselled] tend to the same end and have the same aim.

The King my master prays and conjures you by all the duties of friendship, in this adversity which has befallen the Queen of Scotland, to be pleased to preserve your gentleness and your former moderation. He can have no other aim in this counsel which he gives you than to see your reign continue in all greatness, repose and tranquillity.

With this I desire [an honest respite] to the many miseries and afflictions which so noble a princess suffers continually, who is your good sister and your cousin german; for what other fruit can he expect from the prayer and instance which I now make to you therein by his most express command.

But as regards those who counsel you to harshness, I refer it to the prudence of your majesty, whether they may not be corrupted by some other passion which regards rather their private welfare and interest than your service.

Whereupon, madam, I will not enlarge further, but will entreat you to be pleased to think of the consequence of the resolution which is to be taken in an affair of so great importance, not only for us who entreat you therein with so much affection, but also for you whom the matter touches more than any other.

And I assure you, madam, that the King my master, your good brother and true friend, has herein no other aim than the welfare and interest which is common to him with your majesty.

We speak for the cause which is held without doubt for the most honest we have and which we firmly believe to be the most useful; others allege only utility. If there were any doubt in our mind which counsel of the two we ought to maintain as the most useful, it is much better and much safer in this uncertainty to resolve upon that whereunto, with show of utility, rightness is joined.

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I shall not fear then, madam, to counsel you to clemency, without offending the ears of your majesty, since I counsel you a thing which is in conformity with your good nature; and if any one is offended thereat I shall have recourse to your majesty and [your] favourable protection.

And I will say freely, in using kindness [not] only towards the Queen of Scotland but also towards all your Catholic subjects, you will greatly increase the praise of your happy memory, in time to come and now, to the assurance and preservation of your affairs. As says a wise writer, "That rule is most stable and durable wherein those who obey live content."

May it then please your majesty and your goodness to remove the fear wherein many of your poor Catholic subjects live; in doing which you will use the counsel which you have always given us both by your letters and by your ambassadors.

Marcus Antonius, having discovered the conspiracy of Avidius Cassius, caused some to be put to death in the heat of the moment, but the judges wishing to do the like with the rest, he made them a harangue in public whereby he exhorted them not further to avenge his grief, for that although there had been justice therein, nevertheless the matter was full of bitterness and hatred.

Let us take the wise counsel that Livia gave to her husband Augustus Cæsar when the conspiracy of Cornelius, grandson of Pompey the great, was discovered: "More things," said she, "can be put right by kindness and benevolence than by cruelty." Those who use mercy oblige not only those whom they have pardoned, but also are greatly beloved and esteemed by all other persons who have knowledge of their goodness: those who are harsh and inexorable are hated of God and man, and one is usually very glad to do them ill when means present themselves, for fear that they will succeed in doing you some injury so soon as they have the means. Augustus had until then very severely punished those who had offended him, but I know by experience that the severity of the punishments brought him no security, fresh conspiracies against him being daily revealed, so that he could have no peace of mind by day or by night until he had taken Livia to wife, who being very wise and discreet took occasion to tell him her opinion freely on this subject, counselling him to change his severity into the mildness which he had formerly used, and to be pleased rather to try what kindness and clemency would bring him in future. He thought this good advice, contented himself with setting before the conspirators the fault that they had committed, set them at liberty, and specially elected Cornelius to the consular dignity, which succeeded so happily that his greatest enemies lost heart thenceforth to offend him any more; it served to traitors as an example of obedience, and from that time the reign of this great emperor was so happy and so tranquil that in prayers made for successors to the empire there was desired for them in the first place and above all things the felicity of Augustus.

Which, madam, will accompany you throughout and beyond your life, and your praises will be perpetual in history, if you follow the same counsel and imitate the example of that good and virtuous emperor.

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Although, madam, the King my master, your good brother and good friend, expects to find in you the same wise resolution, yet he has thought it his duty to make this most just and affectionate prayer to you that it may please you to deliver the Queen of Scotland from the affliction and extremity to which she finds herself reduced, his most Christian majesty having an extreme desire and obligation to help her in this great need, being his sister-in-law, his kinswoman and ally, whom he cannot and ought not in any wise to abandon.

He desires above all things in the world to have a perpetual obligation to you for the pleasure and friendship which you will show him on the present occasion, which so keenly touches his heart and his honour; praying you, madam, to assure yourself that he will never have an ungrateful memory thereof, and that he will be at pains all the rest of his life to recognise that obligation by all the offices of a true and perfect friendship that you can expect from a good brother, a true and perfect friend.

The Queen, mother of his majesty, your good sister, participating in the trouble and affliction of the Queen of Scotland her daughter-in-law, also prays you for her deliverance with such affection and passion as may be found in a good mother who tenderly loves her daughter. To which I will add the very affectionate prayers of the reigning Queen your good sister, who mourns perpetually for the calamity of her kinswoman.

All this great realm of France, which has acknowledged and revered the Queen of Scotland as her Queen, implores your kindness on this occasion. You, madam, can greatly oblige or afflict us all by the resolution that it will please you to take in the affair of this noble princess, who has been our Queen, who receiving from you gracious treatment instead of the ill wherewith her enemies threaten her, your majesty will lay an immortal obligation upon our life.

Two propositions made at Greenwich the 6th January 1587.

Madam, we have imparted to the King our master, your good brother, the answer which you were pleased to make to us upon that which we have prayed and set before you on his behalf touching the Queen of Scotland in two audiences which your majesty has given us.

His most Christian majesty has been greatly grieved at seeing that which we have written to him, not only on account of the said Queen of Scotland, who is his kinswoman, ally and sister-in-law, but also on your account, madam, of whose friendship the said lord makes and wishes all his life to make great account with all reliance and esteem.

He prays you again, madam, to be pleased to take into your wise consideration the prayer that he has made to you therein, which he esteems full of justice and honour, and to be no less for your good than that of the person in whose favour he returns to pray you that you will not refuse him.

When the King your good brother speaks [to preserve the life of the Queen of Scotland his sister-in-law, when his majesty speaks*]

* Supplied from Add. MS. 30,342.

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for the cause which is common among kings, he does not think that you will thence conceive the opinion that it is desired to speak to your prejudice. The said lord the King knows you for a Queen and sovereign princess who has in this matter common interest with other kings and sovereign princes, and especially the said lady the Queen of Scotland being also your nearest kinswoman.

And as to the offence which your majesty pretends to have been done to her in particular, your goodness has many times declared that you seek no vengeance for it, and thus we believe it.

But as to the doubt which remains to you that in preserving the life of the Queen of Scotland your own may be in danger, for which alone you desire to provide, the King your good brother enters into this thought with your majesty, as is very right, whence there may come to you more ill and danger or more repose, safety and content, both in regard to your person and your affairs. He judges that without doubt the death of the Queen of Scotland, happening thus as some counsel you, would be infinitely more prejudicial to you than her life could incommode you.

I do not wish to dwell upon that which some say, that it must be feared that the said lady may make a fresh attempt against your majesty's person, but we believe that there is very much less to fear for your majesty while she is alive and in your hands than if she were dead.

God has given your majesty so many means and so much understanding that, should the said lady be free, in your kingdom or elsewhere, you could well guard yourself from her. But she is so closely detained that she could not harm the least of your servants.

She was scarcely 25 years of age when she was detained as your prisoner, and deprived of communication with persons of counsel, for which cause it is, perhaps, easier for those to deceive her who have maliciously been willing to procure and fabricate imprudent counsels for her.

If, ruling in Scotland and being there obeyed as Queen, she had entered this your realm to take from you your estate and life, and had happened to fall into your power, she could not, by right of war, have expected harsher treatment than to pay a good ransom; for until this present I have been unable to hear or understand how any one can maintain that she is under your jurisdiction.

The said lady entered your kingdom a suppliant and persecuted, in great affliction, a sovereign princess and your nearest kinswoman. She has been long in hope of being restored to her kingdom by your goodness and favour. And of all these great hopes she has until now reaped nothing but a perpetual prison.

Moreover, madam, it having pleased your majesty to say that you only desired to see the means how it could be done that in saving the life of the Queen of Scotland you might not put your own in danger, we have made it known to the King our master, your good brother, to receive commandment hereupon, his majesty desiring above all things in this world to be able therein to bring forward some good means which might be to your contentment, although the thing appears to him to be entirely in your hands, who detain the Queen of Scotland prisoner and hold her in your power.

This noble princess is now so cast down and humiliated that her

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1587. greatest enemies might have compassion upon her, which makes me hope the more from the clemency and generosity of your majesty. What more remains to the Queen of Scotland than a very miserable life of very few days? We have never been able to believe that your majesty could resolve upon so severe an execution.

Cicero says to Julius Cæsar, speaking for the King Deiotarus, *Est ita inusitatum regem capitis reum esse ut ante hoc tempus non sit auditum.*

If the Queen of Scotland is innocent, it is just that she be discharged of this accusation. If you deem her guilty, it is honourable for you to pardon her. If you will do it, you will do that which good princes have been wont to do. King Porsena took the hand from over the fire and pardoned Quintus Mutius, who confessed and boasted that he had entered his army in order to kill and assassinate him.

The greatest precept for reigning well and happily is to abstain from bloodshed. One bloodshed leads to another, and such executions usually have sequels.

We are now at the feast of Christmas, when it pleased God instead of avenging himself for the iniquity and ingratitude of men to send into this world his only son our Lord Jesus Christ to serve as a victim and propitiation for our sins. Therefore, at the feast of the Nativity of our life we men must put away all terrible, odious and bloody things from our eyes and from our thoughts.

If your majesty adopts extreme counsels against the Queen of Scotland, those who are bound to her by kindred and friendship may also adopt the like counsels; on the other hand, if it please you to use kindness towards the said lady, all Christian princes will deem themselves bound to be watchful for your preservation, which in the first place the King offers you on his own behalf, and promises you that he will do his utmost to prevent such attempts being made in future as it is pretended have been made against your majesty, and will command the kinsmen of the Queen of Scotland who are in his realm and cause them to bind themselves and sign by their fealty and homage and to guarantee for the said lady the Queen that neither she nor any for her will undertake anything against your majesty. Wherein his said most Christian majesty will do for you in his kingdom and in all others the good offices of a good brother and perfect friend.

And if your most prudent and discreet majesty should think good to put forward any other means that you shall deem fitting for your safety and satisfaction, on your deigning to let us know it we will employ ourselves most faithfully therein with all our power, and will serve you gladly with his said majesty: beseeching you for these causes, madam, to be pleased of your goodness to take in very good part and to consider that which we have set before you by express command of the King our master, your good brother, and not to believe that it will be a means to secure yourself if you put the Queen of Scotland to death.

Your fortune is very happy in this your realm, your renown very great among the potentates of the world, which causes us to expect that you will not be persuaded to resolve upon a thing which would be so contrary to your life hitherto.

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Your majesty will live in greater security by the Queen of Scotland remaining alive than if it should happen that she be put to death. I will not stay to deduce the reasons, because your majesty can understand them better than any other. The bloody remedies which are proposed would rather be the beginning of many ills than the end of those which it is professed to wish to remedy.

Sleep is a thing very needful for sick folk, and there is nothing which engenders it more than the poppy, but it is only fools and bad doctors who order it for their patients.

His most Christian majesty hopes that your goodness will reject so terrible a counsel which is given against the Queen of Scotland. But if it should not be your majesty's good pleasure to have regard to so many and so great considerations for the which we make you this very earnest and affectionate prayer on behalf of the said lord the King our master, but to cause a judgment so severe and extraordinary to proceed, he has charged us to tell you, madam, that he cannot but resent it as a thing against the common interest of all kings, which will have greatly offended him in particular.

The last speeches made by the said lady the Queen of Scotland from the time she was admonished of her death until the hour thereof.

On Monday the 15th day of January* 1587, Mr. Beale ["milord Belle"], one of the lords who are about the said Queen of England, was sent by her to Fotheringay ["Faldructzay"], where the Queen of Scotland was a prisoner, with charge and commission from the said Queen of England diligently to cause full execution to be made of the sentence given and pronounced upon the said lady the Queen of Scotland, and the Earl of Shrewsbury was commanded to be present at that execution; and also some other lords of the neighbourhood nearest to the said castle of Fotheringay.

The which Mr. Beale on his arrival desired to visit the said Queen of Scotland the same day, as he did about eight or nine o'clock in the evening.

He presented himself at the door of her chamber, which was quickly opened by one of the ladies of the chamber, of whom he enquired whether the said lady were ready to go to bed. She answered him that she was preparing for it, and had already doffed her mantle. She immediately returned to the chamber of the said lady and told her that Mr. Beale had already entered her antechamber and desired to speak to her.

The said lady asked for the mantle which she had taken off, and caused the door of her chamber to be opened. He entered, and having saluted her said to her, "Madam, I could well have wished that another than I should have announced to you such ill news as I have now to tell you on behalf of the Queen of England: but being her faithful servant, as I am, I could not do less than obey the command that she has given me. That is, madam, to admonish you, as I now do, to dispose and hold yourself ready to-morrow at ten o'clock in the morning to suffer the execution of the sentence of death which was pronounced upon you a few days ago."

* *Sic*: MS. 30,342 has 15th of February.

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The said lady answers him with very great firmness and without being in any wise afraid, saying, "I praise and thank my God that it pleases him to put an end to so many miseries and calamities that I have been constrained to bear for 19 years and until now, having been made prisoner and so ill-treated by the Queen of England, my sister, without having harmed her; wherein God is my chief witness that I am about to render my spirit into His hands innocent and with a pure heart and clear conscience before his divine majesty of the crimes whereof she has caused me to be accused: and I shall to-day boldly bear this my innocence before his face as before him who is sole judge of my past actions."

"And since I am called to die so violent a death, compassed by means of so unjust a judgment by men under whose jurisdiction I cannot possibly be, I will nevertheless expose myself and present myself thereto, which will be more agreeable to me than to live longer in the same calamity and martyrdom wherein I have too long been made to languish, having hoped no less from her ill nature, her mortal hatred and the satisfaction of her cruelty towards me, and to please her councillors and other my ancient enemies, of whom she has been pleased to make use for the advancement of my ruin and of my death, which I am about to endure patiently, being thus delivered from their continual pursuits to reign for ever, if it please God, in a happier dwelling than that wherein I have spent the greater part of my years near to so hard and cruel a kinswoman. But since she has thus resolved upon it, and with so much severity, the will of God be done."

The ladies and other persons who were about the said lady having heard and understood this sad news, began to cry out and to shed tears and to fall almost into despair but for the sweet consolation that this poor princess gave them, exhorting them upon all points to the patience which is set before us by the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, upon which she set and grounded the foundation of her salvation, praying the said ladies to watch and pray to God continually with her, which they did until an hour* after midnight, when she wished to lie down on her bed, where she remained only half an hour.

Then she entered into a closet which served her as an oratory where she was wont to say her private prayers, praying meanwhile all those who were in her chamber to continue in their prayers while she should be saying hers, which she did until dawn, when she came forth from her devotions and said these words to her ladies:—

"My good friends, an infinite regret remains with me that I have not been able to recognise in deed, as I have had good will to do, the good and faithful services that every one of you has rendered me in my necessity."

"I have only one more thing to do, and that is to add a clause to the will that I have left, and to ordain that my son the King of Scotland do this office for me, to recognise you, and to make satisfaction and honest contentment to every one of you after my death; and I will write to him upon that and other things which I have particularly to say to him."

* MS. 30,342 has "two hours."

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She re-enters her cabinet in order to write, having her pen in her hand for two hours. And as she was finishing her letters, someone came knocking at the door, which she chose to open herself to the said Mr. Beale, who was then accompanied by Sir Amyas Pawlet [“*Sieur Poller*”], who was he who had the said lady in his keeping, who came to take her to the place prepared for her last moments.

She made request to them to give her respite of yet half an hour of time to complete something which she had begun to write, which was granted her, the said Beale and Pawlet remaining still in the antechamber.

The said lady came forth soon afterwards from her cabinet, where she had left what she had written, and said to two of her ladies: “*I pray you, my good friends, not to forsake me, and be near me, if you please, at the time of my death.*”

Going forth out of her chamber she found the said Beale and Pawlet before her. She said to them, “*If it is now that I am to die, tell me, for I am quite prepared with as much patience as it shall please God to give me. But nevertheless I will pray you to tell and report to the Queen of England my sister that she and those of her Council have placed upon me the most iniquitous and unjust judgment that was ever given in this realm and in all Christendom; made without any certain proof, form or order of justice whatsoever: and I am quite certain that the judgments of God will constrain her so straitly and so nearly that her own conscience will accuse her all her life, and God after her death, of the innocence upon which I am willing stedfastly to render my spirit into his hands.*”

Upon this she begged that her two ladies might be allowed to approach her, and the master of her household; who took her under the arms in going down from her room into a large, low hall of the said castle of Fotheringay, which had been prepared and hung with black to see so piteous a spectacle.

In the middle of it was a raised platform, with five or six steps to mount, where she was aided by the said master of the household and the said ladies.

The people, who were very attentive to notice her gestures and her countenance, and well to remember all the words which fell from her lips, cast their eyes upon that poor princess, in whose face appeared so great a beauty that every one marvelled at it.

The said lady being upon her knees, with hands folded and eyes raised to heaven, spoke with such assurance that she seemed to be quite unmoved by death, and in the silence which was given her began to make this prayer:—

“*My God, my Father, my Creator, and his only Son Jesus Christ my Lord and Redeemer, who art the hope of all the living and of all those who die in thee, since thou hast ordained that my soul be separated from this mortal body I beseech thee very humbly of thy goodness and mercy not to forsake it in this extremity, but to be pleased to cover it with thy most holy grace, forgiving me the offences and faults that I have committed against thy holy ordinances and commandments.*”

“*Although it pleased thee to grant me this special grace to cause*

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1587. me to be born a queen, consecrated and anointed in thy church, I have nevertheless ever considered and esteemed, as I still do, that all this greatness will not render me excusable for my faults towards thee, being of the same condition as other human creatures, subject to thy righteous judgments, more certain than are those which are in the heart and thoughts of inconstant and changeable men, who have often forgotten them and deviated from them of their own accord, as for example in the misfortune that their sheer ambition and envy have procured for me before the Queen of England, even to the bloody death which they have for a long time premeditated and sworn against me; and not wishing, my God, to ignore, but fully to say and confess that I have often strayed from the straight path of thine ordinances, for which, and for such fault as I may have committed in any wise whatsoever, I beseech thee very humbly, my God, to be pleased to grant me remission, as also with all my heart I pardon all those who have harmed me and by their iniquitous sentence adjudged me to this cruel death."

"Permit me, my God, to say yet for my justification without offending thee, and in few words to inform all those in whose presence I render my spirit to thee, the rest of the kingdom and all Christendom, of the protest that I make, which is that I have never consented unto, desired, conspired, nor in any wise given counsel or aid in all the conspiracies of death for which I am here so falsely accused and so inhumanly treated: but I have, it is true, often sought by the aid of my friends, allies and Catholic confederates of this realm, and the most gentle and honest citizens elsewhere befitting my quality whom I could call to mind, in order to escape and get out of these miserable prisons to enter into some liberty without offence to thy divine majesty and the state of this realm."

"And if I have had any such intent, I beseech thee that my soul may be for ever deprived of any share in thy mercy and grace, and of the fruit that it hopes for and expects from the death and passion of thy most dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ."

"And as innocent of all these calumnies I remit all my other faults and offences to thy holy and divine justice, by the invocation which I make to the glorious Virgin Mary and to all the most happy holy angels who are in Paradise, that it may please them now to intercede for me before God, in order that I may attain and reign for ever with them in celestial glory."

Having finished this prayer, she drew forth a white handkerchief which she had put under her cloak, and gave it to one of the said ladies who was near her, saying, "Come, bind my eyes with this kerchief, and do not forsake my body, I beg you, in my extremity, while I shall have the care of my soul."

Her eyes having been bound, a minister and the executioner, clad in a robe of black velvet, approached.

The minister began to try to counsel her, saying, "Madam, you must think no more of the things of this world, but indeed of God only."

Suddenly the said lady asked one of her said ladies, "Tell me, is it not a minister who is speaking to me? Do not conceal it from me."

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One of them answered, "Yes, madam."

She said then, "Alas! My God, I remember that thou hast said that we should be tempted and assailed by the enemies of our souls in the hour of our death."

And upon this she repeated what David the prophet said in Psalms vi. and xxxvii., "Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping and hath received my prayer." "My God, forsake me not and go not far from me. Hearken and help me, my God, who art the author of my salvation."

Those who were there present marvelled to see the great beauty and constancy of that poor princess, and the patience that she maintained.

The executioner approached to do his office, which he did quickly enough, after the fashion of the country. Having cut off her head he took it in hand, saying in a loud voice, "There is the head of Mary Stuart." Then he put it back by the body, which was immediately covered by the said ladies with a black cloth which was at hand, and it was permitted to them to have it lifted and carried to the chamber where the said Queen of Scotland was wont to lie.

The greater part of the people who had heard all that the said lady had declared at her death, held her innocent of all that which had been imputed and charged to her; and if the said execution had been done in public it is thought that there would have been a very great uproar, and that the said lady would have been helped and delivered from that unjust judgment.

The news of this execution came to London; bells were rung from all the churches for 24 hours, and towards evening bonfires were lighted in the streets of the said town and at every corner and cross-road of it, in token of rejoicing for the prediction* befallen in this realm.

The said lady the Queen of Scotland said the above in the English language, which has been put and translated into French.

66½ pp. *French. Copy.*

Another copy of the same, with differences.

Add MSS.
30,342,
fol. 70b.

June 1. **353.** HENRY III. TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

This present will be to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th of this month, wherein you discourse to me very particularly of the state in which the affairs of Scotland are, and of the regret that the King my good nephew continues to show for the death of the late Queen of Scotland his mother, with a desire to avenge himself thereof when occasion and opportunity may present themselves; being upon the point of asking counsel of the princes of Christendom, who are his kinsmen and friends, how he ought to conduct himself upon such an accident. Whereof, if the bishop of Glasgow come to speak to me, I shall determine to give him therein the same counsel that I should wish to adopt for myself, much as I love him, and detest for my part an act so cruel and inhuman: by which I cannot believe but that the Queen of England has brought

* *Sic*: MS. 30,342 has—"for prediction of the misfortune and ruin befallen," &c.

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1587. upon herself some great misfortune in the future, it being a very sure thing that every prince who was a good friend to her will have been greatly chilled from the goodwill which he bore to her : and every one may easily judge whether, the said late Queen of Scotland having been so near to me as she was, I can be further united in friendship with the said Queen of England after so cruel an execution ; being very glad that you have replied in this matter to my said good nephew, whom you will ever assure of the sincerity of my friendship, and that on all occasions I will make it known to him as he may expect of his most assured and perfect friend.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *French. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 210.

Original of the same.

June 6.

354. NOTES ON SCOTTISH CAUSES.

Lansd. MSS.
144, fol. 211.

“ Resolucyons taken in the conference between the Scottish Ambassador and the Commyssyoners.”

The parties charged by Browne of St. Andrews to have bought goods belonging to him of Thomas Cooke and Dycke [Browghe?], pirates, to be sent for.

The parties charged by Osborne, “ Scotyschewan,” to have bought merchandise belonging to him of Smythe and Cooke, pirates, to be sent for.

A commission with letters to be sent to Sir Thomas Parret and Mr. Whyte of the . . . about Milford to send for Prycherd dwelling at Denbigh or any other that can give light of the buyers of the said goods or victualling of the said pirates.

The judges to send for James Murray to examine him whom he knew of St. Katherine’s that were participant of the spoil committed by Waight.

And the judges to inform themselves who they were of Scarborough that spoiled a Scottish ship in December last.

To write letters to the lord president to cause one of Hull’s shippers in a ship called the *Blacke Lyon*, charged with landing in Orkney and spoiling the inhabitants, to be brought to justice.

To write to Edward Cotton to make restitution to the Scotchman or forfeit his bond for good behaviour given to the lord admiral.

To enquire who bought of Morgan any part of the goods belonging to [Hugh?] Scott ; wherein Banks should be examined.

To enquire as to a ship belonging to John Donmowe brought into Mount’s Bay.

2 pp. *Indorsed.*

June 10.* 355. BILL OF MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I, Claude de Courcelles, being at present in Scotland for the affairs and service of his most Christian majesty, acknowledge that I owe to Mr. Henry Nisbet, merchant, burgess of this town of Edinburgh, the sum of eight hundred gold crowns of the sun which he has lent me in ready money from the first day of January last until this day, in order by that sum to support and aid me in part of

* New style.

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the expense for my entertainment for the service of his said majesty from the said day until this day. The which sum of eight hundred crowns of the sun I promise to render and pay to the said Mr. Nisbet on the tenth day of August next by Monsieur Hubert, proctor in the parliament at Paris, either in the said town of Paris or at Rouen at his will, free of all expenses, damages and interest, and of all costs which he may incur for the recovery thereof. Whereunto I bind myself and my heirs and successors towards the said Mr. Nisbet or the bearer of this present. In witness whereof I have signed the present with my own hand. Edinburgh 20 June 1587. *Signed: Decourcelles.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French.*

Copy of the same.

Draft of the same.

Another copy of the same.

June 11. **356.** MONSIEUR BRULART TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 211.

. the reception whereof he now acknowledges, that my lord of Glasgow has not yet asked counsel of him as to how he shall bear himself upon the accident which has befallen the late Queen of Scotland his mother, which he has great cause to take in as ill part as he does. God grant that he may see vengeance thereof such as he shall deem meet to be done.

Of the affairs of this realm I can tell you nothing except that the King of Navarre has advanced upon Poitou, where, the King's forces having withdrawn to refresh themselves, he has taken two places, which it is hoped may be easily recovered with the soldiers whom his majesty has again sent thither. Paris. 11 June 1587. *Signed: Brulart.*

1 p. *French. Holograph. Beginning burnt away. Addressed. Indorsed: "Brulardes malice."*

June 12. **357.** MARMADUKE DARELL AND JAMES GUYS TO SIR AMIAS POWLET.
C.P., vol. XXI.

These Scottish people, seeming of late much grieved with their long time of stay here, will not be otherwise persuaded but that, if they might be suffered to discover their own distressed estates to her majesty by writing, it would much hasten their release. These people have all generally been very earnest with them to admit the addressing of the supplication here inclosed, which, containing nothing that may be offensive, they have yielded to. Are bold to send the same to him to be further conveyed according to his better consideration.

The estates of some of them—as he best knows—are much to be pitied, and it is like that their stay will be a great hindrance to them all, which they fear the more because they have yet had no answer of the two letters sent into France and to the French ambassador in London touching their causes.

Are further to inform him of a fault fallen out to be in the coffin where the dead body lies, which did not appear until the last week.

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Going to view it, found both a very noisome savour about it, and much moisture to have come from it, whereupon the physician and plumber being sent for, the cause was found and the fault mended. Yet is the air such in the chamber that they have no will to come very near it. Fotheringay Castle. *Signed*: Mar. Darell., James Guys.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed*: "To the right honorable Sir Amyce Poulet, knight, one of her majestie's privie Councill, at his house in Fleet Street." *Indorsed*: "Peticion of the Scottishe Queene's people to her majestie. The dead corps putrifiethe."

Inclosure with the same:—

(Petition of the servants of the late Queen of Scots.)

"To the Quene's majesty of England."

"It vill pleis your majesty to pardon us that ve taik the boldnes to addres vs vnto your hienes self by this our most humble suplication vliche may declare to your majesty that ve the servantes vnto the late Quene of Scotland being still deteaned at Fotheringhay sence the death of the Quene's majesty our mistres hes thus long suffred the samin the more paciently that ve daylie did attend the burial of hir majesty's body, the delay vherof being longer then ve luket for, and zet seing no resolution therin, ve ar at last constraned to mak this humble supplication to your hyenes that, according to your accustomed clemency and princelly naturel, it may pleis your majesty to haif pitye of this poore nombre of afflicted and desolat servantes, vhois deteaning thus in prison can not fail to bring vs to the vttermost poynt of ruyne, not only to loss such smal recompence as be our tedious and irksom service ve haif gayned, vith the loss of any other thing ve may haif besydes, bot also by siknes and other infirmetys, the loss of our lyues, vliche be the long preson and other greiffes ve haif susteained dois as it ver hang at a threid, vliche misery cumming to your majestes knauledge, ve do assuredlie persuad our selves that ve shalbe strayghtvay permitted to depairt furth of this contrey, vherunto ve do humbly craue your majesty pasport and saif conduct for our selves and our stuff as a thing so reasonable, the refus vherof can not profit any body and zet may bring vs to vtter misery, and the granting vherof vilbe to vs no small comfort, and obliss vs to pray vnto God for your majestes long lif and gud prosperety. Vretin at Fotheringhay the 12 of Juing, 1587. Your majestie's to do yow most humble and dutifull service. The vhole houshold and servants of the late Quene of Scotland remaning at Fotheringhai."

1 p. *Indorsed*.

June 14. **358.** MONSIEUR DE L'AUBESPINE TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I send you some letters from France which I received for you some time ago, which for lack of any other way I have put with these into the hands of Monsieur de Walsingham, who forwarded your last to me safely enough, without my having perceived that they had been opened. You will see by these the news from France, which are scarcely good at present, the wars there

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continuing without any appearance of peace, the queen mother of the King being at Rheims with my lord of Guyse.

Monsieur de Pinart has informed me that his son might very soon cross to Scotland to reside as ambassador there, as did Monsieur d'Esneval, which I think Gray of the King's guard will have told you, who has come hither, but I do not see that it is an immediate thing, having heard through Cordailot my secretary, who has lately returned from France, that he has been very ill and is not yet cured; and also the King has not yet told me to speak about his passport here. Mr. Wade is also returned, having at length had audience of the King the 6th of this month, in which Stafford and he told his majesty on behalf of the queen their mistress, according to the command which they had from her, that she was very sorry to have caused d'Estrapes to be arrested, and that after having learnt the truth of that wherewith it was desired to charge him, as also myself, she had recognised that it was but a pure calumny, holding us both innocent. To which the King had answered them that he would content himself therewith, provided that she would cause those who had been the authors thereof to be punished, especially Monde; and that as to the young Stafford, he would refrain from making any request about him, out of consideration for those to whom he belonged. There is the final result of all that fine plot which has been going on for the last six months, which it will be well to make known in those parts, as I pray you to do, especially to the lords of Gray, Melueil, Keyth and others who were here when the said d'Estrapes was arrested. We hear no news from your quarters, and those here say as little as they may about them. For the rest, inasmuch as sometimes occasions present themselves when Archibald Douglas pretends to treat and intermeddle with me as ambassador of Scotland; and it seems to me that the said Gray, Melueil and Keyth told me, being here, that by command of the King their master they had discharged him from his embassy, his power being revoked, I pray you to tell me what is the truth thereof, and whether the King of Scotland has continued him or not.

It is thought here that my lord the Earl of Leicester is about to depart, *etc.*

1½ pp. *French. Indorsed.*

[1587.] 359. GEORGE MURDOCH TO JOHN GIBBON.

June 18.

Lansd. MSS.
96, fol. 75.

"Recentes literas accepi Lutetia a Patre Tyrio, quibus nihil eorum continetur quæ de Scotia hic a multis narrantur fugisse Regem in boreales partes Scotiæ, Comitem de Maxwell misisse in Hispaniam, et alios alio; imo vero contra hunc comitem nunc indies expectari Parisiis, propter cedes quasdam commissas illis in partibus Scotiæ, quibus præfuit ipse nomine Regis, nunc autem fuga sibi consulere et declinare furorem irati leonis, qui mediis omnibus utitur ut uniat sibi subditos suos quo secum vindicent matri et Scotiæ illatam ab Anglis injuriam."

"Scribit idem Magistrum a Gray conjectum esse in Turrim Edinburgensem, quod inconsulto Rege voluerit ille religionem restituere. Recte sane, nam Dominus non vult—ut autumo—tali authore publicari fidem suam per Scotiam."

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“Ceterum, bonus Pater Creitton salvus Lutetiam venit Londino circa finem Maii. Primo hujus Romam petiit; quid illic facturus Deus novit. Alias plura. Omnibus ex me salutem.” “Mussi-ponti.”

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1587.]

[June.]

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 648.

360. MR. WILLIAM DAVISON'S CONDUCT IN THE LATE QUEEN'S CAUSE.

The objections against Mr. Davison in the cause of the late Scottish Queen must concern things done either (1) Before her trial at Fotheringhay (2) During that session (3) After the same.

(1) Before her trial he neither is nor can be charged to have had any hand at all in the cause of the said Queen, or done anything whatsoever concerning the same, directly or indirectly.

(2) During that session he remained at Court, where the only interest he had therein was as her majesty's secretary to receive the letter from the commissioners, impart them to her highness, and return them her answers.

(3) After the return thence of the said commissioners it is well known to all her Council (1) That he never was at any deliberation or meeting whatsoever in Parliament or Council concerning the cause of the said Queen until the sending down of her majesty's warrant to the commissioners by the lords and others of her Council. (2) That he was no party in signing the sentence passed against her. (3) That he never penned either the proclamation publishing the same, the warrant for her death, nor any other letter or thing whatsoever concerning the same.

The only thing which can be specially and truly imputed to him is the carrying up the said warrant to her majesty to be signed, she sending a great Councillor to him with her pleasure to that end, and the carrying of it to the great seal of England by her own special direction and commandment.

For the better clearing of this truth it is evident:—

1. That the warrant being penned by the Lord Treasurer was delivered by him to Mr. Davison with her majesty's own privy to be ready for her to sign when she should be pleased to call for it.

2. That being in his hands he retained it at least five or six weeks unrepresented, and was sharply reprov'd for the same by a great peer in her majesty's own presence, not once offering to carry it up till she sent a great Councillor to him for the same.

3. That having signed it she gave him an express commandment to carry it to the seal, and being sealed to send it immediately away to the commissioners according to the direction, herself appointing the hall of Fotheringhay for the place of execution, misliking the courtyard in divers respects. In conclusion she absolutely forbade him to trouble her any further or let her hear any more thereof till it was done, she for her part having—as she said—performed all that in law and reason could be required of her.

4. Which directions notwithstanding, he kept the warrant, sealed, all that night and the greater part of the next day in his hands, brought it back with him to the Court, acquainted her

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majesty withal, and finding her majesty resolved to proceed therein according to her former directions, and yet desirous to carry the matter so that she might throw the burden from herself, he absolutely resolved to quit his hands thereof.

5. And hereupon went over to the Lord Treasurer's chamber together with Mr. Vice-chamberlain Hatton, and in his presence restored the same into the hands of the said Lord Treasurer, of whom he had before received it, and who from thenceforth kept it till himself and the rest of the Council sent it away.

This in substance and truth is all the part and interest the said Davison had in this cause, whatsoever is or may be pretended to the contrary.

Touching the sending down thereof to the commissioners, that it was the general act of her majesty's Council—as is before mentioned—and not any private act of his, may appear by:—1. Their own confessions. 2. Their letters sent down therewith to the commissioners. 3. The testimonies of the lords and others to whom they were directed, as also of (4) Mr. Beale by whom they were sent. 5. The tenor of her majesty's first commission for their calling to the Star Chamber for the same, and private appearance and submission afterwards instead thereof, before the Lord Chancellor Bromley. 6. The confession of Mr. Attorney General in open court confirmed. 7. By the sentence itself upon record. 8. Besides a common act of council containing an answer to be verbally delivered to the Scottish ambassador then remaining here avowing and justifying the same.

Now, whereas some suppose him to have given some extraordinary furtherance thereunto, the contrary may evidently appear by:—

1. His former absolute refusal to sign the band of association, being earnestly pressed thereto by her majesty herself. 2. His excusing of himself from being used as a commissioner in the examination of Babington and his accomplices, and avoiding the same by a journey to Bath. 3. His being a mean to stay the commissioners from pronouncing of the sentence at Fotheringhay, and deferring it till they should return to her majesty's presence. 4. His keeping the warrant in his hands six weeks unrepresented, without once offering to carry it up till her majesty sent expressly for the same to sign. 5. His deferring to send it away after it was sealed to the commissioners, as he was specially commanded, staying it all that night and the greater part of the next day in his hands. 6. Finally, his restoring thereof into the hands of the Lord Treasurer, of whom he had before received the same. Which are clear and evident proofs that the said Davison did nothing in this cause whatsoever contrary to the duty of the place he then held in her majesty's service.

3 pp. *Indorsed*: "The innocency of Mr. Davison in the cause of the late Scottish Queene."

July 6. **361.** LAIRD OF POURY OGILVIE TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

"I resawit zowir letter together wit my lord and gwid frinds answer, quhilk Godwilling I sall satisfie and performe in all points."

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1587.

“ Androw Gray brocht wss woird of Father Chrichtonnis releif immediatlie efter my depechsis to zow quhilk haes bein no lytill staey of my jwrnaey throche Inglande, and that speciallie be my Lord of Hwntlie at the laird of Fyntries persuasione; zeit am I licentiat to pas my self throche the contrie and that in respect of the laird my father's voyage. For he is to tak jwrnaey abowt Lambess throche Ingland to Paris, qwhair he is to remaen all winter in taekine of sume consultations for his disaesis, and owt of that to pass to the baings in the spring tym, qwhairof my father haes desyrit me to mak zow adwertisit, togither wit his haertly commendations to zowir self.”

“ I am to speik schortlie efter this parleament wit the secretar, qwha is altogether resolwit to rwnie the Fraence cowrss. He haes wretine to me werrie lgwving letters efter that Fyntrie haed pwrigit me of aeny deling agaenist his lyf wit the Maister of Gray, ass be sume my ennemies he wass informit. I am to deill in speciall for him with my lord Maxwall, ass I persawe be my lord of Hwntlie qwha haes alredie wretin to my lord for that effect.”

“ Ass concerning Villiam Keith, he is to be in my fathers howss immediatlie efter the parleament to confer wit me at lenth in sik pwrposis ass ze knaw, at qwhait tym I beleif to find him moir capabill of sik things ass I haif alredie laid to his schaerg than he haes bein hithertiltis, for he is to be admittit one the secreit consall at this parleament—*ita ut oporteat vivere et unde.*”

“ Let this suffis for the present till my being with zow, quhilk I howpe, God willing, sall be abwt the twentie of the nixt moneth of Awgwst at farrest. Frome my fathers hows.”

1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

July 8. 362. ROGER ASTON TO WALSINGHAM.

The commodity of this bearer has emboldened me to trouble your honour with these few lines touching my own business. I have found you so favourable to me at all times as I can but do as the poor man did that gave the hatful of water to the emperor which betokened his good will; so my willing mind shall be always ready to do you service.

I most humbly beseech you to put her majesty in remembrances of my suit and that I may see some end thereof; for it is necessity that compells me to be so importunate. I engaged my credit so far for the Master of Grey and others of this country at their last being in England, hoping thereby to keep my credit and to win myself friends here in so great a storm.

“ The Master of Gre is gone and left me in the lurch as he has done many moo.” Other losses I have had of late which I will not trouble you with. I am determined, if I see no other help, rather than lose my credit with my friends, to sell all I have and go seek my fortune in some other part.

Mr. Archibold Douglas knows my estate and in what way of preferment I am in if her majesty would help me. Falkland.

Postscript:—“ Att his majestyes comming to Edenbrough I shall writt att more lenth. I have desired this gentelmon the

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1587. bearer hereof to speke with your honer and thatt be him I maye know your honeres mynd."

1 p. *Holograph. Indorsed.*

July 8. **363.** ROGER ASTON TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

Having the commodity of this bearer I could not omit to set down something of my own opinion concerning the affairs your lordship has now in hand. This course which your lordship has taken in procuring some solid course to be taken between the King and her majesty has proceeded of especial care to both their weals. Seeing by your good means matters are so tempered, "althowgh justly his majesty maye saye he has bene hardly delt with, yett seing matteres is so come as they are there is butt the next best to be taken."

Therefore follow the rest as you have begun, "seing the king is nowe resowld to se whatt thei will do for him, labore be all menes you can thatt he maye be satesfid." So doing you win not only his majesty's favour but also all the good men of this country, "and gewes your enemes the grettest overthro you could deves."

But I fear the great jealousy I know her majesty has of this King, and that she will not be persuaded to do for him as he deserves. I would to God she knew the secrets of his heart, then I know she would do better to him than I fear she will.

You will understand his full mind by this bearer, whom he hath sent to you in secret manner, for he will not be known to deal that way before he see what she will do for him.

If he find that he may deal that way with his honour, then he will impart the same to others, or else it will lie dead and he will seek some other way. "Heer wantes no instrementes dayelly to persuad him to take another coures, but he is wayes and knowes best what is for his own will. God grant he maye be taken in tyme or eles I fere there will grett inconveniences com thereon."

How willing I have been to set forward all that might further this good cause, as also in your own particular, this bearer can bear witness.

I received a letter from your lordship not long since, wherein you said you would punish me for my long silence. It has been very hard with me this time past, and I have had many enemies, and the more for your cause. I have hitherto discharged the part of a true friend, as they that love you best know.

I have from time to time requested you to put some end to my suit granted by her majesty that I may be resolved what to trust to. I think if the matter had been followed, considering my master's request and my deserts, it had been ended ere now, for I know Mr. Secretary will do for me. So soon as I hear from Mr. Richard I mean to come myself and see what I can get done. The King has commanded him to speak to you to make an end thereof.

I have so interested my credit with Mr. Fowler as I cannot write to him, such has been my evil fortune of late as I could do no other wise. I hope ere it be long to make a means for all. Till then I will neither write to him nor send, for I had rather be out of the world or I desert him. What loss I have lately sustained I wrote in my last letter, as this bearer can shew you. Falkland.

2½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.

1587. 364. [? C. MATHÉ] TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

July 12.

Beyond the singular pleasure which I have enjoyed by the reading of your letters, testifying your good disposition, the felicity of your agreeable fortune and the hap of your good conduct, they have yet further confirmed to me—that whereof nevertheless I had never doubted—the intimate and ancient friendship arising from mutual and reciprocal common goodwill, and yet more closely bound and caused by alliance, which will be bonds for ever inviolable. It may be that some one has written to you of the grief that I had about your voyage, so hastened that you had neither leisure nor opportunity to say farewell, which no letters have repaired; besides which I said that you might obtain in the said place through my acquaintances the opportunity of gaining the most ample favour of the King of Scotland, if you are particularly recommended to my lord the Duke of Lennox, to whom I will cause whatever you shall desire to be written, by my lady the Duchess of Lennox his mother. He will favour your person and fortune if you shall think well—not having dared to do it without your licence—and by your good commands some more particular ends for which you may wish such opportunities to be employed; or if you shall think well, that the said recommendation be only indifferent and general. I have been of their house for thirty years: I ruled the grandfather peaceably, the father still better; the mother of the said lord Duke approves of the counsel and conduct of their suits and the maintenance of the negotiations pursuant to the affairs that she has in form of justice. You know that in France we deem that an honour; and as the predecessors of the said lord duke have been men of valour, I think that he will esteem not a little the recommendations of my said lady his mother, and the prayers of old servants of their houses. On some good opportunity that might serve you, the absent may do as much by letters as if they were present on the spot. Change of air can never engender diminution of courtesies and goodwill established of old; and just as smothered flames or covered fires give out stronger heat on being uncovered, so ours, buried alive, can never be extinguished. In the meanwhile this subject will be pleasant to you, that I treat of love in marriage for your niece Marie; and two sorts of suitors presenting themselves, some of the long robe, others of the short robe, a part of my friends counsel me to choose from those of the short robe, saying that those of the long robe seek their fortune in a miserable time, when wars confound for us the exercise of justice. We say that St. George watches too well, and compels St. Yves to sleep. I should have need of a lively exhortation with such resolution as experience has given to you, and whereof we would make ample discourse if we could confer personally and decide such a subject verbally. If your affairs do not occupy you too much, my brother, by satisfying me in this matter, or rather aiding me with your good advice and counsel, you will give me occasion in such other subject as shall present itself to render such duty, and you will take such revenge as you shall determine. 22 July. 1587. *Signed: C. Mathé.*

P.S. Messieurs Hubert, proctor elect, and Nabert, your nephew, and the whole company salute your grace. I pray God daily

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1587. for your prosperity and health. The above named will write to you of that with which you have charged them. God give them grace to do therein to your contentment.

2 pp. *French. Addressed. Indorsed:* To Courcelles from his brother the 20th [*sic*] of July.

[July 13.] **365.** COUNCILLORS AT THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 140.

. . . * erection thereof.

William Douglas, Earl of Angus, Lord Douglas and Abernethy.

B. George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon and Badzenauch.

B. David Lindsey, Earl of Crawford, Lord Lindsey.

B. Francis Hay, Earl of Erroll, Lord Hay, Constable of Scotland.

D. George Keith, Earl Marshal, Lord Keith.

B. Francis Stewart, Earl Bothwell, Lord Haillis, Crichton and Liddisdale.

B. John Graham, Earl of Montrose, Lord Graham.

A. John Erskine, Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine.

F. George Leslie, Earl of Rothes, Lord Leslie.

Bishops. A. Mr. Peter Rollock, Bishop of Dunkeld. A. Mr. Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney.

Lords. C. George Seton, Lord of Seton, admitted in place of the Lord of Downe when the King was in Denmark. C. William Maxwell, Lord Herries. Mr. Alexander Lindsey, Lord of Spynie.

Commendators. C. Claud Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley. Mr. Alexander Seton, Prior of Pluscardine.

Officers of estate. A. John Maitland, Lord Thirlestane, Chancellor and Secretary. A. Sir Thomas Lyon, Master of Glamis, of Balducky, knight, Lord Treasurer. E. David Seton of Parbroth, Comptroller. Master . . . * , brother to . . . *. Prior of Blantyre, Keeper of the Privy Seal. D. Mark Ker, Lord of Newbottle, Master of Requests. A. Sir Lewis Bellenden, of Auchnoll, knight, Justice Clerk. D. Mr. David Makgill, of Nisbet, Advocate. D. Sir Robert Melville of Murdocharny, knight, Treasurer deputy. A. Mr. Peter Younge, Elenosiner to his majesty. A. Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Clerk of Register.

Barons admitted to be on the Council since the Parliament of 1587. A. Sir Patrick Waus of Barnebarrauch, knight. A. Sir James Hume of Coldinknowes, knight, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh. A. Mr. David Carnegie of Colluthie. A. Mr. John Cockburn of Ormiston, one of the senators of the college of justice. A. Sir John Carmichael, of that ilk, knight, warden of the west march. C. Sir John Seton, brother to Lord Seton, of Barnis, knight.

"The letters signify, viz., A, well affected in religion and to the amity. B, at the brig of Dee. C, known Catholic. D, Protestant. E, suspected Catholic. F, neutral."

Councillors. . . . * stayed . . . * and officers before authorised should remain in the places which they occupied at the King's said return out of Denmark.

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Councillors and officers of estate. John Maitland, Laird of Thirlestane, Lord Chancellor and Secretary. Sir Thomas Lyon of Balducky, knight, Lord Treasurer. David Seton of Parbroth, Comptroller. Mr. Robert Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, Collector General and Treasurer of the New Augmentations. Walter Stewart, Prior of Blantyre, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Mark Ker, Lord of Newbottle, Master of Requests. Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnole, knight, Justice Clerk. Mr. David Makgill of Nesbit, Advocate. Sir Robert Melvill of Mordocarny, knight, Treasurer's deputy. Mr. "George" [Peter] Young, Eleemosiner to the King. Alexander Hay, of Ester Bennet, Clerk of Register.

Councillors to be added to the rest.

Earls. Lord John Hamilton, Lord of Aberbrothok. William Douglas, now Earl of Angus and Abernethy. William Douglas, now Earl of Morton. George Keith, Earl Marshall and Lord Keith. George Leslie, Earl of Rothes and Lord Leslie. John Erskine, Earl of Mar. Robert

Barons and lords. * Coldenknowes, Captain of Edinb[urgh Castle]. Sir John Gordon, knight, Lord of . . . * Loughenvarre. Sir Alexander Bruce, knight, Lord of Airth ["Earth"]. Mr. John Cockburn, Lord of Ormeston.

3 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *No indorsement.*

July 14. **366.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"I send onto you heirinclosed ane letter from Powrye Ogylwyne wythe two uthiris from Roger Aschetone."

"The state of our cuntry is far uthir waise than it is thoct to be heir."

"I haif wrytin to my lord chembrelayn to known quhen hir majeste may be pleased that I shall repayr to Court. Albeit I haif sufficient and ample drection to do gud, the time is not propre to propone ony mater, matteris standing as they do. Fear to do harm makes me readye to tak my leave from hir majeste, to whome my maister can not be moved, at leist suffered to wryte. London."

Postscript:—"This ambassadour of France, as I am informed be his letteris to Cursellis, is werray cayrfull to know of my veifayr as an man whom wyth he is entered in so gret intelligenis, as those that he hath not seyn this almost ix monethis. Howbeit be his saydis letteris he doeth affirm the contrarve to be trew. From what kynd of policie that doeth proceid, I leave to your better judgement."

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 17. **367.** EARL OF MAR TO [. . .].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 205.

. . . * Caithness, Sunderland, Buchan ["Bowghwhen"], Athol, Monteith, Cassilis, Eglantyne, "Murton," Arran, Orkney, Bothwell.

These are they that bore the honours. Huntley bore the sword, Angus the sceptre, the Duke the crown.

Elizabeth.
1587.

The lords of the articles chosen by the three estates of the realm are these—Angus, Mar, Marshal and Huntly.

The Secretary Maitland shall be made lord of Lauderdale and Earl of March and Great Chancellor of Scotland, as it is thought by those that know at the Court.

Lord Hamilton came not at the Parliament because they thought to have taken up the bones of the Earl Morton, and to restore him again.

Lord Bothwell would not go to the Parliament because he had no place before Lord Crawford, and Lord Bothwell rests greatly discontented against the Secretary and has vowed to make a sacrifice of him, which is come to the King's knowledge, who made answer that there was no sacrifice made that was punished as yet. Great words passed betwixt Bothwell and Angus for the placing of Crawford before Bothwell.

Lord Hume would not go because he had no place before Lord Fleming, insomuch as Lord Hume said to Fleming that he should not have place before him, except he won it with the sword, and thereupon there was a combat appointed betwixt them, but the provost "rased the ferste" of the town and took the lords and committed them both to their own house to . . . *

Lord Yester was in the town, but went not to the Parliament house, but I cannot learn the cause.

. . . * of the church of Scotland and . . . * all the spiritual lands, three of them . . . * elections to the same, viz., Angus, Marshall, Mar, but the next day they were of ac . . . * amined, whereat the King was very much g[rrieved] and said openly to them that they would force him to do that which he would have been loth to have done, and further said to the lords that it was that which he would have.

The controller of the King's household is discharged because it is thought he is of the Master of Gray's faction. It is likewise thought that James G . . . Roger Ashton and William Keith, master of the wa . . . *, are to be discharged.

Mr. Richard Cockburn, sister's son to the Secretary, shall have James Gray's room in the Privy Chamber. The Laird of Fentry shall be made secretary to the King. It is thought there will be great trouble betwixt the King and the Church.

Lord Claud would not consent in the Parliament house to the King's desire for the spiritual lands. The next day after he came to the King before the next Council and yielded all the church lands he had to the King's will and went has . . . * home to his own house discontented.

Signor Dubrattus who came from the King of . . . * is to go to into France, and the King himself convoy . . . * in person to Dumbarton and Ayr, where he is to take his passage. Monsieur Cavillione, a Frenchman, who is servant to the young Duke, shall be discharged . . . * Court. The cause is for certain letters that he had in custody, which were sent from the Queen of Scots, and now are not to be found, and Mr. H . . . Ker to have his place about the Duke.

. . . * a good will to gratify the good conceit . . . * to

Elizabeth.

1587.

conceive of me, notwithstanding the fault . . . * I was possessed withal inforces me as I may . . . * myself worthy thereof, but wanting occasion . . . * to accomplish my duty therein till now has been the cause why I have not showed goodwill. It may please you to understand that my uncle Robert Carr has been earnestly solicited by some from my lord chamberlain only to attend upon such his lordship's friends in the Court of Scotland as would advertise him from time to time of the state of the Court, and to be the bringer of the same to Mr. Cary here at Berwick, which he has yielded to.

Yet Mr. Cary rests in some jealousy that your honour should be made acquainted with those occurrences, and the reason of his jealousy is his meeting sometimes with Mr. Robert Carvell, which has not been so secret, but is come to Mr. Cary's ear. Therefore to avoid that inconvenience I have taken upon me to write these advertisements with my own hand, and with . . . * sent to Captain Cary, humbly desiring your honour that this my doing may be kept secret, for it lies upon the heavy displeasure of my lord chamberlain, which neither he nor I may bear.

Then there shall nothing pass that way to my lord chamberlain but your honour shall be acquainted withal as soon as my lord, if I might find speedy passage. Neither have I will to deal with Mr. Carvell, for that he is under the rule of my lord, and therefore being known to be an advertiser of your honour, he may be so hardly dealt withal by my lord as he may very well give me up as one that advertises. Neither is Mr. Anderson, by reason of the distance of place from me, fit to make your honour speedy advertisement of these occurrences that shall be sent to Captain Cary. Howbeit of the two I will rather deal with Mr. Anderson, because it is like to be further from my lord's knowledge, if your honour cannot find a more convenient way.

Also I must likewise let your honour understand that neither my uncle can have passage to me nor from me without both danger to himself and myself, for Sir . . . Forster, for the heavy displeasure he bears to me and my whole name, has of late very cruelly sought to have apprehended my uncle, and has laid his espia . . . * for the same purpose. Therefore I would have your honour's warrant for my confe . . . * My uncle willed me further to advertise you that my Lord Bothwell showed him a letter written unto him by a gentleman of England that . . . * a letter and a messenger to come to his lordship from your honour of proffers of great sums of money for the winning of friendship to the Queen's majesty, which he said to my uncle would take what he could get, but he sware to him "verey" oaths that he would employ it all to the "noyance" of the Queen's majesty and this realm. If it would please your honour at any time hereafter to use my service I would crave your letters may be inclosed within a letter to Sir Cuthbert Collingwood.

I rest in fear of Robert Carvell, and the rather for that I found in a man's hands of this country, the copy of certain advertisements I had sent him, and the same was written [by him]. And thus hoping your honour will accept this my good will, though meanly

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1587. performed in good part, I humbly take my leave, recommending your honour to the tuition of the Most High God. *Signed: Marr.*

$3\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *No flyleaf or address.*

July 17. **368. KING OF FRANCE TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 214.

. . . * days of the month * [letter] that the [Queen of England] wrote to my [nephew] . . . * by Du Bartas; having seen by the former what [you had given] him to understand of the substance of the despatch which I had sent to you concerning the [mourning] which I had heard he had worn for the extraordinary execution of the Queen my sister-in-law, and the regret and displeasure that I felt about it, and what he [had] replied [to you]. I have also seen what he said to you about the excuses which have been made to him on behalf of the Queen of England for the said execution of death, and in what f[ashion he] received [them], whereby it seems that he is only biding his time, and awaiting occasions and opportunity to avenge himself.

You write to me also that in the assembly that my . . . * the King of Scotland made on the 20th of May last of the lords of his realm, [he] chiefly endeavoured to compose and pacify the differences which were between them, and to reunite and reconcile them together; which is very wisely begun, [since it is] very certain that he could do and undertake nothing with [the realm] (to get any real issue therefrom) until they be united within it; but it is much that he found them [well] disposed to serve him.

As to the other details of the rest of your said first despatch and of the following, they consist especially in the negotiations of the [marriage] of the said King of Scotland with the daughter of the King of Denmark, and in the arrival of there, who frankly is not unsuspected of mingling with his poesy graver and more serious matters, which it will be well to keep your eye upon that you may promptly [give] me advice thereof and of all other occurrences.

I am sorry to have to tell you that, by many advices which I have, and which are common enough, the army of the King of Spain wherewith he threatened England, has not advanced at all, [but has been] so retarded by Drake having burned several vessels as well at Cadiz as on the open sea and elsewhere, of which the said King of Spain [made great] account, that there is no appearance that he can undertake anything this year; [whereof] advice may be had in Scotland as well as here: whence [news] also came two days ago that the said Drake has returned to England with the prize of a very rich [ship] of Calicut, laden with spices, and of many other vessels laden with merchandise of great price: with intent, as is said, to return immediately to the coast of Spain, in order to hold the sea in subjection, and to hinder the [army] of the King of Spain, which is scattered and divided in many places, from [assembling].

For the rest I will tell you that I am using all possible diligence to [assemble] my forces, in order to make ready my army and go in

Elizabeth.

1587. person to confront the [rebels] who come in favour of my subjects of the new opinion * the army which [comes from] Poitou under * Joyeuz holds the town of St. Maixent besieged * take [it]. He has, as you may have heard, constrained the King of * the campaign, with resolution if he should attempt to go * foreign, to follow him and hinder him therefrom, or to fight him as shall [seem fitting] and as occasion shall present itself. Paris. 17 July, 1587.
Signed: Henry: Pinart.

1½ pp. French. Addressed. Edges burnt.

July 30. **369.** MR. DARELL'S REQUESTS.

C.P., vol. XXI.

That order may be given which of the Scottish train shall be at the funeral, and how the gentlewomen shall be furnished with coaches, and the rest with horses.

[Answer.] So many to assist as Mr. Melvin shall think fit.

To know whether the train shall be licensed to depart upon Wednesday next after the burial, as they desire.

[Answer.] Thought meet they should then depart.

To have commissions to take up 17 carts for their carriage. Order to be given for the providing of 17 horses of saddle for their riding.

[Answer.] Commissions to be sent for that purpose.

A wagon to carry their children.

[Answer.] To be provided by Curll and sent down.

Their carriages to be attended on by three of their own company and two soldiers.

[Answer.] Allowed of.

Warrant for horses for those five who shall attend the carriages.

[Answer.] By virtue of the commission.

What shall be done with the English that are of the train.

[Answer.] To be dismissed.

To know who shall bear the loss of a silver bowl wanting of the plate.

[Answer.] To be borne by her majesty. The loss to be testified by the Scottish Queen's officers.

To receive direction touching Nau's and Curll's stuff, and whether Curll's may not be delivered to his wife.

[Answer.] Nau's stuff to be delivered to Pasquier, and Curll's stuff to his wife.

To receive direction touching her majesty's stuff there, which will require eleven carriages and some soldiers to attend it, who must have commission for horses. That some place may be appointed for receiving the said stuff in London.

[Answer.] He shall receive order by the next.

That six yeomen ushers may be sent down to keep order in the assembly.

[Answer.] Mr. Brakenbury shall bring down certain ushers.

1 p. Answers written in the margin in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.

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1587.

370. WILLIAM DETHICK, GARTER KING OF ARMS, TO BURGHLEY.

July 30.

C.P., vol. XXI.

Has received his letter dated the 28th of this present. Certifies that the appearance of the nobility and ladies will be sufficiently complete according to his order.

Touching Lord St. John of Basing, purposes to assign him to be Lord Steward, and Lord Dudley to be chamberlain. For the others they have all had their blacks, Lady Cromwell excepted, in whose default Mistress Allington has been appointed in lieu of the youngest lady of the chief "mournouresses."

The Countess of Bedford is satisfied of her blacks by Mr. Fortescue. Thus prays he will peruse the inclosed bill, and most humbly takes his leave. Peterborough. *Signed*: "Willm Detheck, Garter principall Kinge of Arms."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Indorsed*: "Huntington the 30 day at past 7 in the afternone. Thys letter was stayed at Royston all nyght last. At Styton the xxxth day at past thre a cloke in the afternoone. Hast post, hast post. Peterburghe Sondag xxxth July at xij of the klok, morninge."

Aug. 1.

371. REMOVAL OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS' BODY FROM FOTHERINGAY.

C.P., vol. XXI.

"A remembrance of the order and manner of the burial of Mary Queen of Scots."

On Sunday, being the 30th July [sic] 1587, in the 29th year of the reign of Elizabeth the Queen's majesty of England, there went from Peterborough Mr. Dethick *alias* Garter, Principal King of Arms, and five heralds accompanied with 40 horse and men to conduct the body of Mary, late Queen of Scots, from Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire to Peterborough aforesaid; which Queen had remained prisoner in England . . . years: having for that purpose brought a royal coach, drawn by four horses and covered with black velvet, richly set forth with escutcheons of the arms of Scotland, and little pennons round about it.

The body, being inclosed in lead and the same coffined in wood, was brought down, and reverently put into the coach; the heralds put on their coats of arms, and bareheaded, with torches' light, brought it forth of the castle about 10 o'clock at night, and so conveyed it to Peterborough, . . . miles distant. Whither being come—about 2 o'clock on Monday morning—the body was received most reverently at the minster door by the bishop, dean and chapter, and Clarencieux king of arms, and, in the presence of the Scots which came with the same, it was laid in a vault prepared in the choir, on the south side, opposite to the tomb of Queen Katharine, dowager of Spain, first wife of King Henry VIII. It was forthwith laid in the vault and not borne in solemnity because it was too heavy by reason of the lead to carry, "and besides was feared that the sowder might ripp, and being very hott weather might be found some anoyance."

Tuesday, Aug. 1st, about 8 in the morning, the chief mourner,

Elizabeth.

1587. being the countess of Bedford, was attended upon by all the lords and ladies, and brought into the presence chamber in the bishop's palace, which was hung with black cloth. She was by the Queen's gentlemen ushers "placed somewhat under a cloath of estate of purple velvett," where, having given their staves of office to the lord steward, lord chamberlain, treasurer and comptroller, she passed to the great hall "where the corps stood," and the heralds having marshalled the several companies, they made their proceedings as followeth.

Two conductors in black, with black staves.

Poor women mourners to the number of 100, 2 and 2.

Two yeomen "hawengers."

The standard of Scotland, borne by Sir John Savill, knight.

Gentlemen in cloaks to the number of 50, being attendance on the lords and ladies.

Six grooms of the chamber, Messrs. Eaton, Bykye, Leacavall, Flynt, Charlton and Lylle.

Three of the Queen's gentlemen "shewers," Messrs. Horseman, Fynes and Marten.

Gentlemen in gowns, Messrs. Worme, Holland, Crewse, Watson, Allington, Darrell and Fortescue [Foscue].

17 Scots in cloaks.

A Scottish priest. The chaplains to the 2 bishops.

Mr. Fortescue, the Queen's master of the wardrobe.

The bishop of Peterborough.

The bishop of Lincoln.

The great banner borne by Sir Andrew Nowell, knight.

The comptroller Mr. Melvin.

The treasurer Sir Edward Montague.

The lord chamberlain Lord Dudley.

The lord steward Lord St. John of Basing.

Two ushers.

Achievements } Helm and crest borne by Portcullis.

of honour } Target borne by York.

borne by } Sword borne by Rouge-dragon.

heralds. } Coat borne by Somerset.

Clarencieux king of arms with a gentleman usher Mr. Conningsbye.

"The Corps borne by esquires in cloks."

Mr. Francis Fortescue.

Mr. William Fortescue.

Mr. Thomas Stafford.

Mr. Nicholas Smith.

Mr. Nicholas Hyde.

Mr. Howland, the bishop's brother.

Eight bannerrolles borne by esquires :

Mr. William Fitz Williams.

Mr. Griffin of Dingley.

Mr. Robert Wingfield.

Mr. Bevill.

Mr. Lynne.

Mr. John Wingfield.

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Mr. Spencer.

Mr. John Fortescue of Aywod.

The canopy being of black velvet fringed with gold borne by 4 knights, namely,

Sir Thomas Manners.

Sir George Hastings.

Sir James Harrington.

Sir Richard Knightly.

Assistant to the body, 4 barons which bore up the corners of the pall ;

Lord Mordaunt.

Lord Willoughby of Parham.

Lord Compton.

Sir Thomas Cecill.

Mr. Garter [King of Arms] with the gentleman usher Mr. Brakenbury.

The Countess of Bedford supported by the earls of Rutland and Lincoln, her train being borne by Lady St. John of Basing, and assisted by Mr. John Manners, vice-chamberlain.

The countesses of Rutland and Lincoln.

Lady Talbot, Lady Mary Savill.

Lady Mordant.

Lady St. John of Bletshoe.

Lady Manners. Lady Cecill.

Lady Montague. Lady Novell.

Mrs. Alington. Mrs. Curle.

Two ushers.

Eight Scottish gentlewomen.

The gentlewomen of countesses and baronesses according to their degrees, all in black, " with paris heads."

Servants in black coats ;

The countess of Bedford, 10.

The countess of Rutland, 8.

The countess of Lincoln, 8.

The lady St. John of Basing, 5.

All lords and ladies, 5.

All knights and their wives, 4.

All esquires, 1.

" The body being thus brought into the quire was sett down within the royall herse," which was 20 foot square and 27 foot high, covered with black velvet and richly set with escutcheons and gold fringe ; upon the body, which was covered with a pall of black velvet, lay a purple velvet cushion fringed and tasselled with gold, and upon the same a close crown of gold set with stones.

After the body was thus placed, and every mourner according to their degree, the sermon was begun by the bishop of Lincoln ; after which certain anthems were sung by the choir, and the offering began very solemnly as followeth.

The Offering.

First the chief mourner offered for the Queen, attended upon by all ladies.

The coat, sword, target and helm was severally carried up by the

Elizabeth.

1587. earls of Rutland and Lincoln, and received by the bishop of Peterborough and Garter king at arms.

The standard.

The great banner.

The chief mourner.

The train bearer.

The two earls.

The lord steward. }

The lord chamberlain. }

The bishop of Lincoln.

The 4 lords assistants to the body.

The treasurer, comptroller and vice-chamberlain.

The 4 knights that bore the canopy.

In which offering every course was led up by a herald. After which the two bishops and the dean of Peterborough came to the vault, and over the body began to read the funeral service, which being said, every officer broke his staff over his head, and threw the same into the vault to the body; and so every one departed after their degrees to the bishop's palace, where was prepared a most royal feast, and a dole given to the poor.

2 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Indorsed. Sketches of the standard, banner, etc.*

Aug. 1. **372. ACCOUNT OF THE FUNERAL OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.**

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 210.

"The manner of the solemnity of the Scottish Queen's funeral, being the first of August 1587, when she was buried in the Cathedral Church of Peterborough."

Upon Tuesday being the 1st August was the funeral appointed to be celebrated for the Scottish Queen in the cathedral church of Peterborough, and accordingly there were sent thither from the Court the Queen's household officers to make provision for the diet, Mr. Darrell and Mr. Cox; for the funeral offices, Mr. Fortescue, master of the great wardrobe. The heralds came down three or four days before, and (with the bishop and the dean) appointed a place for the body over against the lying of Queen Katherine, near to the tomb of John, last abbot and first bishop of that church. A rich hearse was erected above the first step of the choir, near the place of burial, and the whole church was hanged with black. Upon Sunday at night, July 30th, the body was brought from Fotheringay by Garter King at Arms and others; there awaited it before the church the bishop, dean, and others. The body with the closures weighed nine hundredweight; it was committed to the vault, which was immediately covered, except a small hole for the staves to be broken into. No church service was done then, it being agreed it should be done on the day of solemnity.

Upon Monday came all the lords and ladies and other assistants appointed, and supped at the bishop's palace.

Upon Tuesday morning they marched from the hall about 10 o'clock, the countess of Bedford being chief mourner. [*Others named.*]

The solemnity being settled, the prebends and choir, which received them at the church-door, sung an anthem; the Scotch all departed saving Mr. Melvin. The bishop of Lincoln preached.

The sermon ended and offerings made, the mourners departed.

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The ceremony of burial was done by the dean, the officers breaking their staves, and casting them upon the coffin. There was a great feast at the bishop's house.

3 pp. *Indorsed*: "The copie of the record of his majesty's mother's funerall as it is *verbatim* in the register of the deane and chapter of Peterburgh, and subscribed by D^r Fletcher then deane there."

(*Printed, Nichols, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii., p. 508.*)

[Aug. 1.] **373. BURIAL OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.**

Lansd. MSS.
260, fol. 255.

"The order atte Scottes Quene's buryall att Peterborough,
3 July [*sic*] 1587."

"Imprimis two yomen conducters with blacke staffes in thaire handes.

Then the poore women, two and two, to wit, one hundred, in morning gownes and whight kerchers.

Then the standard.

Then 18 Scottes in cloakes.

Then 24 Englishe gentlemen in cloakes.

Then gentlemen in gownes.

Next two chaplaines.

Then the dene of Peterborough.

Then the two officers att armes.

Then the controwller } with whight staves.
and treserer }

Then the bishops of Peterborough and Lincoln.

Then the great bannour.

Then the helme and creaste.

Then the sword.

Then the targett.

Then the coate of armes.

Then Clarenceux with a gentleman usher.

Then the lord steward with a whight staff.

Next the lord Maudaunte with a whight staff.

The boddy born by 12.

The lord Willoughby of Parham.	} Assistantes to the boddy.
The lord Cumption.	
The lord Cheney.	

Sir Tho : Mannours.

Sir Georg Hastings.

Sir Tho : Cicill.

Sir Andrew Nevill.

The Master of the Wardrop.

Tho : Brudenell.

Mr. Spencer.

Georg Lynne.

Edward Elmes.

Robert Wyngfeld.

Mr. Cave.

Mr. Sanders.

Edward Watson.

To cary the
bannerowles.

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1587.

Then Garter with a gentleman usher.

Then the countes of Bedford, cheif mourner, her trane born by the lady Mordaunte, supported by the vice chamberlaine, Mr. William FitzWilliams.

Then the erlls [*sic*] of Lincoln, assistauntes to the mourner.

Then the countes of Rutland and Lincoln.

Then the lady St. John of Basing and the lady Dudley.

Then lady St. John of Bletso and the lady Cheney.

The lady Manours.

The lady Hastings.

The lady Cicill.

The lady Montagu.

The lady Crumbwell and the lady Nowell.

After theis cheif morners the wayting women in number 26.

Then eight Scottishe women.

Then last the yeomen in blackes in number 166.

The number of morners, 322.

 $1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Copy.*Aug. 1. **374.** GOODS SUPPLIED TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

Goods furnished to Monsieur de Courcelles by Henry Nisbett, merchant, dwelling at Edinburgh.

Firstly, as appears by the signed bills of the said gentleman, the 28th day of the month of May 1587, according to the style of Scotland the 18th of May, amounting to the sum of two hundred four score and twelve pounds, eighteen shillings and six pence, I say

29*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

The 25th of the month of May 1587 according to the calculation of Scotland, one ounce of black silk

16*s.*

Two ells and a quarter of fine linen of Holland to make a doublet, at 3*l.* 10*s.* the ell,

7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

One quarter of grey taffeta

12*s.* 6*d.*

The 4th of June 1587, one ounce and a quarter of fine laces of black silk for the collar of Monsieur, at 22*s.* the ounce,

27*s.* 6*d.*

Half an ounce of black silk

8*s.*

The 22nd of June 1587, two ells and a quarter of fine linen of Holland to make a doublet, at 3*l.* 10*s.* the ell,

7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

One pair of stockings of England of a yellow colour

4*l.*

Half an ounce of white silk

11*s.*

One quarter of black taffeta

12*s.*

The 27th day of July 1587, six ells and three quarters of green worsted of France to make cloaks for your lackays, at 3*l.* 10*s.* the ell,

23*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

A quarter of an ounce and one sixteenth of silk cords

6*s.* 3*d.*

Two ells of broad white ribbon of Florence

6*s.*

More six quarters and a half of black ribbon

4*s.* 3*d.*

Two hats lined with taffeta with the cords, for two of your gentlemen

4*l.* 10*s.*

Three ells and three quarters of green worsted of England for your lackays, at 40*s.* the ell

7*l.* 10*s.*

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Three ounces and a half of green silk, at 22*s.* the ounce 3*l.* 17*s.*
One ell of bocasin to make pouches 10*s.*
Carry forward, 11*l.* 17*s.*

Sum total of that to which the goods furnished to Monsieur de Courcelles amount by me, Henry Nisbet, merchant and burgess of Edinburgh, from the 12th day of January 1586 until the first day of August 1587, amounts to the sum of three hundred and fifty seven pounds, sixteen shilling and six pence, I say 357*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*

1½ *pp.* *French.*

Aug. 1. **375.** DIET FOR THE QUEEN OF SCOTS' FUNERAL AT PETERBOROUGH.
C.P., vol. XXI.

The charges of diet for the Scottish Queen's funerals at Peterborough, Monday supper, the last of July, and Tuesday dinner, the first of August.

The bakehouse.

Ralph Baldwin asks allowance for 9 quarters 3 bushels of wheat provided at 45*s.* 4*d.* a quarter, and made into 200 dozens of bread of sundry sorts for the expenses of diet at Peterborough 21*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*

For 4 loads of wood for furnage at 3*s.* 4*d.* a load, 13*s.* 4*d.*

For 2 labourers hired in the bakehouse by the space of 4 days at 8*d.* the day, either of them 5*s.* 4*d.*, and for the hire of an oven in the town to bake in, 4*s.*; *in toto*, 9*s.* 4*d.*

For the charges of himself and a man taken with him from the Court to Peterborough to help him in his service there, by the space of 16 days, at 4*s.* by the day 64*s.* 4*d.*

Sum—25*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*

The pantry.

Richard Matthew, groom of the pantry, asks allowance for 24 dozen wooden trenchers at 2½*d.* for 2 dozen, 5*s.*; for 8 dozen white wooden trenchers at 6*d.* for 2 dozen, and for 8 yards coarse canvas for "portepaines," 6*s.* 4*d.*; *in toto*, 15*s.* 4*d.*

For 6 men hired to carry bread and attend the cupboards, Monday supper and Tuesday dinner, 6*s.*

For the charges of himself and his man taken from the Court to assist him in his service at Peterborough by the space of 13 days at 4*s.* by the day, 52*s.*

Sum—73*s.* 4*d.*

The cellar and buttery.

Robert Carr, merchant of Lynn, for one tun of Gascony wine provided of him, 22*l.*

John Donielawe asks allowance for 4 sesters of sack at 16*s.* a sester, 64*s.*, and for a runlet to put the same in, with carriage, 3*s.* 6*d.*; *in toto*, 67*s.* 6*d.* [Sesters containing four gallons apiece.]

Richard Goodman asks allowance for ten tuns one hogsheaf of beer provided by him at Lynn and Peterborough at 46*s.* 4*d.* the tun, 23*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.*

For 3 tuns one pipe of ale provided by him at Peterborough at 55*s.* a tun, 9*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

For carriage of a tun of wine from Lynn to the waterside, 8*d.*

Elizabeth.

1587. For carriage of the same by water from Lynn to Peterborough, 4s. For carriage of the same from the waterside there up to the cellar, 8d. For carriage of 8 tuns of beer as before at 4s. 8d. the tun, 37s. 4d. For carriage of 2 tuns one hogshead of beer and 3 tuns one pipe of ale from Peterborough up to the buttery, 3s. 10d. For 11 tun empty cask provided at Lynn at 4s. a tun, 44s., and for one tun one hogshead cask provided at Stamford, with carriage, 11s. For carriage of the 11 tun cask from Lynn, *etc.*, to Peterborough, 6s. 8d. For cooperage of all the aforesaid casks, 20s. For 4 labourers hired to remove wood and other necessities out of the buttery and for making the same clean, by the space of one day and a half, 4s., and to them for the carriage of timber thither for the making of ranges and "laying" of drinks, 5s. 8d. For digging and carrying thither of 3 loads of sand 3s., for timber to make ranges there and in the cellar, 2s. 6d. For 2 locks and keys for the said doors, 2s. 4d. For a new door and a bar made for the buttery, 2s. For 6 dozen stone jugs at 3s. a dozen, 18s. For 25 pitchers and 4 bowls, 7s. 6d. For 4 men hired to carry drink to the several places, 4s. *In toto*, 8l. 17s. 2d.

Richard Goodman asks allowance for the charges of himself and his man taken with him to assist him in his service by the space of 32 days at 4s. by the day, 6l. 6s., and for the charges of one other man brought from the Court to aid him in the making of provision by the space of 11 days at 2s. by the day, 22s. *In toto*, 7l. 10s.

Jo. Warner asks allowance for 2 dozen glasses, 4s., and for 12 drinking pots, 2s.; *toto*, 6s.

William Gaile for 200 white ashen cups, 9s.

James Nevill, for 6 men hired to carry drink to the cupboards, and to attend, 6s., and for marking the black pots, 6d.; *toto*, 6s. 6d.

J. Donielowe asks allowance for carriage of one load of cellar plate from London to Peterborough, being 64 miles, and back again, at 2d. the mile, 21s. 4d. For carriage of one load of plate from the Tower to Westminster, 12d. For carriage of one load from B[ishops] gate to the Tower, 12d., and for watching the carriages at Huntingdon 2 nights, 3s. *Toto*, 26s. 4d.

The said John asks allowance for the charges of himself and his man taken with him to Peterborough to assist him in the service there by the space of 13 days at 4s. the day, 52s.

Richard Breame asks allowance for his boat hire from London to Greenwich and back again, when he was commanded to take out plate, 2s. 6d. For carriage of the plate from the Tower to Whitehall and for coming back to Greenwich, 2s. 8d. For boat hire at another time going from Greenwich to Whitehall to take out cupboard cloths, 2s. 10d.; and for his own charges being about the same by the space of 3 days, 4s.—12s.

The said Richard asks allowance for the charges of himself and his man taken with him to help him in his service there by the space of 13 days at 4s. a day, 52s.

James Nevill asks allowance for 3 black pots by him provided, 7s. 6d., and for 2 gispins, 3s. 2d. *In toto*, 10s. 8d.

The said James Nevill of the pitcher house asks allowance for his charges to Peterborough by the space of 13 days at 3s. a day, 39s.

For the charges of a man sent for the 200 cups, 2s. 6d.

Sum—85l. 18s. 1d.

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The Spicery.

Andrew Smith, clerk of the spicery, asks allowance for 23 pounds of wax delivered out of her majesty's store at 11*d.* a pound, 21*s.* 1*d.*

For linen cloth delivered as before, to wit, 25 ells of holland, and for cupboard cloths, at 2*s.* 4*d.* an ell, 58*s.* 4*d.*; 8 ells of Brussels for cortiers at 22*d.* an ell, 14*s.* 8*d.*; and 24 ells of canvas, 24*s.* [Total], 4*l.* 17*s.*

For divers spices delivered as before, viz., Pepper, 12 pounds at 3*s.* a pound, 36*s.* Saffron, 3 ounces, 6*s.* Cloves, one pound, 4*s.* Mace, one pound, 8*s.* Cinnamon, 2 pounds, 15*s.* Ginger, 2 pounds, 5*s.* 10*d.* Nutmeg, one pound, 4*s.* Sugar, 56 pounds at 12½*d.*, 58*s.* 4*d.* Dates, 6 pounds at 10*d.*, 5*s.* Currants, 20 pounds at 4*d.*, 5*s.* Raisins, sol., 10 pounds at 4*d.*, 2*s.* 6*d.* Raisins, gr., 10 pounds at 1½*d.*, 15*d.* Prunes, 20 pounds, 3*s.* 4*d.* Strainers, r. 2, 2*s.* 5*d.* Strainers, cors 4, 18*d.* Paper past., 4 quires, 7*d.* Paper scr., 2 quires, 6½*d.* Oranges, 100, 5*s.*; lemons, 12*s.* 6*d.* Rice, 6 pounds, 3*s.* Oil, per gallon, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and rose water, one gallon, 6*s.* 8*d.* *In toto*, 9*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.*

Richard Fowke, grocer, for the want of price in sundry of the kinds of spices as abovesaid, served by him for the expenses at Peterborough, 44*s.* 10*d.*

Anthony Harston asks allowance for 5 dozen white lights weighing 60 pounds, at 3*d.* a pound, 15*s.*, and for one pot of salad oil, 3*s.* 2*d.* *In toto*, 18*s.* 2*d.*

John Cutberte asks allowance for spices provided by him at Peterborough, viz., Sugar, 46 pounds at 19*d.* a pound, 72*s.* 10*d.* Currants, 26 pounds at 4*d.* a pound, 8*s.* 8*d.* Dates, 2 pounds, 5*s.* Biscuits, etc., 5 pounds, 10*s.* Nutmegs, 4 ounces, 2*s.* 8*d.* Str. r., 2 verges, 3*s.* Paper str., 2 quires, 10*d.* Paper past., 4 quires, 16*d.* Cherries, 16 pounds, 2*s.* 8*d.* *In toto*, 107*s.*

John Page for the carriage of sundry necessities from Fotheringay to Peterborough, 2*s.*

Edward Terrie, yeoman of the "ewrie," asks allowance for the carriage of one load of "ewrie" and spicery stuff from London to Peterborough, being 64 miles, and back again, at 2*d.* a mile, 21*s.* 4*d.* For going by water from Greenwich to the Tower for plate, and back again, at two several times, 4*s.* For carriage of the napery from Greenwich to Whitehall, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and for 4 men hired by him at Peterborough to help him cover and attend cupboards, 3*s.* *In toto*, 32*s.* 4*d.*

For hemming the napery sent to Peterborough, viz., 10 damask cloths at 4*d.* each, 3*s.* 4*d.* Ten damask towels, 20*d.* Ten dozen damask napkins, 10*s.* 20 plain cloths, 3*s.* 4*d.* Ten plain towels at 8*d.* each, 6*s.* 8*d.*, and two ledgers, 4*d.* Total, 25*s.* 4*d.*

The said Edward asks allowance for the charges of himself and his man taken with him to Peterborough to assist him in the service there by the space of 13 days at 4*s.* by the day, 52*s.*

Edmund Beck, yeoman of the spicery, asks allowance for going by water from Greenwich to London at two several times to receive spice, 3*s.* 4*d.*, and for his own charges, being about the same 2 days, 3*s.* 4*d.*—6*s.* 8*d.*

For the charges of himself and his man taken with him to assist him in his service at Peterborough, 13 days at 4*s.* a day, 52*s.*

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Bartholomew Knarisborowe, groom of the "chaundrey," asks allowance for his charges to Peterborough and back again by the space of 13 days at 3*s.* by the day, 39*s.*

Ralph Edwardes asks allowance for the charges of himself and his man taken with him to assist him in his service to Peterborough and back again by the space of 13 days at 4*s.* by the day, 52*s.*

For the carriage of 6 carts from the Tower to Whitehall, 2*s.* For 12 iron clouts and nails for the said carts, 3*s.* 4*d.* And for grease for the same, 2*s.* *In toto*, 7*s.* 4*d.*

William Lofeilde for the carriage of warrants and precepts at sundry times from Fotheringay to Peterborough, 2*s.*

John Hampsher and his fellow, barbingers, ask allowance for their charges to Peterborough and back by the space of 16 days at 4*s.* by the day, either of them, 6*l.* 8*s.*

Anthony Colliar and 29 of his fellows hired for waiters out of Peterborough for giving their attendance, Monday supper and Tuesday dinner, 10*s.*

Marmaduke Darell for the charges of his two men and three horses coming from Fotheringay to Peterborough at sundry times about the service there, 15*s.*

Richard Cope asks allowance for his charges going to Peterborough and back again and for giving his attendance there by the space of 16 days, at 6*s.* 8*d.* by the day, 106*s.* 8*d.*

John Williams for the writing hereof, 16*s.* 8*d.*

Sum—50*l.* 18*s.* 4½*d.*

The kitchen.

Stephen Daulton asks allowance for 5 gross pikes at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, 12*s.* 6*d.*, and for 15 perches, 2*s.* 6*d.* *In toto*, 15*s.*

Thomas Kayes, chief cook, ask allowance for 24 labourers hired to turn broches and carry water for the kitchens at 6*d.* every one of them, 12*s.* For pricks, 2*s.* 6*d.*, pack-thread 6*d.* Fire-staves and basters, 8*d.*, and for gooseberries, 17*d.* *In toto*, 17*s.* 1*d.*

The said Thomas asks allowance for the charges of himself and his man taken with him to help him at Peterborough by the space of 16 days, at 4*s.* by the day, 64*s.*

Thomas Lovell and 3 of his fellows, children of the kitchen, for their charges to Peterborough and back again, by the space of 13 days, every of them at 3*s.* by the day, 7*l.* 16*s.*

John Bayley and four of his fellows of the kitchen for their charges by the space of 13 days at 2*s.* by the day, every of them, 6*l.* 10*s.*

Stephen Clarke, boiler, appointed for the carriage of 2 loads of kitchen stuff from Greenwich to London, and from thence to Peterborough, 69 miles, and back again, at 2*d.* a mile, 46*s.*

The said Clarke asks allowance for the charges of himself and a servant taken with him from the Court to assist him in his service by the space of 13 days, at 3*s.* by the day, 39*s.*

William Pricket, almoner, asks allowance for his charges to Peterborough and back again by the space of 13 days, at 3*s.* by the day, 39*s.*

William Younge, lardner, asks allowance for a labourer hired at Peterborough to help him in the larder, by the space of 6 days, at 8*d.* by the day, 4*s.*

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For his charges to Peterborough and back again by the space of 16 days, at 3s. by the day, 48s.

Robert Cole and 3 of his fellows, servants of the kitchen, for their charges going to Peterborough to help in the kitchens there by the space of 13 days, at 6s. 8d., 26s. 8d.

John Williams for the carriage of 9 bucks to Peterborough, 18s.

Sum—30l. 2s. 9d.

The "Catrie."

Bennet Anton asks allowance for 4 oxen delivered at Peterborough, at 60s. each, 12l.

For 40 "multons" delivered, at 4s. 8d. each, 9l. 6s. 8d. [sic].

Thomas Browne for the ligation of the said beefs and mutttons to Peterborough, 2s. 8d.

Richard Philips for 41 pounds of lard at 10d. a pound, 34s. 2d., and for carriage of the same to Peterborough, 2s. 6d. *In toto*, 36s. 8d.

Thomas Dawson asks allowance for 10 bushels of grey salt at 3s. 4d. a bushel, 33s. 4d.; 2 bushels of white salt, 3s. 4d., and for carriage of the same out of Peterborough into the larder, 6d. Total, 37s. 2d.

Richard Owen, purveyor of veals, *etc.*, for 9 veals by him provided, at 9s. 4d. each, 4l. 4s.

For 14 neats' tongues provided at 6d. each, 7s.

For the "drift" of the said calves from several places to Petersfield, and for carriage of some of them by water, 7s. 6d.

For his charges from the Court to Peterborough and back again, by the space of 13 days, at 3s. by the day, 39s.

Sum—32l. 8d.

The "Poultrie."

John Raymonde, purveyor of poultry, for poultry delivered by him at Peterborough, to wit, 4 dozen and 4 capons gwd. at 20d. each, 4l. 6s. 8d.; 3 capons K., 3s.; 18 bitterns at 3s. each, 54s.; 12 gulls at 2s. 4d. each, 28s.; 18 herons at 3s. each, 54s.; 18 pullets at 3s. each, 54s.; 18 pullets, gr., at 14d. each, 21s.; 3 dozen and 3 ducklings at 4d. each, 13s.; 13 dozen and 7 teals at 3s. a dozen, 40s. 9d.; 16 dozen and 4 chickens at 4s. a dozen, 65s. 4d.; 18 "brer" at 2s. 6d. each, 45s.; 16 dozen and 2 rabbits at 4s. a dozen, 64s. 8d.; 7 dozen and 6 mallards at 6s. a dozen, 45s.; 341 pounds of butter at 3½d., 4l. 19s. 5½d.; 2600 eggs at 2s. 8d. a 100, 69s. 4d.; 16 "b^{ces}" onions, 2s. 6d.; and for the caring of the same by the space of 7 days at 8s. by the day, 64s. *In toto*, 37l. 15s. 8½d.

Edmund Clipsam asks allowance for 50 lambs delivered at Peterborough at 12d. each, 50s.

Stephen Daulton asks allowance for 2 gallons of gooseberries, 2s.; 600 pears, 3s. 6d.; 1000 quodlings, 5s.; 60 pounds of cherries, 10s.; 2 gallons of cream, 12d.; 14 gallons of cream at 4d. a gallon, 4s. 8d., and for curds, 14d. *In toto*, 27s. 4d.

The said Stephen asks allowance for his charges in providing of the same by the space of 2 days, 4s.

Daniel Cotton, groom of the scalding house, asks allowance for 2 labourers hired to help him work 3 days at 10d. the day, 5s.; for one

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1587. workman hired there, 3s., 3s. 4d., and for the hire of a horse from Peterborough and back again, 17d. *In toto*, 9s. 9d.

The said Daniel asks allowance for the charges of himself and a man taken with him from the Court to Peterborough to assist him in his service there by the space of 13 days, at 4s. by the day, 52s.

The said Daniel, for 5 ells of canvas for butter cloths and wipers, 4s., and for a lock and key for the scalding-house door, 12d. Total, 5s.

Sum—45l. 3s. 9½d.

The Scullery.

John Boulton for 45 quarters of coals delivered at Peterborough at 11d. the quarter, 41s. 3d.

The said John asks allowance for the carriage of the said coals to Peterborough, 4s. 4d.

William Pricket asks allowance for 6 green baskets provided for the "almenery," 3s.

Thomas Rone asks allowance for herbs by him provided at Peterborough, per bill, 58s. 4d.

Thomas Burgies, yeoman of the scullery, asks allowance for sundry necessities by him provided at Peterborough, *viz.*, 1100 bricks at 2s. a 100, 22s.; for care of the same, 6d.; for 4 bricklayers hired to make ranges, *etc.*, 2 days at 12d. the day, every of them, 8s.; 4 labourers to help them by the said space, 6s. 8d.; 4 loads of loam, 2s.; 2 boards for the pastry doors, 3s.; hooks and hinges to the same, 16d.; 2 keys and a lock, 14d.; a staple, 2d.; boards for the workhouse doors, 4s. 6d.; hooks and hinges, 16d.; hinges for the cellar door, 8d.; for bricks and a bricklayer to mend the oven, 12d.; 16 deal boards to make forms, 20s.; 18 deal boards for tables, 8s.; 600 sixpenny nails, 3s.; 100 tenpenny nails, 10d.; small nails, 1d.; for a load of poles for tressles and legs, 4s.; four oaken boards for cupboard, 2s. 6d.; 2 carpenters hired ten days to make the said tables, tressles, forms, *etc.*, at 10d. the day, either of them, 16s. 8d.; 6 carpenters for one day for making cupboards, *etc.*, 4s.; 4 labourers hired for 4 days at 8d. the day, every of them, 5s. 4d.; 40 pots and pans for the kitchens, 6s. 8d.; 4 earthen pots to carry ale and wine for the kitchens and pastry, 12d.; for heating and hammering 3 dozen and 6 "broches" at 2d. each, 7s.; for "new shotinge 2 broches," 4d.; for carriage and re-carriage of 2 loads of planks, 2s.; 8 labourers hired to carry water for the kitchen, *etc.*, 2 days, 5s. 4d.; two men hired to keep doors, 12d.; for the hire of 3 ovens in Peterborough town, 6s.; for carriage and re-carriage of 7 loads of tables, tressles, forms, *etc.*, 7s.; for 4 labourers hired to gather the same together and to load them, 2 days, 4s.; 4 padlocks for 2 great hampers, 2s. 8d.; for 2 men hired to watch the plate at Ware and Peterborough, 4 nights, 6s. 8d. Total, 8l. 6s. 1d.

The said Thomas asks allowance for his boathire from Greenwich to London at 2 several times, 4s., and for his own charge there about the taking out of plate and other necessities, 4 days, 4s. Total, 8s.

Thomas Burgies asks allowance for the charges of himself and his man, taken with him to assist him, in the service at Peterborough by the space of 16 days, at 4s. a day, 64s.

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Thomas Rone, page of the scullery, asks allowance for his charges to Peterborough and back again by the space of 13 days at 3s. by the day, 39s.

William Carter, child of the scullery, asks allowance for the carriage of two loads of scullery stuff from London to Peterborough, being 64 miles, and back again, at 2d. the mile, 42s. 8d.; for carriage of the plate from the Tower to Whitehall, 2s.; and for a labourer hired from London to Peterborough and back again to help him load his plate and attend the same by the space of 13 days at 10d. by the day, 10s. 10d.—55s. 6d.

The said William asks allowance for his charges to Peterborough and back again by the space of 13 days at 2s. 6d. the day, 32s. 6d.

Sum—23l. 12s.

“ The pastrie and saltrie.”

Ralph Bauldwin asks allowance for 5 quarters 4 bushels of meal by him provided at 45s. 4d. the quarter, being spent in the pastry, 12l. 9s. 4d.

The said Ralph asks allowance for 3 bushels 3 pecks of meal provided for the kitchens, 21s. 3d.

Arthur Harston asks allowance for 3 gallons of white vinegar at 16d. a gallon, 4s. 8d.; for 7 gallons of red vinegar, 9s. 4d.; mustard, 5s. 4d.; and 23 earthen pots, 3s. 6d.—23s. 2d.

Richard Diar, chief pastler, asks allowance for 3 workmen hired from Cambridge, to help him in the pastrie by the space of 3 days, at 2s. 6d., every of them by the day, 22s. 6d.; and for 4 labourers hired by the said space at 8d. the day, every of them 4s.—26s. 6d.

The said Richard asks allowance for the wages of a workman taken with him from the Court to Peterborough to help him in his service, by the space of 13 days at 2s. by the day, 26s.

The said Richard asks allowance for the charges of himself and his man to help him at Peterborough by the space of 13 days, at 4d. by the day, 52s.

Sum—19l. 18s. 3d.

The woodyard.

Thomas Bridges asks allowance for 4 loads of hard wood at 4s. 6d. a load, 18s., and for 7 loads of “ baven ” with carriage, at 4s., 28s. *In toto*, 46s.

For 103 bundles of rushes at 2d. a bundle, 17s. 2d., and for 2 loads of flags with carriage, 11s. Total, 28s. 2d.

Sum—74s. 2d.

Total of this order, 320l. 14s. 6d. *Signed*: Mar. Darell, Rich. Cox.

Whereof there is returned to her majesty's use for victuals, *etc.*, sold at Peterborough at the end of the service there:—

For 4 tuns of beer, 8l.; for half a carcass of beef, 30s.; for 13 muttons, 4l. 9s. 5d.; for carcass of veal, 7s.; for 4 oxbides, 48s.; for 27 mutton fells, 10s. 2d.; for 9 calves skins, 9s. 9d.; for 23 p^rvⁿ tallow, 58s. 4d.; for 2 bushels of meal, 12s. 6d. [Total], 21l. 5s. 2d. And so the clear expenses amount to 299l. 9s. 4d. Towards which there has been already received in *presta* out of the

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1587. Exchequer 207*l.* 19*s.* And so remains yet owing for the full answering of this charge, the sum of 91*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*

14½ *pp.* *Indorsed*: 299*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* Paid thereof to Richard Coxe, at the term of Easter 1587, 107*l.* 19*s.*, and at the term of Michaelmas of the same year 91*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* in full payment in the diet aforesaid. Paid by Killigrew.

Aug. 1. **376.** ACCOUNT OF CHARGES AT MARY'S FUNERAL.

C.P., vol. XXI.

The declaration of the account of Marmaduke Darell and Richard Cox, gentleman, appointed by the right honourable William, Baron of Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England, to receive divers and sundry sums of money for defraying of the charges of diets at the funeral of Lady Mary, late Queen of Scots, solemnised in the cathedral church of Peterborough the 1st day of August in the 29th year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, that is to say, as well of all and singular such sum and sums of money as the said accountants have received out of her highness' receipt at Westminster or any other manner of ways within the time of this account, as also of the issuing, defraying and laying out of the same for sundry emptions and provisions of diet for two meals during the time of the said funeral, *viz.*, a supper on Monday the last of July, and a dinner on Tuesday the 1st of August in the 29th year of her majesty's said reign, charge of carriage of sundry provisions and other necessities from London and other places, and for the wages and entertainment of divers officers, ministers and others, sent from the Court for the service aforesaid, as by one book of particularities containing the said emptions, carriage, wages, and other charges subscribed with the hands of the said Marmaduke Darell and Richard Cox particularly may appear. Which said account was taken and declared before the [blank].

The said accountants are charged with:—Arrearages. None, for that this is the first account taken by me of the said Marmaduke Darell and Richard Cox.

Ready money by them received and had, *viz.* :—

1. Treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer. But the said accountants are charged with money by them received of the Treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer within the time of this account, by the hands of Henry Killigrew, one of the tellers of the receipt, at two several times for provisions of acates and other charges growing by the funerals of the Scottish Queen by virtue of a privy seal dated the 11th of July 1587, the sum of 299*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*

2. Sale of provisions. And the said accountants are further charged with money by them received for the sale of divers provisions by them at the end of this service, sold at Peterborough, *viz.*, 4 tuns of beer, 8*l.*; half a carcass of beef, 30*s.*; 13 muttons, 4*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*; one carcass of veal, 7*s.*; 4 hides, 48*s.*; 27 fells, 10*s.* 2*d.*; 9 calves skins, 9*s.* 9*d.*; tallow, 58*s.* 4*d.*; and 2 bushels of meal, 12*s.* 6*d.*; and in all as in the book of the said accountants may appear, 16*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*

Sum total of the charge and receipts aforesaid, 320*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*

The said accountants pray to be allowed for [*Items detailed as in the preceding accounts.*]

6 *pp.* *Large sheets.* *Indorsed.*

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1587. **377. LAIRD OF POURY OGILVIE TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.**

Aug. 3.

I have received those letters which you were pleased to write to me, and according to your desire I will send you the twenty crowns, which your honour lent me being at Edinburgh, on the 20th of this present month at the latest. If it please you in the meanwhile to visit the country according to your promise, I will accompany you on the journey, being always ready awaiting your leisure.

Assuring you that you have the power ever to command me [*etc.*]. At Ogilway. *Signed*: "D'Ogilwy."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Holograph. Addressed.*

Aug. **378. PASSPORTS FOR MARY'S SERVANTS.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

Camille du Preau. Dominique Bourgoing. Bastien Pages. Baltazar Hully. Annibal Stuart. Didier Syllart. Jacques Gervays. Pierre Gorgeon. Martin Euet. Nicholas de la Mare. Symon. Jacques Paiges. Charles Plonart. Damoiselles. Renée de Beauregard. Jehanne Kenedy. Elizabeth Curll. Christine Hog. Mary Paiges. Elizabeth Paiges. Cinq enfans du Bastien Paiges.

Horses. Three grey geldings. One fawn gelding. Five bay geldings.

Messieurs, Nau, Curll his wife, his servant Laurens and her servant. And Pasquier. When they are delivered one of them shall know what way they shall take.

1 p. *Indorsed*: "The names of the Scot. Queen's servants who are to have passports. Aug. 1587."

Aug. **379. MONEY BELONGING TO MARY'S ATTENDANTS.**

C.P., vol. XXI.

Note of the moneys belonging to some officers of the Queen of Scotland being about her majesty, which Nau had in his hands and begs may be restored to them for his discharge, according to the form of the quittances here below.

Firstly.

To Mademoiselle de Beauregard, one of her majesty's young gentlewomen, six hundred and twenty six crowns thirty nine shillings eight pence sterling, thus. 626^{cr.} 39^{s.} 8^{d.}

To Mr. James Gervays, her majesty's surgeon, three hundred and thirteen crowns and one third, from which he ought to deduct 13^{cr.} sterling, which by his schedule of 27th May 1586 it appears that he owes to the said Nau, thus remains 300^{cr.}

To Balthazar Hully, her majesty's master of the wardrobe, seven hundred and twenty crowns, thus 720^{cr.}

To Didier Chiffard, her majesty's cup-bearer, five hundred and ninety one crowns, thus 591^{cr.}

Form of acquittance for the aforesaid.

I, Renée de Rallay, called de Beauregard, one of the young gentlewomen of the Queen of Scotland, dowager of France, acknowledge and confess to have received of Nau the sum of

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626^{cr}. 39^s. 8^d. sterling, belonging to me by testamentary bequest of the late Mademoiselle de Rallay, my aunt, deceased in this country, the which sum the said Sieur Nau had received of me in keeping and deposit. In witness whereof, and for the discharge and acquittance of the said Sieur Nau wheresoever it shall appertain, I have signed the present. At.....in England theday of.....in the year.....

I, James Gervays, surgeon in ordinary to the Queen of Scotland, dowager of France, acknowledge and confess to have received of Nau the sum of 313^{cr} sterling, belonging to me, and by me last summer delivered to the said Sieur Nau to be sent into France to my cousin,

Le Tellier, merchant, living in Paris. In witness whereof, and for the acquittance and discharge of the said Sieur Nau wheresoever it shall appertain, I have signed the present.

I, Balthazar Hully, master of the wardrobe to the Queen of Scotland, dowager of France, certify and confess to have received of Nau the sum of 720^{cr}, which the said Sieur Nau had in his hands, belonging to me, and being a part and portion of the moneys received for me by the Sieur du Ruisseau, brother-in-law of the said Sieur Nau. In witness whereof, and for the acquittance and discharge of the said Sieur du Ruisseau and Nau for the said sum of 720^{cr}, I have signed the present.

I, Didier Chiffart, cup-bearer to the Queen of Scotland, dowager of France, acknowledge and confess to have received of Nau the sum of 591^{cr} which the said Sieur Nau had in his hands, belonging to me and being part and portion of the moneys received for me by the Sieur du Ruisseau, brother-in-law of the said Sieur Nau. In witness whereof, and for the acquittance and discharge of the said Sieur du Ruisseau and Nau for that sum of 591^{cr}, I have signed the present. At.....in England the.....day ofin the year.....

1½ pp. *French. Indorsed.*

Aug. 6. **380. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.**

“ Albeit I knaw your weychtiar effayris doethe impeide that I haif not ressawed answer to my last requelistis prepered in nayme of the King, my maister, zit I can not forbear to trowble your honour in materris that doethe greitlye concerne the commone weile of this realme and your awin pryvat commodite, two cheif growndis wherupon men of greit learning mycht deryve no argumentis to move zealous consalouris in gretar materris than my small learning can presume to discourse upon.”

“ Bot the treuth is this; whear the philosophour stoane can be had in any realme it doeth promisse preservation from seiknes to the prince and no less to the consalouris, with richesse to those that can catche it: which gevis me boldnes to intend ane ressonable requelist in faworis of such that in respect of these commone benefitis and your pryvat commodite doeth indewour thaym selfis to brying it to an full perfection in this cuntry.”

“ Owr greit philosophir, Doctor Michaeli, to whose intention your honour is prowyn in this case, and who, in this cuntry, hath no maner of possession *neque modum acquirendi*, envye excepted,

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whearof he hath acquired no small stoare be the helpe of his brethren in thayr hale, be ressonne that being called before thayme—to answer upon the ressonne of some phisicall derectioun gevin be him—he spak a litill bettir Latyne than some of thayme did.”

“Thay to be rewenged upon him wold bryng him to hye proomotion in the subsidye bukis, and this honour treulye I thinke wold aggre wyth the man his awin humour if he had whearwyth to pay it, bot I know he hath it not, nather wherupon to intertenny himself and familye wythowte the helpe of gud fryndis, as he that hes had his house brokin, plate and money takin from him, during his late absens in the Lowe Cuntryis, and wold or now haif departed owt of this realme if the onelye hoipe of this uther jewell intended for the benefite aforesayde had not stayed him.”

“Seing that he leawis onder hoipes to do gud, my requeist shall go no fordar bot that, onder the hoipe he expectis, be the desserwing of materis he hopis for, he may be preserved from the harm of his unfryndis at this tym quhill it may be, knowing what gud fruittis his hoppis shall produce, and the rather becaus it hath pleased her majeste, be your awin procurment, to geve him her hyenes lettir whearin she affirms him to be hir serwand, as also that sche doeth veill onderstand and viel nevir allow that hoipe shuld be bocht be readye money.”

“This tym that I spend in feasting I pray God mycht be employed in moyr seriows mater at this season, when thayr remains hoipe to helpe materis that ar lyk to square, which vilbe when it shall pleis God to mowe the princis hartis to haif it so.”

“I haif send this bearar unto you to know when he shalbe readye to depart.”

“The larde of Barnebowgalle who is wyth me dooth daylye trowble me to mowe you for the releif of Curle his son in law. I pray you decayr to this berar what answer I shall geve to him. The remanant that ar cummed to this towne hath be him dessired the sam myne motion to be mayde for thaym, but I haif not hearde it of any of thaymselfis as zit.”

“This berar will requist your honour in favoris of an Scottis man, called Strathaqu[er], who comptis himself amongis the nombre of your servantis, zit I must pray for your fryndlye favour to him.” London.

2 pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Aug. 9. **381.** WALTER WILLIAMS TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 60.

It may please your honour, I repaired unto the party according to your commandment and found him very sick of this new disease as far as I could guess. That which he willed me to communicate unto your honour was to know your pleasure what he should do with all the copies of letters he had sent unto your honour, as of those which have been sent unto more [*sic*]. He signifieth that he hath afore his sickness seen one John Tayler, a man of Newcastle in this [*sic*], who keepeth company with the Scots which came from Fotheringham, a man as he saith which hath been best acquainted with all the practices against her majesty. He thinketh that if that party were apprehended he is able to give light to many evil devices.

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Also he saith that Mrs. Curle reported to some of her friends that though they seem now to be utterly forsaken, yet have they many good friends in Scotland, and that she is well assured that the King doth but temporise until he see what success the matters of the Low Country will take, and then will declare himself for their side. He bewaileth the want he is like to sustain if God call him, for that she shall be left so naked and bare that poverty shall be her only staff to lean upon. As he lieth very sick so I think his want is very great, I promised he should hear from your honour so soon as might be and if it were possible to-day. "At your house." *Signed.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 12. **382.** EARL OF HUNTLY AND OTHERS TO THE LAIRD OF CESFORD.

"Efter our hartlie commendationns; we have resawit adwertissment frome the Kingis majestie this morning signefeing his mislyking and discontentment of thir laite disorders fallin out at the midill Marche, quhairof he is deliberat to seik redres according to the treateis of peax, and to caus his subjectis that hes offendit make redress for thair partes, and to that effect hes send his proclamationn, the effect quhairof ze will perceawe be the sicht, quhilk we pray zow caus be proclamit at Jedbrid, Hawik, Kellso and all uther placeis neidfull."

"And forbyd sa far as possibillie ze can all maner of invasioun of England, and gif his hienes subjectis sall be invadit in this reallme, let thame then defend thameselffis as they best may, and in case ze find zour self unabill to performe this directionn, that then ze adwertis how sone ze can, for that his majestie intendis to direct thether the Erll of Angus, his liewtennent, to accomplishe quhatsoewer sall be thocht neccesser to be done for observatioun of the peax and punischment of the disturbers thairoff." *Edinburgh. Copies of signatures: J. Huntlye; F. Maitland; Tho: Mr. Glamis; Robert Melvain.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy. Indorsed.*

Aug. 12. **383.** PROCLAMATION BY JAMES VI.

"James be the grace of God King of Scottis to our lowitis . . . * messingers our shrefis imployit conjuntlie and severalie specialie constitut greitting."

"Forsamekill as we and the lordis of our secret counsall ar credibillie informit of diwers grit disordouris and enormeteis laitlie fallin out betuix the subjectis of baithe the realmis at the midill marche, to the grit prejudice and disturbance of the peax and to our mislyking and miscontentment, quherupoun griter inconvenientis may fall out gif thir insolent disordouris be not spedelie redressit, and the authouris and movaris thairof punischt according to ther deservngis."

"Our will is heirfor and we charge zow straitlie and commandis

* Blank space.

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that incontinent thir our letteris sene ze pas to the mercat croceis of Jedbrid, Hawik, Kellso, Duns and uthers placeis neidfull within the boundis of the midill and est marchis of our reallme for anent England, and thair be oppin proclamatioun in our name and autorite command and charge all and syndrie our leagis dwelland within the boundis of the saidis mearchis that nane of thame take upoun hand to ryd in England in weirlyk maner, or to rais fyr, make depredatiounis or commit slauchter, reiff, theft or resset thairof upoun quhatsumever personis, inhabitantis of the reallme of England, upoun quhatsumever cullour or pretens, under the pane of deid, bot to stand at thair awin defence in cace thay sall happin to be persewit or invadit within the boundis of our reallme, certefeing thame that dois in the contrair, the seid pane of deid sall be execut upoun thame, and the skaithis and attemptatis to be commitit sall be redressit with dowblis, with all rigour in exampill of utheris, as ze will answer to us therwpon."

"The quhilk to do we commit to zow, conjuntlie and severale, our full power be thir our letteris, delyvering thame be zow dewlie execut and indorsat agane to the beirar. Geven under our signet at Edinburgh."

"*Per decretum secreti consilii.*"

1 p. Copy. Indorsed.

Aug. 13. 384. [] TO [WALSINGHAM]

"The Kingis majesties ambassadour, quho wes laitlie in Denmark, is cummit hame not zit four dayis agone. And as concernyng his newes of the ansswer of his commissioun delyvered to the King of Denmark, demaunding mariage as your honor knowis, they do nocht arreid wnto the Kingis majesteis earis. Nether ar thay weill lykit on be any, ather nobilitie or uther in this countrie, be ressoun it is patent that he never had presence of the Kingis majestie bot one tyme. Quha anserring than to the heidis of the said commissioun agreed to the samyn with provysioun alwayis that during all the dayis of the Quenes majesteis lyfe off England, hir majestie may peceable, quyethlie and joyfullie raigne as befor without any kynd of molestacionne, trouble or invasioun of uproare, convocation in armes, or seditioun against hir majesteis persone or realme."

"Quhilk ansswer seemes so deferring to the Kingis majestie, that in my opinione heirefter at ony tyme the gentilwomen will nocht be socht for, for the ambassadour did not see hir at all, nather the quene hir mother, bot he ressavit his ansser in full effect at that present tyme fra the kingis majestie of Denmark."

"Nevertheless he sent his chauncellouris to Elschinnure [Elsinore] to him according to promise, quha encouraged him ane litill better; zit notwithstanding of thair cumming to him at that tyme and of the promise of gud success in all thingis gif peace mycht be keipit with England, his majestie doithe also muche mislyke of that ansser as of the rest."

"Quhairfor I am certanelie perswadit that the King will taik ane uther coursse, to wit, to associate him selff in mariage with the

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King of Spayne; for it is of veritie that Crouner Stewart hes commissioun to that effect, and travellis diligentlie with the Prince of Parma in Flaunders for the accomplisheing of the samyn. It is said, and also I suppose it, that he hes bene alreddy in Spayne or ellis wilbe verie schortlie. Quhilk thing is abill to come to pass sa mekill the rather becaus it wilbe offensive unto the Quenes majestie and unto zow all, as also becaus that ye ar suspectid to have postponit and hinderit the other mariage."

"Forder, I dout nocht bot your honour hathe hard how that my lord Chancellour befor the parliament endit said oppenlie that he had sumquhat moir to speik, to wit, concernyng the revenge of his majesteis motheris deithe. Then presentlie thairefter the hail lordis of parliament sitting on thair knees vowit that thai wald revenge the same to the uttermaist."

"And his majestie hathe objected and said to sum of thame sensyne that he thocht it did nocht proceed frome the bottome of thair hairt. Thairfoir your honour sall understand that in my opinioun gif ze find na uther menes to appease the Kingis majesteis wrathe and plessur him for the deathe of his mother than ather be the lordis quhilk were last baneist or zit be the ministrie quha wiss hir majesties and countreyis weill and prosperitie, assure your honour that they will frustrate yow in the end and deceave thame selffis thairin and all thair freindschip will prui of na force and hail trawell to plessur yow therby will turne to na effect."

"For ze sall understand that the ministrie hes gottin never ane article of thair dessir grauntit in parliament, nether to exterminat or put away Jesuittis, masse, preistis nor papistis, nor zit ony uther petition quhilk thai demaundit; allegeand this to be the caus thair of, becaus thay wold nocht at his majesteis request relaxe the municatioun led agains him. And nochtwithstanding hei of it is thocht that outhir he or my Lord Justice Clerk shalbe maid secretar."

"Lykewayis your honour sall understand that my lord of Huntleyis brother come hame befor the parliament wes endit. And immediatlie efter his comming the bishoppis of Glasguow, Ross and Dumblane wer in parliament restorit to thair levingis; and in caiss thay cum nocht hame it is appointit that the samyn salbe tane to thame in Fraunce."

"My lord Chancellour beiris ane greit sway in court, and at this parliament hes gottin at this parliament [*sic*] of the Kingis patrimonie out of Duinbar to the value of fourtie or fyftie chalddris wittuall."

"My lord of Huntley is indeid ane greit curteour and knawis mair of the Kingis secreittis nor ony man at this present doithe. Sir Johnne Seytoun is waxt in greit credytie, and he is maid Lord Contrower, and hes the handling of his majesteis houss for the space of twa yeres confermit in parliament."

"Sa far as I can lerne the lordis of the auld factioun gois away with it in credyte, and will do if that the Erle Bothwell will agree unto thame."

"Forder yowr honour sall understand that William Keith is knychtit and litill George Dowglass, and also my Lord of Deir, and is inaid ane temporall lord the sixt of August at Falkland."

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“ On Fryday at nyght the Erle of Huntlie came frome the King out of Falkland and causit all the lordis of the Privie Counsell to go over the watter, *viz.*, the Erle Bothwell, the Erle Montroas, my lord Chancellour, and my lord Justice; and the next nyght followit the Erle of Anguss to heir the ambassadouris ansser and consider therupone, and also to put order to the borderis.”

“ For the King causit set forth proclamaciones that nane sould invade ony Englischman under paine of deathe, and the same effect wes the laird of Cessfurd sent in to the borderis and the Erle Bothwell is appointed to follow.”

“ The Erle of Anguss wes mareit on Sonday the vj of August.”

“ Gif your honour standis in dout of ony thingis that ze wald have knowlege of heir in this contrie, wryte ane letter to William Carver of Berwick and I will answer the same God willing.”
Edinburgh.

2 pp. *Indorsed*: “ 13 August 1587. From an advertiser in Scotlande.”

Aug. 14. **385. JAMES VI. TO THE LAIRD OF CESFORD.**

“ By zour letter direct to our Privie Counsell we have understand the unquiet and disordourit state of that marche quhilk ze command, and for repressing thair of have thought nathing mair convenient on the suddane nor to direct into they partis our richt traist cousing and lieutennant the Erle of Angus, quha be his presente and as neid beis, be his power may bayth put ordour to the bypast insolence and be the apprehensioun of ye authouris and attemptaris give terrour to all uthiris to commit the lyke enormetie.”

“ Zour part salbe in the menetyne to assist him with zour best advise and counsale, to wryt to zour opposit vairdane, that this and quhat sumevir hes bene ellis attemptit to the disquieting of the peais, hes bene besydis our privitie and allowance; and to dessir sic dayis of meting to be appoinctid betuixt zow as may put ordour on bayth sydis to thir appurance.”

“ Quhat ze obtene ze sall advertische with all diligence to our Privie Counsell that sall attend on the event therof at Edinburgh and ressive directioun frome thame, levying nathing unperformit that lyes in zow to do accordinglie.” Falkland.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy. Indorsed.*

Aug. 15. **386. [SIR SIMON MUSGRAVE] TO WALSINGHAM.**

“ I receyved your letter datid the xxx^{tie} of July, wherby I understand the desire your honour haith to here often from me: which to satisfy your honour I have taken boldnes upon me to send yow here inclosed this bill, which is written by my uncle and sent to me.”

“ The substance of the matter containyd in the same bill that is of importance is the returne of the Scottishe Imbassitour out of Denmarke and what his answere is he haith brought to the Kinge his master.”

“ I hope the state of the borders as maid knowen to her majestie and you the honorable of the Councell, which in truth is most

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lamentable, for none of the pore commons can rest assured ether of lyfe or goodis any one nyght, for the Scottes have maid many greate incursions of late, and haith spoiled suche townes as in tyme of the most cruellest warres that haith bene in the memory of man were never molested by the enemy, and yett nowe in this peace ar ransaked, and diverse houses in those townes broutt, and cheffly suche townes as is of her majesties landes and within the mydle marches."

"For th'east as yett they have not attempted any great matters but suche as ar honorably revenged."

"The warrant your honor sent is for my repaire to and from the house of Robert Carr, but I wold have it for a saff-condit for his repaire to and from me, that therby he maye be warrantid to come to me, and I to receyve him and confir with him, without any staye to be maid of him ether in his cominge or returne, or yett I be molested for his beinge with me because he is in the state of a fellowe." *Unsigned.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham, "From A. B."*

Aug. 19. **387.** [ROGER ASTON] TO [WALSINGHAM].

"Since the direction of my last letter which was the last of July, I have had no commodity to wryte; considering how matters goe here yt is so dangerous to wryte, as I dare not when I would."

"Yet because I am most willing to do her majesty such service as I may, I have thought good at this tyme to send this letter by a servaunt of myne owne to yong William Selby for suspicion sake. I will set downe as briefly as I may such matter as hath occurrid since my last."

"Our Ambassadors landid from Denmarke the xth of this instant, and have dischargid their commission as towching the King's mariadge. There yt is offirid, yf he will mary with the yonger daughter he shall have sufficient contentement, for the elder is half promisid already to Duke Mathias; but if that promise can be callid back the King shall have his choice."

"However yt be the King is determined to matche that way as yet, and to that end there is a convention appointed within twenty dayes of the whole nobility. There are some here that labour very dilligently to have him mary the Princesse of Navarra, but yt is fearid the papistes will stay that purpos. Alwayes yt is not resolvid as yet."

"Du Bartas is now making away, and travelleth verie earnestly to have that matter take effect. As the certenty of that is knowen your honor shalbe advertisid."

"Within theis iiij dayes there is word come from the warden of the midle merch that there are soundry Scottish men, to the number of 500, riden into England and burnt soundry townes, slayne and taken many prisonners, with a number of goodis; wher-uppon the King presently directed the Earle of Angus to the borders, declaring that yt was his will to keepe the peace, and that there should be present redresse for the last attempt. It is doubted here by many of the wisest sorte that her majesty will not put up this last attempt, so that many beleewe there wilbe present warre."

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"The King is not desyrous of trouble, but rather to followe his pleasure of huntinge, but so long as this company remayneth about him her majesty may look for litle good here."

"I am suerlye infourmid that the Chauncellour repenteth that he preferred thes men about the King; he is entrid in new frendship with the Earles of Angus and Mar and the Master of Glamys, and hath promised to mend all agayn. There is great mislyking thiorowe the whole country of the present governement, and the ministers cry out more and more. How theis matters will faule out I knowe not, but there is no good apparaunce."

"The King is now passing into the west countrie on his progresse to hunt. M^r Archibald Douglasses coming is expectid, but I feare his travell is in vayne. This Chauncellour will suffer nothinge to go forward wherein he is not the doer."

"For myne owne part I have ben willinge to do all the good offices I could to enterteyne love betwin her majesty and this King, but now I see matters goe as they are lyke to do I beseeche your honnour let me know her majestyes pleasure, and I shall direct my whole doings to her majestis service. I wryte plainely, and what you heare to the contrarye beleieve not."

"The King is let understand that the Duke of Parma is to make some offers to him shortly."

1½ pp. Copy. Indorsed.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I., fol. 94.

Original of the same.

Aug. 26. **388. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHELY.**

"Forced be necessite I am constreaned to commit moyr of that mater I spake of to your lordschip att Thebaldis to this papir than modestye will suffer me at any tym to utter be speach; whearwyth I must requiest your lordschip—if so be your favorable pleassur—to mak her majeste acquaynted, who knoweth my passed fortune of bannishment and privation of gudis temporall for no worss cause than for the dessire I had to do gud service to boythe the crounis; such was the illnes of that tyme."

"And I must confesse that induring all the tym of that adverse fortune her majeste did declayr hir selfe ane most favorable princesse onto me, which hath caused me—least I mycht appeire ingrate—to refuse no kynd of charge whearin I may be able to do hir majeste any service that may tend to the weillfayr of this hoile ile."

"But the trouthe is, to your lordships knowing, that all that I had conquered in service of princis is lossed in the cause afore-sayde; and all that it pleased hir majeste of liberalite to besfowe upon me and moyr is spendit in this service, and for the dessire I had and hes to sea some gud effectis to follow thayrupon; so that now my debtis remains unpaid; I unable to do suche service as I wold and disprovidit of meynis how to lywe"

"And not wythstand that I half had werray gud prove of hir majestes liberalite passed. I am of the opinion at this present that the chargis whearwyth hir majeste is othervaise burddned may be ane occasion that hir hyenes shall not be disposed at this tyme to releave my necessite wyth present money. Thayrfor my lord I

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1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[Aug.] **389. LAIRD OF POURY OGILVIE TO WALSLINGHAM.**

"As at all tymes, ewents and occations, I haif bein caerfull and solist—accordine to my simpill moyen and mein jugment, in sua far ass be the injurie of tym I wass permittit—in obserwine my promis and dewtie to zowir honwr, in sua far ass I cwld not derogatie in aeny point to his hienes my maisters service, quhai standine and awansment I haif wnderstande to haif bein at all tymes in no less recommendatione to zow than to the best affectionat of his awine subjectis, quhilk maks me to be sua bowlde with zow in thir purposis that concerns his majestes awansment and ye paece and tranqwillitie of baith the realms."

"Soe that now maeters being soe properlie and fitlie falline owt, I thocht I cwld do no les of my dewtifwll obserwans in all respects, than to make zowir honor acquaintit therwith, to the effect that ze maey alss weill anticipat sik things ass maey be prejudiciable and hurtfwwll to zowir soweraens aesteit, ass to pretermitt nothing that maey aweill for the paece and qwoyetnes of this ylle, makine yowr awantage of al occasions."

"I dowit not bot ze haif hairde of this last twmulte and ciwille wproir, concitat be sume malcontent nobillmaen being debarrit frome his majestes presens be sume nawchtie persons of no accownte, ass thay do say; sua that thaer was no small appirans of trwbill, war not the Kingis majeste, qwha is ane prince inclynit to paece and disposit for qwoyetnes—for obwiatine to graeter inconvenients—haed satlitte the samine, and that be ane wtwarde forme of frindschipe and agreiment betwixt Hwntlie and his confederats and the said Chanselior and Jwstice Klerke, as graetest gyders of the cowrt for the present swa maist specialli inwyit."

"Quhilk concorde—as is supponit—is dewysit be the saids Chansleir and Justice Clerke wpone ane policie to draw the said Hwnli frome Hammiltouns and Paislay his frindschipe."

"Of the quhilk persons his majeste has no small jalwsie, as alsua be that moyen to dewallis the said Hwntlie of his graetaest forsis, that he maey be yerefter the moir aiselie deboischitt. Bot thaer intentions and intime cownsaills ar sua notoriuslie knawine, that thay ar alraedie sufficientlie acemit, besyds his majestes speciall goodwill and favior, quhilk being eclipsit this schorte space bypast, his majestie as is thocht being compellit to mak wertew of nesessitie, dois now moist cleirlye schyne ower them all, bot in

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special towards Crafurde and Hwntlie, qwha now remaens ordinarlie at courte, and that be his majesties special command."

"Swa that it appirs maist evidentlie that ass that frindschipe wass contractit wpone ane swdentie, soe sall it dissolve als haestelic, and can sie wther appirance bot Hwntlie and his confederats alraedie to haif woin thaer caws; for thes Chansleir seing maeters to gang wrang, thinkene always to fal wpone his feit, haes promisit the bishoipe of Dunblaen all kynd of frindschipe lvis in his pwar; and in speciall to labwr at his majestes hands that the Jeswistis maei remaen in this contrie sua longe ass thaer aeffaers sall reqwoyr."

"The Kings majesties self haes spokine the said bischoipe, qwha haes commissione and credit frome the King of France and the Dewik of Gwis for that effect; he is to speik yeit with his majestie, and is to make sume graet ower tewr to his hines, qwhairof zowir honour sall be sertifiet in dew tyme."

"And be this ze mae persair thes Chanselier and Jwstice Clerk to be boith almoiste disgraesit, Hwntlie and his haiwing alwais the awantage within the contrie, als weill of his majeste fawoir ass of contrie forsis, and fering nothing bot the swden incwming of Inglande; and that in respect thaey ar supponit for Hwntleis caws to alter the aesteit of religione in Scotlande, quhilk cannot be bwit prejudice of the tranqwillitie of Inglande. Wpone the quhilk occatione of feir, thaey wald be glaed to deil with yow, pairtlie for satisfacione of his majeste and insinwatinge them be that moyen farder"

2 pp., partly in cipher. The first page has been deciphered, but not the second. Indorsed: "Cyphier from A. B."

Decipher of the same.

Sept. 3. 390. DR. FLETCHER TO [].

Cott. Calig.,
D. L., fol. 196.

your lordship—for which I humbly crave your
pardon—I have the same herewith to your
lordship a small signification of my hearty affection in all Christian
and ready dutifulness unto your lordship, most humbly beseeching
your lordship for the continuance of that honourable favour which
I have ever found ready and received of your lordship, whereunto
my ability, as it cannot in the least measure be answerable; yet
shall I strive to be foremost in the number and communion of those
who commend the safety and security of your lordship, both in
spirit and person, to God's most gracious and guardable defence, in
which kind of Christian service I nothing doubt but, as that
fath . . . was wont to say, *Plus valet unus sanctus orando*
quam mille pecca[to]res procliando.

I send also to your lordship a note of the form of the Scottish Queen's funerals, done at Peterborough, and wish with all my heart, not in any particular or irregular affection, but both for the free passage of the Gospel, her highness' security and safety, and the Church's and commonwealth's peace and prosperity, that all her majesty's enemies, as Henry, the Fourth Emperor, said of Rudolph, his adversary and competitor, by him in battle slain and

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honourably interred, "was as magnificently buried." This is rejoicing, my good lordship, that at the beginning of that action and her trial I persuaded that most honourable senate to cause justice and peace to kiss one another, so it is also my lot to cast earth to that earth, and ashes to those cinders whereout the fire was so happily quenched.

Next to the health and good estate of her majesty, I have not anything more acco . . . to signify to your lordship than the great and never more bountiful blessing of our gracious God, the inning of a most plentiful and seasonable harvest. The complaining in our streets, which has these many months been grievous, is, God's name be blessed, ceased, and God has filled our garners with store and our hunger with bread, if our hearts may be filled with joy and our mouths with thankfulness. The Bishop of Durham is departed this life, in the disposition whereof, by removes and ot . . ., it pleases the lords both to wish and to work my futherance; whose intention I beseech your lordship to let your wonted hand and favour be . . . It has been and is unto me, among many, the most and the best "bestead" one.

It shall not ever repent your lordship of your work therein, and I doubt not but by God's grace to do both unto God and His Church, her majesty and your lordship, as good and careful service as any other of my . . . and condition. May it therefore please your good lordship, until God send you . . . to commend your lordship's favour towards me to some such of the lords as shall seem best unto your lordship, that it may be known your honour likes . . . my furtherance.

And thus heartily praying Almighty God . . . is rich in goodness, to give your lordship counsel and strength, which both . . . the war, that sustaining His cause and your country's service your . . . blessed of Him in them both to His glory and your honour. From the Court at Otelands.
Signature torn away.

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 4. **391.** THE LAIRD OF POUR Y OGILVIE TO WALSINGHAM.

"This present is nocht till insist in giffine zowir lordschip most haertly thanks for the faworabill and lowing answeir I resawit of my last letters direct unto zowir lordschip; for God willing zowir lordschip sall sie zowir thankfull benefits to be bestowit one no ungraet man."

"My jwrnay is staeyit, and that be my parents and frinds maist earnest requeistis, qwhairwnto I cwld nocht weill bot obtemperat, alwayss I howp to be no less staedebill to zowir lordschip in my byding at home thaen wyerwayss—my dewtie unto the Kings majestie my maister and swueraen, being alwayss respectit—for there sall be nothing here done nor menit by the catholikes agaynst the present state of eyther of the contryes wherof ye sall not be forescin."

"In dew time thaer is ane gentillman to pass in France, throch England, qwhais woyage staeis onlye uppon John Cheisholme who was sent last thayr in commission to the bishoppe of Glasgo, which

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is dulye loked for, called Sir James Chesholme, one of his majesties masters of howseholde. He is to be imployed by his grace to deale both with the King of France and the Duke of Guise in great purposes ass also he is to be imployed in that I myselfe shold have had in charge; and this not only becawse he is a catholike, bot ane alsua qwhais credit is not thought to be vulgar, and that be the moyen of his unckle who is visitor of the Charterhowse monkes in France, and of his awine brother who is bishopp of Ast."

"And becawse the sayd gentilman is to use maist part of my opinion in this his jorney and employment, in respect of our proximitie in blvide, I thocht it nocht impertinent to mak zowir honwr forsein therof, desyring zowir lordschips opinione with expeditione how to use my selfe in this matter; together that I will tak the hardies to be so haemly with zowir lordschip ass to requiest zowir honwr to send me bak with zowir ansueir twa or thrie dwsaen of broid buttons of perille, sik ass ar to be bocht in Londone, for if thaey cwld haif bein gottine in this contrie for silver, I wald haif bein leith to haif impeschit zowir lordschip with sik trifflis."

"Ass I resaif zowir lordschips answeir, so sall I mak zowir lordschip acquentit of all theyr thinges, in particular of his pryve commission from the catholikes with the names of the dealers as well here as in France, for I wass so neir the point of my jurnaey that I had receaved all mine instruccions written."

"If I knew nocht that zowir lordschip war sufficiently informit of the present estate of this contrie I wald lat zowir lordschip understand of things that ar merwelus, quhilk with the rest I remitt to your answer, at qwhait tym I howpe to reveale sike coning dealing to zowir honor wherof ye sall report no small credit; protestine alwayss that maeters lackine thaer wissit succes, ass I howpe thaey sall schortlie doe, zowir lordschip will at leist beir recorde of my gwid will and mening in their twrnis."

"In my next letter I howp to resolve zowir lordschip of this misterie, together with qwhaitsumever uther thing your honor is in doute of." Falkland. *Signature in cipher. Postscript:* "Mr Edmond Hay is also to passe shortelye into France, sent to the rest of the Jesuistes by the Erle of Huntlyes and Fentryes advise for ilke thinges as shall be delated vnto you in due time."

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

Decipher of the same.

Sept. 4. **392.** EXTRACT OF LETTERS OF THE LAIRD OF POURY OGILVIE.

Extracts from the third paragraph and postscript of No. 391.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

Sept. 5. **393.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO [] .

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 204.

"
the King my your ar cummed to your handis,
whearat I do greitlye mervell. I haif be letteris certefeit so muche
to his hyenes, and expectis the ansser thayrof wythe expedition.
What order her majeste and her honorabell Consall hathe

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kin in such matteris as may concerne the King my masteris effayris I haif at lentle reported to your sayd trusty freynd the berar heirof, be whose sufficiencie . . . beleawe your lordship shall remayn fullye informed of . . . proseadingis passed. Howsone I shall ressaue any le . . . from that realme, which I dayly luk for, the contentis shalbe knawin to your excellencie."

"In this mydde tym I haif thocht it expedient to inform your lordship this delay to end materris wyth the King my maister doeth produce these ill effects, that libertye is thayrby gro . . . or rather thakin to ane nombre of the worst sort of cuntraymen of Scotland to practise and negotiat in the King his nayme in all effairis vyth uther princis, as if thay wer authorised by thayr maister, who I may assur your lordship doeth knaw nothing heirof. But this gevis thaym . . . nos to do it that they remayn in hoipe—so long as her majeste is not in gnd intelligens vyth him—if uther princis shall mak large and liberall offorris that he may be inducit to heir of thaym, and in the end be brocht to aggre thereonto be ill mein in his awin realme."

"I pray God her majeste may be moved to consider of this ill, and to geve order for the remedy thairrof. And so leaving all uther materris to my next letteris onto your excellencie, whom I do hartly thank for the gnd opinion consaved of my negociation, I humblye tak my leave. From Londone, this fift of Septembber." *Signature torn away.*

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 10. **394.** CLAUDE HUBERT TO MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

I have received two letters from you, one by a Scotch gentleman, the other by the man whom you sent. For reply, it is out of my power to be able at present to aid you with ten crowns, for I have them not, and the time is not meet for borrowing them, on account of the misfortunes that we see falling upon us by reason of the troubles. The last time that Nisbett came I furnished five hundred crowns of mine, including fifty pounds of rent which I charge upon myself, which on account of hard times I am not ready to redeem. If I had the means or the power you would not so abide, but indebt myself further I cannot. For myself I would not do what I have done but that necessity pressed upon me very closely. I have been in the presence of the gentleman and of your man at the complaints to Monsieur Pinard, but he cried out first and spoke in such strange terms that I will never speak to him. He told me that you play the ambassador over there and go to the council, and nevertheless that you have only been left there to receive packets; that you ought not to increase your train; that your quality was that of servant of Monsieur d'Auneval and of no other, that if you play the great man (on your own account) it was in the pay of the said Sieur d'Auneval. I was so amazed at the first shock that it made me dumb: howbeit I remonstrated with him that in whatever quality you were there, there was no appearance of truth in saying that three hundred crowns were sufficient to defray the year for you. I am of opinion that it is most expedient that you quit thence altogether, for the longer you are there, the

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1½ pp. *French. Addressed.*

[Sept. 18.] **395. MONSIEUR COURCELLE'S NEGOTIATIONS IN SCOTLAND.**

Cott. Calig., C. 1X., fols. 556-571, 453-458. [Recapitulation of documents, 4th October 1586 to 18th September 1587.]

47 pp. *In Thomas Phelippe's hand. (Printed at length, Bannatyne Club, 1828.)*

Sept. 22. **396. EXTRACTS OF LETTER OF ROBERT CARVILL.**

A Spaniard arrived in Scotland by means of a Scottish merchant, who being in some gaol in Spain about religion was set at liberty and became in great credit with the King of Spain; with whom having conference, this messenger was sent with another Scottish merchant with letters from that King to the King of Scots, offering to lend him the wage of 30,000 soldiers for three years or longer if he would make war with the Queen of England; with further promises as yet unknown. "But the messenger hath his dispathe and is within 2 or 3 daye to retorne to the court of Spayne. Fouler is still in Spayne."

"One Foster, a Scottishman, is presentlye to go over into Spayne for the Papistes of Scotland, who hath a pension of the King there."

"The convention long loked for sat doune at Falkeland 15 September, and broke upp the 19th: the proceedings not yett knowne abrode. But the ambassadors of Denmarke are presentlye to passe away."

"The King hath lett Orkeney to farme to the Lord Chancellor and Justice Clerke, but the Lord Robert will not part with it. They have prepared 3 shippes at Lithe, and one Patrike Ballendon hath undertaken to fetch him from thence. But the Lord Robert hath sent monye to the Erle Bothwell to provide him 3 shippes at

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Dundee, which he hath done, and they are a-rigging them to send them away well manned and appoynted, under color of waisting [*sic*] the fishermen from pyrates."

"The Erles Huntley, Bothuell and Crauford are in great consort to the contrary of England. The Erle Bothuell is in great jelousye that the Lord Chancellor is a frend to England, and therefore lyeth in wayte to take letters, therbye to gett matter agaynst him.

1 $\frac{1}{16}$ pp. Copy.

Sept. 28. 397. ACCOUNTS OF MONSIEUR DE COURCELLES.

For the sum of fifty crowns of the sun that Mr. Henry Nysbet, merchant of this town, has this day lent me in ready money, the which sum of fifty crowns of the sun I promise to render and pay to him either in France or in this town at his will. Done at Edinburgh the 26th day of April 1587.

For the sum of fifty crowns of the sun which I owe to Mr. Henry Nysbet, merchant of Edinburgh. } *Signed: Decourcelles.*

For the sum of one hundred crowns of the sun which Mr. Henry Nysbet, merchant of this town, has this day lent me in ready money, the which sum of one hundred crowns of the sun I promise him to render and pay at his will either in France or in this town. Done at Edinburgh the 28th day of May 1587.

For the sum of one hundred crowns of the sun which I owe to Mr. Henry Nysbet, which make with the fifty crowns above one hundred and fifty crowns. } *Signed: Decourcelles.*

For the sum of two hundred crowns which the said Mr. Nysbet, merchant of this town, has lent me in ready money, to wit, one hundred and fifty pounds to pay Captain Lader the like sum which he had lent me, 153^{li}. 11^s. 3^d. to pay for the silver vessel which I bought, and 48^{li}. 18^s. 9^d. which remain to me, the which sums amount to the aforesaid sum of two hundred crowns of the sun, which I promise him to render and pay with the preceding ones either in France or in this town at his will. Done at Edinburgh the 13th day of June 1587.

For the sum of two hundred crowns of the sun which I owe to Mr. Nysbet, which make with the preceding 150^{cr}. 350^{cr}. } *Signed: Decourcelles.*

For the sum of one hundred crowns of the sun which the said Mr. Nysbet has lent me in ready money, the which sum of one hundred crowns of the sun I promise him to render and pay at his will either in France or in this town. Done at Edinburgh the 11th day of July 1587.

For the sum of one hundred crowns which I owe to Mr. Nysbet, which are with the preceding three hundred and fifty, four hundred and fifty crowns. } *Signed: Decourcelles.*

Further, the said Mr. Nysbet has lent and furnished me in ready money the sum of one hundred crowns of the sun, which I promise

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him, with the preceding sums contained on the other side, to render and pay either in this town or in France at his will. Done at Edinburgh the tenth day of the month of August 1587.

For the sum of one hundred crowns of the sun which I owe to Mr. Henry Nysbet, which make, with 450^{cr} contained on the other side which he has likewise lent me, five hundred and fifty crowns of the sun.

} *Signed: Decourcelles.*

Further, the said Mr. Nysbet has lent and furnished me in ready money the sum of one hundred crowns of the sun, which I promise him, with other sums that I owe him by my promises, to render and pay either in this town or in France at his will. Done at Edinburgh the 28th day of September 1587.

For the sum of one hundred crowns of the sun which I owe to Mr. Henry Nysbet, which make, with the five hundred and fifty contained above and on the other side, six hundred and fifty crowns.

} *Signed: Decourcelles.*

1½ pp. *French. Indorscd.*

[Sept. 28.] **398. DE COURCELLES TO [PINART].**

Sir, the desire that I have had for a long time to do you some service in all that which it has pleased you to command me, without esteeming myself to have failed in aught of my duty, or to have given you one single occasion to think ill of me or to take offence, has been the cause that I have not been willing lightly to give credence to that which a Scotch gentleman—whom I had addressed to my brother-in-law to furnish him with some money—has written hither to many of his friends of all the discontent which you had of me, who was playing the ambassador and the great man in this country, where I had only been left by Monsieur D'Esneval to receive payments; that I was here only as the servant and in the pay of Monsieur d'Esneval; with other statements which have so discredited me that I remain forsaken and without any credit in these parts; which have taken from me every quality but that of his servant and in his pay; with other statements full rather of anger than of any other subject.

This has been most unexpected news to me, not thinking that I had given occasion to any one to interpret my actions and conduct so ill, which I have been at pains to render as sincere and honest as was possible to me.

And yet, if I have failed in those things, and have not conducted myself according to your desire, it has not been for want of good will, and of having besought you by letters wherewith the said Sieur D'Esneval charged himself at his departure, to do me the favour to let me know your commands and intentions, that I might conduct myself according to the same. Whereupon, if your good pleasure had been to let me know anything, I should have been eager to effectuate it as well as was possible for me, and most [punctually].

Nevertheless, in order not to give you a worse opinion of me, I

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will pray you, if I am not pleasing to you, to do me this favour to cause my *congé* to be given to me, and some means to pay [my entertainment], having known nothing either by or otherwise, except by that which some Scotchmen have written about it, which they say they heard from you; I do not wish in any wise to think for any discontent with me, but for the [safety] of [themselves?] and of those who were with [them].

And if any have wished to give you other evil suspicions of me, I would beg you not to take it in ill part if I am importunate to you in these things.

As regards my expenses, having divers times begged the said Sieur d'Esneval to tell me what I had to rely upon by the month, and he not having wished to let me know anything about it, it seems to me for want of better advice that I could not fail to rule myself in accordance with the appointments which those employed in the like office receive.

And concerning my having no other title than that of [esquire] to Monsieur D'Esneval, I shall be always very glad to be able to do him service as far as shall be in me, and in that which it shall please him and you to command me. But the letters which his majesty wrote to the King of Scotland after the departure of the said Sieur D'Esneval, and the despatches which you, monsieur, and Monsieur Brulart have sent me, seem to bear another quality, which I acknowledge [that I bear] from you.

As to being in his pay, or in yours, I cannot be without pay and entertainment in this realm; but I pray you to advise me what I shall understand, as he promised me to do when he left me there, although during my stay he has not been willing to get his majesty to grant my entertainment; and although I have been continued in this hope by endless letters which he has written to me about it in the space of 10 or 11 months, without having been willing to give me to understand that he was still yet employed in the estate of ambassador; which indeed I do not wish to say is true, being uncertain thereof.

I cannot suppose that I am in his pay unless I had agreed about it with him, or he had written to me of it. And it seems to me a very hard thing, after having remained in this realm for the space of 14 months without having received one single brass farthing except 300 [crowns], and having expended one's own money, with long patience and travail, to be still blamed, which I regret extremely, and yet more that you should be angry with me without my having given any occasion thereof to you or any other.

And it seems to me, saving your better opinion, rather than fall again into anger, and I into the annoyance that I have received from it, which I cannot yet get over, that it would be better—and for that I pray you very humbly—to cause means to be given me to pay my debts.

And I beseech you most humbly that it may please you either to cause means to be given me from his majesty or from yourself, not being able to remain longer here unless I can have assurance to be afterwards paid at the treasury, or by him who shall receive the rank of ambassador, the same appointment as those who are employed in the like office.

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Otherwise to cause my *congé* to be given me, in order that I may return; and some part of that which I have myself been constrained to spend. Having no longer means to support myself, I fear that I may be arrested, and find no credit of a single farthing.

Contrary to that which the Scotchman wrote hence, I may say that I have received nothing since the departure of the said *Sieur D'Esneval*, except all annoyances, which as yet I perceive not to cease, but to grow from day to day. To which God will put an end when it shall please him.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *French. Draft.*

[Sept.] **399.** DE COURCELLES TO [PINART].

I had expected, according to what you had told me on the 3rd day of the month of August last, to receive by the 20th of that same month the 20 crowns which I lent to you in this town some long time ago. But I have since heard nothing of it, which causes me to write the present to you, to pray you to send me the said sum to this town. By so doing you will do me a great pleasure.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *French. Draft.*

Oct. 2. **400.** EXTRACT OF LETTER OF [].

"That the Spaniard above mentioned* being addressed to Huntley, and by him brought to the King of Scottes, he made no reconning of his ouvertures, as a proceeding [with] no sound foundation, and meaning not to breake with England or embrace any practise to the disquiett of the same, [albeit] Huntley for his credit hath required that he might be dismissed as from the King; which Huntley resteth merelye discontent with the King, for that he will not breake with England; the King having answered that he will heare him in what he hath to debate concerning the realme, but for that the affayres of England towch onlye himselfe he will not be ruled by any of theyre passion therin."

"Wheruppon Huntley is retired discontented to his contrye, and Fentry with him." *Signature in cipher.*

"The Spaniard above sayd brought the picture of the Infante of Spayne which we saw."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy.*

Oct. 15. **401.** DUKE OF GUISE TO THE EXECUTORS OF THE LATE QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 89.

I have heard very particularly from Nau, private secretary of the late Queen of Scotland, my cousin, how all things have fallen in England during these last troubles and misfortunes. Wherein, and by divers evidence, as well from his mistress's own hand as from the *Sieur de l'Aubespine*, ambassador for the King to the said country of England, he has so caused me to know the integrity and sincerity of his demeanour in the service of the said Queen, especially in this said last trouble, that I cannot fail to testify to you the entire

* See letter of Robert Carville, Sept. 22.

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$1\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *French. Copy. Damaged.*

Oct. 16. **402.** MEMORANDUM OF PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MARY.

C.P., vol. XXI.

Memorandum that on 16th October in the year of Our Lord 1587 I received from the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, knight, principal secretary to her majesty, a book in writing, containing a report of the process and evidence given against the late Queen of Scots at Fotheringay, to be returned again to his honour when it shall please him to called for it. By me, Jo. Hammond.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Indorsed.*

Oct. 18. **403.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Because I know how unwilling your lordship is to have your intendit affayris troubled wythe uther menis busines, I do forbear to repeyr onto your lordship for ony materis, how weychttye soevir thay be, onto such tym as I may know that your lordships lasar and mynd may weill intend to do some gud, in mateiris wherfor I com, whearof I can not be mayd cerateyn bot be your lordships advertisement, wherupon I salbe redde to gyve attendanse."

"In this mydle tyme I haif takin boldnes to pray your lordship that I may onderstond if it hath beyn your lordships pleasour to cause ony anser be resolved upon in the mater for which I did send onto yow."

"The letter I ressayed of layte from Scotkand; my other letteris doeth stay thayrupon."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

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404. JUSTICE CLERK TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

Oct. 24.

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 62.

" I have redd youre lordshippes letter at length dated the xxiiij of September last, and had awnswere the same or nowe if some other effaires wherewith I was burdened had not interrupted my laser."

" Sen it hes pleased you at so grate length to sett downe the service requisite to be done to his majestie in that cuntrey: the moyens to attein to the same with the letts which have been casten in, wherenpon evill disposed persones hes taken occasion to kyith their malice to his grace's hinder, I will so nere as I maie awnswere everie poynte of your letter."

" And first I man agree with you that youre firste ground—which is to bringe his majestie with quietnes to enjoye the right of that crowne after that Queenes deathe—is the best peece of service can be done him by anie man."

" Next youre seconde, that in the meane tyme his majestie be well used by her during her lifetyme, and the hartes of the people and nobilitie be kepted."

" Doubtles it is the thinge his highnes moste earnestlie wisshe, and can not but well like of you if by youre meanes in thir heades he maie fynde his expectation and merite at that Queene and cuntreyes handes satisfied."

" As to the firste heade, that concernes his majesties tytle, sence I perceave by youre letter almoste the hole people doe acknowledge and confesse the same, I cannot suspect that her majestie, her Counsell and nobilitie, beinge of the wyser sorte, does not see the same, and therefore will leave all other pretended tytles to that crowne whilke ye have sett downe as phantasies of menne againste Gods lawe and mannes openlie known to the hole wordle."

" As to the impedimentes ye wrett of, I man awnswere everie one of theme particularelie that the better ye maie make the truthe to appeare to suche as will geve place to the same."

" First, to the Earle of Huntleys lyinge in his majestie chambre and preaces papistrie, truthe it is I thinke he be ane papiste, but not so precise as he had not rather lyie in a faire gentlewomans chambre then either in the Kinges or yet where he might have ane hundrethe messes. His majestie, I blesse God, is that well grounded in matters of religion, and that upon perfyte knowledge, that I wold not be afayed of the learnedest papistes in Europe were hable to brangle him in the smallest poynte thereof. I speike it as one—howbeit not of the learnedest—yet having some taste and experience by hearing of the best versed in matters of religion that is in Europe reasone."

" I doubte if her majesties chambre be so well kepted as neither papistes doe lyie neither yet hes accesse within the same."

" If either multitude of papistes, the greatnes of their credyte or leaste learning to with stand theme have place, wee have more occasion to returne that argument where it came fro then they have heire."

" Next, as to Fentries beinge made secretorye, I assnre you their was never suche intention here, neither yet beleve I the gentleman to be that follishe as ever to have conceaved anie suche purpose."

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“ As for the returning of Robert Carye without awnswaere, bothe the tyme he came and the cawse of his message does but over fullye awnswaere the same.”

“ As to the intercepted letters of Jesuists goinge to Rome declaringe oure maister to be a papiste, that argument is so weake and the contrarie so manifeste to the hole wordle that I thinke it needes no awnswaere.”

“ As to the geving forthe that the Earle of Leicester and Thesaurer shoulde have sent in Scotland to have poysoned his majestie, they can not saye that anie suche purpose was geven forthe by his majestie, neither yet that ever his highnes did apprehende of theme anie thinge in that matter. If anie suche like brute or sclaunder have bene, it wilbe founde geven owt by Englyshmen.”

“ I am assured menne of honoure agreing with their professed religion wold never cawseles have oversene their God and their honour so farre.”

“ As to the incursions of the borderis, that is a matter so frequent emongest theme that inhabites the Marches, speciallie after suche occasion of injurie offered by anie of the princes to others, and the people are so well frequented with suche like doinges, that I am assured that argument can not move mekle, cheiflie his majestie having taken so goode ordoure for his parte in directing lieutenautes according to the last appoyntment at Barwake to see maters kept in goode frame, which upon that syde failed.”

“ Be this my awnswaere you maie perceave howe juste occasion anie noblemenne or others culd have to bussie their heades with anie suche indirect course againste his majestie, and howe farre God wold have succeded the same or they have founde greate suretie to their selves. I thinke the wysest of that sorte was not hable to see thorowe it : the boaste of anie suche course is not hable to move his majestie one wheate : neither is he that destitute of moeyn—howe litle so ever it shall please anie other to thinke of his grace—but if he were disposed for anie suche dealinge as is supposed they wold fynde in his grace more then they would like and no les then woulde doe his owne turne.”

“ I am in doubte of my selfe if I were worthie to be in his grace's place and had that moeyn whilke I knowe he hes if I could be so continent after suche occasions as hes bene ministred. But I man attribute this to procede of God, who with the title he hes geven him of that crowne hes joynd ane naturall loving affection to that lande and people.”

“ If thearefore the policie of the craftiest shall not content to amende the injuries passed, but shall rather leane to the further compassinge of their wordlie courses, I am not afrayed but God shall bringe theme and their devyses to confusion, and that or it be longe.”

“ What goode occasion that Quene had to make offer to satisfie his majestie God and the wordle knowes, and I doubte not if she be towched with the guyltines of that cruell facte, bothe her owne conscience will sturre her upp to do the same suppose her particulare well—whilke if she respect the same aright—moved her not.”

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“ Howe litle grounde could she fynde by the harragne pronounced in parliament to staye anie parte of her goode will it maie easelie appeare. For his majestie could doe no les favoure to his subjectes then to lennd them his eare. He merites the greater courtesie that lies so moderatelie caryed him selfe, having the offer of his hole subjectes in so juste a cause so voluntarelle geving, and for not accepting the same at that instante was and is ane verie harde opinion and conceate with theme. It was not proponed by waie of boaste as your intelligence geves you to understande. For as wee knowe, ye knowe what we are, so are we not ignorante besyde whome we dwell and what is theire to fraye us.”

“ It proceeded onely whiche the Chancellar spake upon a juste doloure and extreme motion wherewith the hartes of the hole nobilitie and people founde theme selve so farre interessed as they were forced by the Chancellers mouthe to burste forthe with that which they thought and thinkes in veric deede.”

“ I assure you not onely suche as did favour our Quene of olde, but those who otherwayes could have been content that God should have called upon her by ordinarie deathe, was so animate with that cruell indignitie, that theare passione did utter the selfe more in theme then in the others.”

“ I muste saye after the Scottes fasshion he is ane evill dunge bairne that darre not greite, and it is not the waye to attayne to the frendshippe of this cuntrey and to have matters passed pute in oblivion till heape boaste upon injurie or to quarrell the Chancellor and his harragne, who spake no thinge but that which he was earnestlie pressed to doe be the nobilitie and estates theire convened.”

“ The Quene maie thinke of oure Chancellor as she pleases, but I am assured I have sene him a verie goode instrument in conserving the amitie of theise two crownes, and I knowe his maister thinkes be goode prooffe that he can dischardge him selve of his duetye aswell to his service or the cuntrey where he dwells as anie Chancellare in this ile, whilke I am assured his majestie wold not doe if he knewe not perfytelie his affection to the conservation of peace and quietnes in this ile with his majesties honoure.”

“ Sen I am entered in wrytinge to you I cannot forebeare to let youre lordshippe understande that some thinke the remedies sett downe in youre letter to be verie dishonourable to his maiestie, speciallie that for ane pycked quarrell againste him that he shoulde wryte either to her maiestie of youre selve to make his purgation or declare his intente. For howebeit his actions sence that tyme had not geven sufficient proff of his more then honest—so I muste terme—intention towards that Queene and cuntrey, yet is it more then reason that he shoulde not be moved or enduced by anie perswasion to make amendes for his motheres deathe.”

“ For to wryte before his honour be repaired is not onely a forgevenes but ane argument to move bothe his owne people and all the wordle to suspect his honour toweird his graces mother, whilke appearauntlie were ane greater hurte unto his majestie then tenne thowsande deaths. Wherefore when ye shall happen to wryte anie thinge to move or enduce his majestie anie thing to that end for whiche you wryte, I as one of youre frendes prayes you to

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remember that you are ane Scottisman cometh of that race that was wounte to preferre the honoure of their sovereigne and cuntrey to all the rest of the worlde, and be your upright counsell utter the same: besydes it is thought that you shall doe well to let his hieghnes feele in substance rather then in discourses the goode that maie come to his majesties service."

"It maie be my letter be more plaine then pleassaunte, but that is ane erreure that willfullie I committ to all my frendes, and therefore I doubte not but ye will take in patience. Yet I protest unto you before God that the thinge of ane in the wordle I moste earnestlie wisshe it was the continewance of the amitie betwix thir crowns, and no thinge can greive more then to heare so litle apperaunce of substantious honeste dealinge towardis our maister in that cuntrey."

"If it shall please God to move the hartis of that Quene and Counsell to thinke upon some solide forme and moeyen howe to rendre his majestie his honour, and to utter their affections in verie deede and not superficialle towardes his grace, I will leave no paine, yea to the losse of my life, to holde hande that it shoulde take effect. But if otherwayes it be I crave to be no dealer, and would desyre of you as ane frome whome I looke for frendshippe and goode will that ye will in sincerite wryte unto me if I shall continewe my selve in dealinge or if I shall retire my selve in goode tyme, for I wold be loathe to deale in that whilke should not have goode effect, and I to have thanks and honour for my service."

"If offeris should be thoughte meete to be made, or anie other meane that might reduce these princes to goode conformitie, I would wisshe it were done with expedition, for bothe their weales and for the goode of bothe their cuntreies."

"I will not trouble youre lordshippe further at this present, but will praye to God to sende a goode mynde emongest theme, that they maie eschewe their owne hurte and ouses, bothe which cannot be if matteris growe not to a better heade then they are at. Halyrudhouse."

2 p. Copy. Indorsed.

Another copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 109.

Oct. 24.

405. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHELY.

"I ressavd your lettir makand mention that the honourable off the Consaile had resolved to gewe ansser to that whiche I had delivered from my maister, and that your lordschip had declared to me of before that it was necessarye that her majeste shuld be first mayde acquayntid thayr wyth."

"Which beand done it was hir hyhenes pleassour that it shuld be delivered werballie tomorrow at your house, in the eftirnone; desiring to know whethir I wold come and ressave it, be ressonc your lordschip did leave it to my choise whither I wold so do or no."

"Treulye, my lord, hitherto I think your lordschip can testifye that I have not behaved my self in ony suche sort that your lordschip nedeath to put any greit dowbt wheathir I will come to any playce it shalbe your lordschips pleassour to appoynt me. And no moyr in this case shall theyr ony occasion be gevin be me."

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"I shall, be Goddis graice, keipe the houre and plaice appoynted in your lordships lettir, readye to ressave ony ansser whatsoevir hir majeste or the honorable of his Consale shall think expedient to be gevin, and to use it in the best sorte that God shal gewe me the graice for the benefit of boythe the realmes."

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[Oct. 25.] **406.** ANSWER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE SCOTTISH
AMBASSADOR.

"Answer, to be made verballye to the Ambassador of Scotland."

"We the lordes and others of her majestyes counsell have well consydered the answer as it was reported by yow the embassador to have bene made by the King of Scottes uppon the reading of certayne letters written to him from your lordship, signifying our great and just misliking of certayne sharpe speches reported to have bene publikelye uttred to the King in his parliament concerning the death of the Queen his mother, and for answer which your lordship requireth we lett you knowe that we are very well satisfied with the answer of the Kinges majestie your master to us by yow reported so farre forth as concerneth the person of his majesty himselfe, expressing by the same his modest, honourable and princelye opinion conceived of us, the noblemen and others the good subjects of England, knowing in our hartes that we never had any meaning to deserve the contrary by any our actions or counsells nor meane to have as long as we shall perceave his majesty disposed as he professeth to kepe good amitye with the Queenes majesty our soverayne and this realme."

"But yett we may not forbeare—untill we and other the states of this realme greved may be better satisfied—to continue our misliking of the speches used to the King by his Chancellor and others joyned with him, having no wayis given to theym any just cause of such a manner of proceeding, accompting it very strange that any states of that realme, being in amitye with us or any othir kingdome, shuld in sich sort eyther condemne or taxe us and the states of this realme for any matter of state without some due inquisition and answer first made or some orderlye good profe to mayntayne theyr cause."

"And therfore, without any mind to offend the King by the remembrance hereof, wee the counsellors of this state are bold in the name of all the three estates of this realme to affirme and protest, as a matter well warranted by the deliberate judgment of all the same states, that there hath bene nothing done concerning the processe and state of the Queen of Scottes but the same is and shalbe mayntayned to have bene done sincerelye, justlye, honourablye and by good warrant of the lawes of God and of all Christian nations, whersoever the justification therof shall be reasonablye and honourablye required."

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Copy. Indorsed.*

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[Oct.]

407. DISCOURSES BETWEEN ELIZABETH AND MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

“ A summarie of the discoursses held by hir Majestie with M^r Archibald Dowglas concerning the affaires of the King of Scottes, which, because ther maie be some dowbt that whan the said M^r Archebald showld report to the King his master, some persons evill disposed to the continuance of the peace betwyxt both the realmes would labour to have him not credited in his report; thearefore hir majestie was pleased to have the substance therof putt into writinge, and theareto hath subscribed hir name; wherby the said M^r Archebald may be warranted to mak his report agreeable hereunto.”

“ The Quenes majestie sayd that she wished she might thinke that such reportes as are made of the King of Scottes consultations manifestlie tending to the diminucion of theare mutuall amitie, either should not be trewe in all partes, or if he have geven eare to anie perverse counsellours, sworn enemies to the trewe church of God and to the godlie peace of this noble iland, that yet he will be better advised, both by a more deaper considracion with himself, even for his own estate, and make a difference in his judgement betwixt persons that rashelie followe their own partialities, and others whoe in their counsells doe preferre the honnour of God and the weale of their King afore all particuler factions either forreine or domestically. For of such twoo sortes of persons hir majestie thinketh his counsellours are compounded, howsoever it maie be that the biggar part maie hope to overcom the better.”

“ And to enter into some particular hir majesty sayth that if yt showld be trewe that the Kinges ambassadours sent into Denmarke had commission from the Kyng, uppon treatie of mariage, to require ayde of men or shippes to make warre against England, and to sett excessive taxes uppon all Englishe subjectes, and to arrest their goodes in the Zownd, he was evill counselled thearto, even for his owne estate, to goe abowt to beginne a warre both without just cawse and against his best frend, yea, if the offence war no gretar but to procure enmitie betwixt the King of Denmarke and hir majestie, beinge in the sight of the world as fast professed frendes by manie straitte bondes of amitie as any two monarches are in Christendome, it cannot be defended with reason.”

“ And though he had determyned by this meanes to have entred into a warr, wheareof it was not likelie he should have had anie assistance of the said King of Denmarke, yet he had now warrant to assure himself of anie good to succede to hymself, but rather he owght to have bene remembred by good counsell what danger he should have fallen into to have, by the lawe of England thorough such an attempt of any kynd of warre ageynst England, lost all the hope that he had of anie future good in the interest of this realme.”

“ Besides this he might have been remembred of all the evill successes fallen uppon them by Godes ordonnance and beyond mans expectacions that had sowght at anie time thes manie yeares to disturbe the common peace of England, either by rebellions at home or by forreine forces, or that have attempted anie mischeef or harme against the Quene of Englandes purson.”

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"But omitting that matter so attempted in Denmarke as a thinge whereof hir majesty wold gladly be satisfyed, yet this that followeth will seme very hard to be ansuered, if it be trewe that is reported, that the Kyng is acquainted and hath secretly assented to sondrie combinations of divers of his owne subjectes to allure strange forces from Spayne and other places to cumm into his realme under collour afterward with them and his owne people to make invasion into England, and theare to doe as theie imagin some great wonders."

"As to this matter, though it be verie likelie that the King hath been acquainted with such an intencion, for soe such of his subjectes as be abroade in Spayne, France and the Lowe Cuntries either as fugitives, or Jesuites, or suborned messingers from Scotland, doe constantlie bost of the same that the Kinge is privie heareof, adding theareto, notwithstanding that be mindeth to shewe himself for a time upon sum respectes unwilling thearto; yet hir majestie is of himself unwilling to be perswaded that ever a yonge Kinge indewed with so manie giftes of God and conversant in stories of all nations should fall into soe monstrous an errour as to allowe of that which never had good succes in anie kingedome, that is, to call in forreine forces to come into his owne cuntrie wheare he hath noe cawse or nede of thir ayd; and thes forces to be suche as it shuld not be in his power to commaund them to doe otherwise than should serve their owne torne."

"Whatsoever collour will be added by the wicked devisours as to enter into England, yet theire first comming must be into Scotland, and in Scotland theie must be fedd and lodged, and ther they may spoyle the contrey, as it is ther manner wher so ever they come. And whether it will prove trewe in Scotland or noe that hath been manie yeares reported in Naples and Millan, that wheare the Spaniard setteth once his foote in anie forreine cuntrie theare doth never growe good grasse for the cuntrie."

"The next action, as is reported, to be intended by thes forraigne forces brought in by the confeddracie of the papistes of Scotland, must be, as it is said, that the Kinge must, by ther ayd, change his manner of gouvernement. He must alter the state of religion, according to the Popes decree and the Counsell of Trident, and so change his lawes, reward offendours, and punishe innocentes. And howe the change of the abandonning of the trewe service of God maie appeare in the eyes of Almightye God that hath hitherto alwaies comforted him in the profession of the Ghospell, and detestacion of all Romishe idolatrie, is easely to be judged."

"But what suretie can thes wicked papistes promise to the King that such an alteration can suddenly be made without resistance, or destruccion of manie families both of nobles and others."

"In this ther courss thes wicked counsellors thynk not the miseries which their confederates in France have, even by like conspiracies, brought into France, for from thence theie fetch theire example, by whome have continued thes many yeares the flaming civill warrs in France."

"The difference also is notable to be regarded in this sodeine changing of the formes of religion. The papist never planted his religion but with fire and sword, for he alloweth noe contradiccion or tolleracion, whereof all mischeffes doe ensue."

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“ On the other syde, the planting of the Ghospell hath been altogether by preachinge, and by ordonnances agreable with the Gospell, whearof noe publike miseries doe followe.”

“ But what example is theare in anie storie of anie good that ever strange forces, except it weare for a necesserie defence against violence of sum others, wheareof Scotland hath lesse cawse to doubt than anie iland in the worlde, being allured to cum into a realme, brought to the country? Noe one example to be fownd. But, on the other side, all stories are full in all ages of the ruins, depopulacions, yea destruccions of the nations to whose help theie weare called, and heareof a fewe examples very shortly maie suffice to prove this trew.”

But howsoever these examples ought to terrefy any Kyng or counsellors to a Kyng to aventur uppon such a courss, yet it may be these turbulent counsellors at this tyme will seke to shyft this ther cause from any formar, and (that by an example of late in ther own countrye) the coming into Scotland, they will saye, of an English army at ij or iij sundry tymes, by the Queen of Englandes authorite, proved not perillouss but beneficiall, and therfor all entreyes of straungers ar not—they will saye—to be condemned.”

“ In dede these men know they saye herin most truly, and if they war naturall children to ther fatheres who tasted of this great benefitt from hir majesty, extended beyond all example, they wold not now, in liew of thankes, offer such indignites. If any that be now so violent and rash counsellors to the Kyng war of that age to judg beter gud and evill at that tyme when these English forces restored all Scotland to liberty by expellyng the French that had almost conquered the cuntries, they may be ashamed to produce this for an example to serve to any purpouss for themselves.”

“ At that tyme the French war possessed of the principall holdes of the realme. The crown was sought to be knytt to the crown of France by collar of marriadg with the Scotch Quene.”

“ At that tyme the government and principall offices of the realm, as the chancellorship and such lyk, war in the Frenchmans handes. The heyres apparant of the realm war saved by fleing out of France, and in the end the realm was filled with armyes and garrisons of Frenchmen: the castells of Edenburgh kept from all Scottishmen, Leth fortifyed with an army of French: Dunbarr, Blackness, Inchkyth and sundry other castells held by the French: and this was the tyme wherin the Scottes, being oppressed with a forrayn force, sought ayd by the English, which is on respect war no straungers to Scotland, but neighbours without division by sea, of the self same iland and language; and in effect they and the Scottes joyned ther bodyes together as brothern of on howss ageynst the French.”

“ In the recitall of this great benefitt shewed by hir majesty at that tyme, and afterwarde contynued at other nedefull tymes, sence the Kynges coming to his crown, might be by the tonges of some others a report made of actions of wonderfull pyete, syncerite and liberallite of the Quene of England to that countrye and the present yonge Kyng. But if the Kyng will heare the truth hereof, lett hym be informed by the noblemen that than had any office; or by ther children that then attended on ther fathers; by the

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bourgesses that than barr rule in ther corporat towns; by the lardes and cheff gentillmen that than bare arms."

"The actions ar not so old but ther lyve ynough to remembre them, and not only to condemn but to roote out these unkynd imps. But now how can ther be any resemblance made, to allow the calling in of Spaniardes into Scotland at this tyme, wher nether kyng nor subject hath cause to mak complaynt, wher nether French nor English nor any other nation mak pretence to offend the lest child in Scotland. And amongst all other strang accidents this seemeth most strang, that such a nation as the Spanish is must be chosen out of all Christendom that of all Christian nations is most odious to the world for pryde and cruelty."

"But thes confederated papistes of Scotland are soe deprived of the naturall sense theie owght to have of their native cuntrie, as withowt anie respect to kinge or cuntrie theie presume altogether that with their warrs theie will be sure of victories, insomuch as *canunt triumphum ante victoriam*."

"They build uppon the Popes benedictions and maledictions, against which theie hold that hell gates cannott prevaile. They promise to themselves manie victories in England, by the mightie forces of Spayne, against which theie would perswade ignorant people that there is no resistance. And whie should theie nowe thinke that in England these strange forces shall have manie victories, whan thes 500 yeres and more strange forces never had power to take and hold anie part thearof against the crowne of England? And if England weare ever stronge of multitude of hable people, it nowe is maniefoldes doobled in strengthe and nombre in respect of former ages."

"The hartes also of all manner of people generallie, excepting a fewe papistes disparkled withowt reputacion, power or commaundment, are at this daie soe settled to live and die with their Quene whoo hath ruled nowe them towardes xxxtie yeares, a time not to be verified to the third part of hir progenitours thes 500 yeares, as it is a strange thing that anie havinge sence should vant it so light a matter as to vanquishe a whole Englishie nation with one army, that hath whan they war but barbarooss wasted and weared the best legions of the Romainys."

"But yet if the care of this nation weare not soe universall for the sole defence of the title and honnour of their Quene as yt is, yet none can be soe grosse as to thinke that the nation itself would leave their cuntries, their howses, ther landes, their wyves, ther children, to the cruellty of a Spaniard."

"Shall it be soe soddeinelie, soe rashelie, so impiouslie incensed to the eares of a yonge Kinge that is in peace with all the world, that maie enriche his crowne by peace, and hath no offer of warre made to him that forreine forces shall doe him and his realme good? As though if naturall reason shold not denie yt, yet the supreme God, the God of hostes, in soe unjust a quarell would disapoint it."

"Will the King thinke that England shall ever yeld to have a kinge to cum to the crowne by conquest? No, no. The good wills of the universall nation must most aptlie agree with a king to cum to the crowne by course of lawe, by good will and by peace, and not by tyranny. The nation of England that beare anie favour to

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the King of Scottes, as the Quenes nearest cousin of the blood roiall of England, would rather looke that if anie forreine ennemie should offer injurie to any portion of the crowne of England, that he would rather offer his aide with his own person to hir majestie against such ennemies, as of late by a treaty he did bind himself, than contrariwise to allow strange forces to invade the realme."

"The common opinon of all good and wise men in England is, and hath been, that the King of Scottes should seke to attayne his expectation after hir majesties time by kind usage of the nation of England. But if he shall followe anie contrarie course he must also looke that the nation of England must change theire course and provide otherwise for the suretie of them and their posteritye."

"A multitude of other reasons theare might be to move the Kinge to condemne, yea, to chastise and repress the blood-thirstie Spanish Romanistes. But to descend shortly to the reprooff of ther most important argument it shall suffice to remember the Kinge of the fals fundation of ther most grosse deceaving argument, by which it maie be thowght he is cheefelie abused. It is malitiouslie invented to stirre upp the Kinge to embrace this desperatt action, that it behoveth him hearebie first of all other thynges to revendge the deathe of the Quene his mother, and, secondlie, to recover his right as heire to hir for the crowne of England; from the which theie falssly beare hym in hand that by hir deathe he is secluded."

"Uppoun which two growndes theie seake to perswade the Kinge in all hast to breake frendshipp with the Quene of England, to yeld to no justyce uppon hir frontyars, and consequently to make warre ageynst the whole realme: and finally to sett all uppon a hazard, having noe other assurance of successe but as the Popes excommunicacions shall prevaile, and the Spanish forces shall prosper in unknowen cuntries."

"And yet it is manifest that theare lewde disposition to breake peace with England hath not proceeded of the accident of the Quenes deathe, for longe before hir deathe or late troobles, for the space of three or fowre yeares, a nombre of thes confederated wicked counsellours have laboured continuallie to cawse the loose Borderers to spoile in England, not onelie by accustomed stelthes, but by open incursions by daie, and with trompettes and enseignes, wheareof complaint hath been made thes manye yeares, but noe redresse had, which had been done if hir majestie had not otherwise, uppon hope of ye Kinges fayre promisses, caused tolleration of revendg."

"But for some good and just answer concerning the Quene of Scottes deathe, certenly the Quene of England hath had manifest wronge in that hir messyngers and awnsweares have not been hard, whearein she did offer to make sufficient proof of hir innocencie and of hir deape and as harty greefes as any war in Scotland. For hyr deth theare are most manifest, unfained and irreprovable argumentes; soe as than it is a direct injustice to seeke revenge against the Quene of England, being not guiltie thereof."

"If then the revendg shall be sowght against all England, howe manie shall be wronged that cannot be accused? If the blame should be laide wheare the cawse grewe, lett justice be hard speake, and than thes enterprisers and revendgers shall heare and se

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"They shall also than perceive that though hir majestie never minded hir death, yet the states of the realme, seing the perills so imminent, thought better by order of lawe to have hir that was guiltie to [chang] hir lief than to have hir majestie that was theire lawfull Quene and most innocent to be bereved of hir crowne and lief, and the realme also invaded by strangers, by the manifest procurement of the Quene of Scottes."

"And for the second argument, wholie grownded uppoun a meare untrewthe, which is that by the process against hir and by hir deathe the Kinge is said to have been secluded from his right that he should claime as hir heire: of this untrewthe theare is noe better reproof than the grownd of the lawe, the view of the proves and process whearebie she was condemned, and the affirmations of all the judges and states of the realme for the indemnite to the Kyng, which is readie to be approved whan the same shall be reasonable required."

"And for some plainer proof heareof it is notorious howe the Quenes majestie hir self in the verie beginning of this action in her parlement charged all hir judges and counsellors that, considering theare was noe cawse so much as of suspicion of the King of Scottes privitie to his mothers attempts against the Quene of England and this realme, theare should be noe point inserted to the charge of the Scottishe Quene that might by anie possibilitie concerne the Kinge in anie prejudyce of right or title whatsoever."

"And the grownd of this awnsweare is not nowe newlie devised, for uppoun request made longe afore hir deathe by M^r Archibald Douglas, as making sune dowbt heareof, in the name of the Kinge his master, hir majestie did in the presence of the principall officers and counsellours of hir realme, at an assemblie of Counsell made for that purpose, cawse him to be resolved thearein by the sentences of all the learned judges of the realme severallie pronounced. And yet for his better satisfaccion in the learning which he professeth, being the civill lawe, at an other time the same was also affirmed to him by the principall doctours of the civill lawe, being sworne officers in their severall juditiiall places, after longe debate had by waie of argumentes uttered by the same M^r Dowglas, pretending on the King his masters behalf sum dowbles in this case."

"Soe as this pretence maie appeare to be grownded at this time uppoun meare untrewthe, and being offred soe to be proved if theie will thearein persist, no other awnsweare will serve but that theare sooles are to be charged with theire owne burden for ther excesssive deadly mallyce."

"It resteth nowe therefore for the Kinge to consider which of

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1587. thes two waies he will embrace; whyther to continue peace with hope of felicitye by Godes ordonnance, which he maie surelie doe, notwithstanding all those proud combinacions made to the contrarie: or to enter into an endless warre withowt just cawse, withowt all hope of good, as long as he shall strive against Godes will, and contrarie to all naturall reason; and lastlie with multitude of dangers by all lyk examples."

"And if it shall please God to direct him to choose the best waie, he can have noe cawse of repentance, having the Quene his frend, and all the nation of England favourable to him, with all respectes of honour. And for his maintenaunce to commaund his subjectes to live in peace, to honour and obeye him with as much or more reputacion than ever anie of his progenitours hath had, he maie be assured of all the support therto requisit that reasonable he maie ask of hir majestie.

11 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. Draft much corrected by Burghley.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 142.

Copy of the same.

[Oct.] 408. DEVICES ON THE QUEEN OF SCOTS' BED.

C.P., vol. XXI.

A stock of a vine and a heavenly hand holding a vessel full of wine which it is sprinkling over the said stock, and there is written *Mea sic mihi prosunt*.

A lion taken and overthrown in a snare, and five or six hares and rabbits: above is written as a motto, *Et lepores devicto insultant leoni*.

A lioness, and her little cub near to her: there is as motto, *Unum quidem sed leonem*.

A leopard holding in his mouth a begdehog which he can neither swallow nor cast out, and for a motto, *Premiit et hæret*.

Two spheres, and an upright sword in the midst, at the point whereof is a crown; the motto; *Unus non sufficit orbis*.

A high, raised pyramid, around which is a bough of ivy; the motto, *Testante jurebo* [sic].

A crescent at the end of the sword; there is, *Donec totum impleat orbem*.

A haven of the sea, and a heavenly hand throwing a stone into it, and *Donce emerserit undis*.

A hedgehog in a somewhat tempestuous sea, the said hedgehog almost covered with stones; and for a motto, *Ne volutetur*.

A ship quite upright in a tempestuous sea, sails torn and ropes rent, ready to sink; *Numquam nisi rectam*.

A mill-wheel in running water; this Spanish device, *Llena di dolore vada desesperanza*.

A dove in a cage, and an eagle above ready to devour her when she shall come forth; this device in Italian, "I am in evil plight, but I fear worse."

The nine heavens and the star of Mercury following the sun; *Comite Mercurio*.

A buckler, as it were suspended in the air, above a crown; *Aut hanc aut super hoc*.

A tree called the pitch-tree and a fallen cedar as in this sketch*; and for a motto, *Ploret picea quod cedrus cecidit*.

* Sketch of two trees, one upright, one prone.

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An eagle's wing among many little feathers partially reddened and perfected; there is, *Magnatum vicinitas*.

A vine stock and a hand with a pruning knife cutting the said stock; there is, *Virscit where virtus*.

A large oak at the bottom of a valley torn and broken by the force of the wind, and a bending shrub; there is for motto, *Ut superis visum*.

A pillar of gold, partially gaping, which a man is cleaving by dint of wedges and hammers; there is, *idem intus et extra*.

Two crowns in earth and one in heaven composed of stars with flames of fire issuing from them; *Mauct ultima celo*.

Another almost like it, except that the one above is like those that are in the earth; there is, *Aliumque moratur*.

An R. at the foot of a cross, his sceptre and crown beneath, and on a field of deep enamel double RR.; there is written, *Undique Ra Ra*.

Three birds in the air pierced by an arrow: *Dederit fortuna Deusve*.

A tree laden with sceptres, crowns, mitres, crosiers, red hats, chains, precious stones, cords, wallets, papal bulls, bread: a woman at the foot with her eyes bandaged, and a rod in her hand wherewith she strikes the said tree; the motto, *Ut casus dederit*.

The order of the Annunciation, with the four capital letters F. E. R. T.

The rising sun; for motto, *Quæ cecidere resurgunt*.

A circle, and a triangle within it; the motto, *Trino non convenit orbis*.

A great oak, and all the winds blowing above it: around the said oak, *Basta ch'io vivi*.

The pole-star and the mariner's compass, with the loadstone turned straight towards the pole: around the said compass is "Her virtue draws me" for a device.

A salamander in the fire; there is, *Nutrisco et extingor*.

An eclipse of the moon; there is for device, *Ipsa sibi lumen quod invidet aufert*.

Some plants of saffron, fairly high; there is, *Fructus calcata dat amplos*.

A furnace in which are gold and mercury separate from one another; *In fide societas*.

A mill-wheel turning in the water; the motto, *Movcor nec rapior*.

The moon, very bright on the side which looks toward the sun; dark on the side which has the earth opposite; the device, *Terrena obcecant*.

Many springs of sweet water about to fall into the sea; the motto, *Sic dulcia in amarum*.

A little bird in a cage, and above an eagle ready to devour it in case it should come forth; the motto is, *Il mal mi preme, my spauenta il peggio*.

A tilled field, producing instead of ears of corn points of spears and some helmets; the motto is, *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*.

Ambo utroque tenent, a cow held by two hands.

Pietas revocabit ab orco, a mountain in the midst of which there seems to be a cavern casting forth fire.

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Quid nisi victis dolor.

Pervigiles virtus excubias superat.

A sun half eclipsed, *Medio occidit dic.*

The palm-tree laden, *Ponderibus virtus innata resistet.*

Non quæ super terram; a very tempestuous sky, two hands in the air not holding one another.

The thistle crowned; *Asperitate securus.*

A palm-tree, at the foot a tortoise trying to climb upwards; *Dat gloria vires.*

A sun and the star Mercury; *Tantus mihi fulgor ab illo.*

Per vincula crescit; the pine tree.

2½ pp. French. Indorsed.

Nov. 10. 409. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHELY.

“As zit I haif not mayde full ansser to the Justice Clerk his lettir, be ressonne I evir loked to haif had your lordschips advise what ansser was meittast to be gevin to som particularris conteaned theyrin.”

“Bessidis, at my last being at court it appeared to me that hir majeste thocht it expedient that some mattir shuld be extracted furth of Cursollis letteris, whearwyth beand mayde acquaynted I mycht have used some kynd of expostulation to the King my maister thayrupon, onto suche tyme as fordur matter mycht be resolved upon.”

“Albeit I be of that opinion—haiffing respect to the frequent advertisementis that I haif ressawed that some ar practisand in coursis in that realm—that it wilbe seurast for hir majesteis service that som speadye resolution may be takin what course to go throw wyth the King my maister; and must pray your lordschip to sea it furthered for the weillfayr of boyth the princis and thyr realmes.”

“Bot can I not, in the midde tyme, omitt my deuty in gevin ansser to such letteris as I do ressaue. Thayrfor most hartlye I pray your lordschip to mowe her majeste that I may know what hir hyenes is pleased that I shuld do in the premissis; as also that I may onderstand at what tyme your lordschips lasar may best serwe to lat me haif your advise in such mater as I must geve ansser onto.” Signed: A. Douglas.

⅔ p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Nov. 13. 410. WILLIAM STEWART TO JAMES VI.

Cott. Calig.
D. I.,
fol. 200.

“It will pleas your Majestie—Fynding this the laerd of Ladyland of mynd partly be seiknes as other occasionis to retein him self toward his awne hous and moyanes, I could no les of bound dewtie nor advartis your majestie in passing of things as I have harde and gettin knowlege of sens my last, quhilk I have comytted to the said berrare his report, unders asseverdilly of his fidellytie in all things consernyng your majesteis services, maest hombly craving the same witt the rest of my dew devoeris may be exepted in gude part, and that credit may be gevin to him in this behalff, unto my awne retwrne,

Elizabeth.

1587. wharof I wait advartysment, praying the eternall God to grant your majestie lang lyff, gud healtie and hartis desyre, with victorie ovir all youre ennyes. From Steir (?), the xiiij of November. Your majesties meast homble and meast puire servitor dwering lyff." *Signed*: William Stewart.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *No flyleaf or address.*

Nov. 15. 411. LORD SCROPE TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 201.

. . . * recovery . . . * and strongly with such good
. . . * as my best please her divine majesty and be joyful to your friends.

By the same letter I also understand that the King of Scots' ambassador has taken upon him to assure her majesty and Council that the cause of the King's journey to Dumfries was intended for no other end but only to repress the insolences of the broken borderers, thereby the better to preserve the amity betwixt the two Crowns, alleging it the fittest course, first by good strength to lay hold the chief malefactors and committers of those disorders, as troublers of the said amity.

What likelihood of good warrant this assurance of the ambassador carries I leave to be examined by the King's present proceedings in these pretended purposes, presently shown as well by the effects of this journey of his own, entered into, as by the like of his lieutenant, who is returned—as I wrote by my last—without taking anything at all in hand tending towards this alleged reformation. Besides, I know and dare assure her majesty to the contrary, of any such sincere meaning of that King, as being made assured and understanding by good certainty and truth that these late outrages against us have been complotted with the King's privity, and are still led on by Bothwell, "Burghelugh," and Robert Maxwell, a bastard brother of to Lord Maxwell.

The chief executioners of these mischiefs are not only daily conversant with these coactors, but also in especial favour with them, and much made of with the King, which manner of doings amongst them can in my opinion carry no such con . . . as they would dazzle our eyes withal, to point out the King's disposition and kindness towards us, whose sincerity I leave to wiser consideration and experiments thereof.

And touching the intelligence which is denied to be had with the King of Spain, or that there is expectation to receive strange support to revenge the death of the King's mother—notwithstanding the information and assurance given that the King as well refuses to follow such propositions as have been put to him in this behalf, as also promises to combine himself in solid league with her majesty—you may assure her majesty from me, the King has and does entertain intelligence with the King of Spain, and that Maxwell is assuredly looked for to return from thence with support of men and money to take amends for the Queen's death, towards which mark have undoubtedly been all these late disorders on our frontier, purposing thereby to weaken the same as much as they can before the arrival of any foreign enemy prepared by them

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1587. against us, the more easily to effect their intentions which they still seek to cover with show. . . . As for the Bells, I had sent them home upon . . . after the receipt of your later letters to me in that . . . and think them too well dealt withal, seeing no better security neither for redress of things done, nor of their good behaviour hereafter, can be had.

Upon Saturday last, as I am very credibly informed, there were above 7 score horsemen of the S . . . entered into the Middle Marches of England, but by extremity of weather and waters they were driven back without doing anything.

Concerning your other letter of the same date for certifying you of the estate and value of the lands and goods of William V . . . granted by her majesty to a friend of yours, albeit I cannot by these satisfy your request, yet by my next—or at the furthest this next week—I hope to advertise you by g . . . certainly to your good contentment, assuring you that I shall omit nothing on my behalf, in this or otherwise whereby I may stand you or any that you favour in stead, and please you or them for your sake, for the which I shall be no less ready to perform any friendly good office towards you, whereto I am bound, than you shall willingly desire me.

Thus . . . my very hearty thanks for your advertisements of the . . . victory in France, praying God to stretch out His arm still with like strength against the enemies of His Gospel, to His own glory and the confusion of our foes, with the . . . of all good men, whom with yourself I commend to the protection of the Almighty. Carlisle. *Signed*: H. Scrope.

$1\frac{3}{4}$ pp. No flyleaf or address.

Nov. 16. 412. SIR SIMON MUSGRAVE TO [THE EARL OF LEICESTER].

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 106.

[*The first lines of this letter are burnt away.*]

. . . of these Marches he brought the said persons . . . her majesty's gaol at Carlisle, where three of them were executed, as the said right honourable the Earl of Huntingdon can more at large declare, since when the friends of the said prisoners, to the number of 400 men, have confederated themselves against me, my friends and children, to run upon us with fire and sword, and have put the same in proof by spoiling a man of mine named George Rowtledge, and taking from him four score cattle, and a hundred "gate" and sheep.

This last night they have come to my house at Edenhall, and have burnt all my barns filled with corn to the value of 1000 marks, whereby I am forced to disperse my household and am utterly unable to serve her majesty, without her majesty's goodness be extended to me some way, which I refer to your good lordship's honourable consideration. For truly this attempt has put all the inhabitants of Cumberland in great fear, for the like has not been done since I was born.

Thus I cease to trouble your lordship any further, praying the Almighty to preserve you in good health with much increase of . . . Edenhall. *Signed*: Symon Musgrave.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. No address or indorsement.

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1587. **413.** CAUSES IN JUSTICE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTS.

Nov. 24.	Scottish complaints for spoils by English pirates	}	22517 <i>l</i> .	
	amount to			
	Restitution made to the Scots			4383 <i>l</i> .
	Restitution awarded by the Admiralty Court			1260 <i>l</i> .
	Remaining unrestored		16874 <i>l</i> .	
	English complaints for spoils by Scottish pirates	}	8968 <i>l</i> .	
	amount to			
	Restitution made to the English			140 <i>l</i> .
	Remaining unrestored			8828 <i>l</i> .
	Which taken out of the Scottish remainder 16874 <i>l</i> .	}	8046 <i>l</i> .	
	there resteth to be restored to the Scots			

1 p. *Indorsed.*

Nov. 25. **414.** LORD HUNSDON TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 198.

. . . I know that . . . they make . . . of aid from Spain or the Low Countries all is one, for if they send but four or five thousand men into Scotland, and send money, they will trouble us shrewdly, as your lordship knows. Touching Archibald Douglas' advertisements about Smollett [Smallett], I wrote to your lordship thereof, and his report is far otherwise than indeed it was, for Smollett was taken the last of October, and the letter he had was from the King himself to the Earl of Huntly for the killing of the Master of Glamis, and the Chancellor and Justice Clerk should have been killed at Edinburgh by the Earl Bothwell and others. Yet it is now said for saving of the King's credit, that having sent the same letter, yet he caused William Stewart to give the Chancellor notice thereof. But however it is, it is most sure that there is a plot laid for the killing of those three, for if the Chancellor had not been secretly warned the 13th of this month, Bothwell had slain him in the Court.

The Chancellor complained to the King, who answered him that if he were afraid he might go into the Castle, where he might be safe, and this was the best surety or redress he could get at the King's hands. I think verily it will not be long ere your two earls, Angus and Mar, be in England again, and the Master of Glamis, if he can escape, for they do not stick to give out plainly that there must be and shall be an alteration in Court, and that presently, whereof I think your lordship shall learn shortly.

Her majesty now sees how well her money was bestowed upon those two earls and the rest. I pray God her majesty does not wish that she had made more account of Arran that was, for that had been the way to have kept the King at . . . devotion, and your lordship shall hear shortly of his credit to be as great in Court as ever it was, for the Hamiltons and he be all one, especially Claud Hamilton.

And for Archibald Douglas' credit here, whatsoever you make of him there, I dare assure your lordship they do not account of him by any ambassador, nor either the King or any about him that makes any account of him, and I believe verily that had no such

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1587. letter from the Chancellor and Justice Clerk . . . through Cavallion, true it is that upon Smollett's [Smallett's] . . . dale . . . and carried away the goods of the . . .

'Touching Buccleugh's allegation that . . . upon him by them of Bewcastle, I dare assure your lordship that there was no such matter, for I have examined Thomas Musgrave of it, having indeed heard that Buccleugh had alleged so. He assures me upon his life that there was no such matter so as that was but an . . .

And for the King staying of the goods at the Armitage, there was no . . . matter, for they stayed there but one day, and the next day they were driven to Branksam, where they were divided, so as your lordship sees, Mr. Archibald's advertisements come but from others, and for his credit's sake makes her majesty believe that he hears from the King.

'Touching Cesford's offer of meeting, and to do justice, upon acceptation thereof he rode presently to the King, where he has remained ever since, so as I never heard from him since, nor look for justice at his hands. And so I was assured from some of the . . . in Tyndale, that, what show of justice soever is made, there is no such intention, but I hope ere it be long, to make them to desire meetings. Even now I have word brought me that some of this wardenry have been at two towns of Buccleugh's near these Borders, where they have brought away some 200 head of cattle beside sheep. But all Cesford's goods and sheep were driven away before, or else they had had a good booty. But I trust shortly your lordship shall hear of somewhat.

'Touching the letters that were lost, I trust I shall shortly find out the truth, but the poor post lost his mare, well worth . . . nobles. Touching Mr. Heron and Rydley, your lordship shall find that they have not been only backward in that service, but the principal . . . ars and procurers of the Scots to that journey. For at the receipt of your lordship's letter yesternight, I was examining of one that I had sent for, who was the messenger between R . . . Heron, Mr. Heron's second son, and the Armstrongs, by whom I understand the whole plot, how and by whom this plot was laid, and for what cause. There are at the least 12 or 14 . . . doers herein, as your lordship shall hear hereafter so soon as I can get them, which will be a hard piece of work.

But I pray your lordship keep this to yourself till you hear again from me . . . my lord, having troubled your lordship with answer to your letter . . . the bridle . . . and therefore in my opinion she were better to begin with him than he with her. For surely, if he begin with her, she will hardly be "quyttance" with him with 40,000*l.* charges, and the only way to bring him to any order must be by force, and so some of them confess.

Thus having troubled your lordship over long, I commit your lordship to the Almighty, with increase of your health. Berwick.
Signed: Hunsdon.

2½ pp. *No flyleaf or address.*

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1587. 415. JUSTICE OF PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MARY.

Dec. 2.

Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 683.

"That the proceedinge agaynst the Scottish Queen was just and lawfull aswell by the common lawe as cyvyll lawe."

The Scottish Queen being in England, her life, person and goods were protected by the laws of the realm. So that if any had offended against her they were punishable by the same laws, according to the quality of their offences. So likewise her practising or compassing within this realm anything tending to the death or destruction of her majesty's person is high treason. And in that case, by the strict and ordinary course of the common law, the proceeding against her might have been by indictment, arraignment and trial by jury of twelve men, without any regard of her state or degree, for being within this realm, and offending within the same, she had no prerogative or preeminence in that behalf.

Also the words of the statute made in the 27th year of the Queen's reign are general, and extend as well to the late Scottish Queen as to all others, without exception of any degree, estate or calling, and therefore by virtue of this statute the proceeding against her was just and lawful, and respecting the manner of trial, much more honourable than that which the ordinary course of the common law appoints.

As touching the civil law, the law is clear that *qua in provincia quis delinquit in ea puniri debet, quod jus perpetuum est*, without any exception of the dignity or privilege of the offender.

It is also very clear that whosoever practises anything against the life or person of a Prince in his own territory commits treason, without exception of any person, for in his own territory a Prince has not *parem*, though he who offends were otherwise *par* or *superior* when he is out of that territory. The reason is *quia extra territorium suum* a Prince is *privatus*, and therefore cannot execute any jurisdiction either in civil or in criminal causes, but must crave the aid and authority of the Prince in whose territory he remains.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. Indorsed twice: "A brief of ze proceedinges against the Scottish Q., Dec. 1587."

Dec. 2.

416. BURGHELEY TO THE [EARL OF SUSSEX].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 195.

. . . * of letters your lordship likewise . . . * that was taken with them, which, for that her majesty takes to be but of ordinary matters of women, her pleasure is that they should be restored and the gentlewomen and their company suffered to depart at their own commodity, and in the meantime to be well treated, your lordship's commendations and thanks for your careful dealing herein being no less than if the same had been of more importance. And so I most heartily commend me to your good lordship. From the Court at Ely Place. Signed: W. Burghley.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. No flyleaf or address.

Dec. 2. 417. SPOILS COMMITTED UPON THE SCOTS BY THE ENGLISH SINCE 1569.

6 April 1564, a ship of Leith passing towards Flanders, Hugh Liell master, was spoiled by Captain North's ship called *The Black Bull* near Humber. Witnesses; David Tompson aged

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1587. 38, William Perres aged 50, David Wilson aged 30, Robert Pawton aged 34, who depose that the goods belonged to David Williamson, merchant of Edinburgh, and were worth 80*l.* 6*s.* "The sayd North is dead."*

17 June 1567, a ship of Pitwyn called *The John* coming forth of Humber bound for Scotland, was spoiled by an English pirate called Harrison of Beverley, and Tuck. Witnesses; Hindre Anderson, David Webster aged 50. The goods were worth 104*l.* "These are sayd by the judg to be dead, viz., Harrison killed and Tuck hanged."*

10 April 1572, David Indeach [Endeoch], Thomas Sowtherland, Robert Ramsey, John Roch and others, all merchants of Aberdeen, in *The Falcon*, Thomas Sowtherland, master, spoiled by John Rich, Englishman, of goods worth 59*l.*, and their apparel worth 100 marks of Scottish money. "John Riche, pirate; it is said that he is dead."*

6 Feb. 1573, the same David Indeach, James Browne, Thomas Southerland, spoiled "at Orford Nesse thwart of Suffolk" by *The Black Bull*, Captain North master, being in *The George* of Aberdeen, their cock-boat, of goods, apparell and a barrel of salmon worth in all 41*l.*

29 March 1574, David Indeach, Thomas Southerland and John Browne, spoiled by Captain Clarke of Winterton and young William Winter of London, of goods, apparell, swords, books, *etc.*, worth 22*l.* Winter denies the spoil, and offers to pay for it if it be proved. "Capt. Clerk dead. William Winter to be sent for to answer this."*

8 April 1574, spoiled out of a ship of Leith, John Little master, passing from Flanders to Scotland, by Thomas Hitchcoke of Yarmouth appertaining to Nicholas Teburne, and George Anderson. Witnesses; Alexander Barnes, John Bankes, John Liell and John Browne; goods—"shewing gold" and other things—worth 611*l.* "Tho: Hitchcok pirat: he is hanged for this piracie."*

4 July 1574, spoiled from David Weyd in *The Andrew* of Amsterdam, riding in Grimsby Road within the water of Humber, by Harrison of Beverley, goods worth 60*l.* Witnesses; Charles Corstans aged 30, John Tompson aged 28.

10 Aug. 1574, spoiled from John Arnot and Andrew Murderson, merchants of Edinburgh, by William Hudson of Wivenone near Rochester. Witnesses; John Tompson, William Stagge, John Stagge and John Unsten. Goods worth 900*l.*

15 Aug. 1574, a ship of Leith called *The Thomas*, belonging to James Brem, and the merchant thereof called James Fairely, coming forth of Flanders thwart of Scarborough, spoiled by Hitchcocke of Yarmouth. Witnesses; Robert Mackall, Bartholomew Somervill, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smyth, Charles Browne and Patrick Morilawe. "Lignets of burnt silver, sewing gold" and other things worth 349*l.*

8 Dec. 1574, *The Mary Grace* belonging to Robert Lamb of Leith, riding in the Downs, spoiled by Capt. Vaughan and Thos. Kettle of Sandwich. Witnesses; Dunken Robenson, James Yonge, Andrew Gardener and John Fullen. Goods worth 72*l.*

* Marginal note.

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28 March 1575, Capt. John Bitch of Falmouth spoiled *The James* of St. Andrews, belonging to James Anderson. Witnesses; Henry Patterson aged 60, Will. Moffat aged 30. Goods, chiefly fish, worth 420*l*.

25 June 1575, spoiled from a ship of Amsterdam, master and owner John Somiter, bound for England, by one Robert Piper, captain of the pirates, "owner of the ship," dwelling within 3 miles of Hastings, goods worth 82*l*., chiefly fish. Witnesses; Stephen Wyde aged 26, Alexander Traill aged 25, and Alexander Myll aged 28. "Robert Piper, pirate; he is dead."*

15 Sept. 1575, a ship of Amsterdam called *The Abye*, master and owner Thomas Upton, bound from Hull towards Scotland, spoiled in Grimsby Road in the Humber, by John Hall of Newcastle, captain of *The Falcon*, sometime appertaining to Hull and now to Newcastle. English cloth and other goods worth 200*l*. Witnesses; Robert Anderson aged 60, Robert Guthrie aged 40, Andrew Gardiner aged 40.

7 April 1576, David Indeach and partners spoiled at Orford Ness by Smyth of Hampton and Smyth of Lowestoft, of 12½ dozen iron pots at 18 franks a dozen, 3 bolts of poldavis [canvas] price 36*l*. Scottish, a rope worth 14*l*. Scottish: and from Mr. Robert Lundall 3 gold rings with 2 diamonds worth 40*l*. Scottish, in *The Falcon* of Aberdeen. "Smith of Hampton, Smith of Leistof, pirates, dead as is reported."*

16 July 1576, David Indeach, Peter Chamers and John Roche spoiled by Smyth of Colnes in Suffolk, Robert Smyth of Lowestoft, John Gullet of Southwark and others in a ship of Christopher Andrewes of Rochester, of goods laden in *The Falcon* of Aberdeen, coming from Dieppe towards Aberdeen, worth 185*l*.

27 July 1576, the same were spoiled by George Phitson at the Downs of fish, *etc.*, worth 64*l*. "Geor. Phipson, pirate, drowned, being pursued by the French."*

16 Aug. 1576, *The John* of Swyams, laden with goods of Robert Cleapon, was taken thwart of Aberdeen "by William Thomas of the Wight." Witnesses; Robert Kinnouth, Adam Fog and John Elder. Goods worth 130*l*. "Wil: Thomas pirate dead as it is sayd."*

12 Dec. 1576, a ship of St. Andrews, master John Blith, passing from Scotland to Dieppe, spoiled in the Downs by Captain Robinson of Rye. Witnesses; Andrew Elers aged 40, Thomas Farcar aged 40, and John Demstair aged 50. Goods worth 215*l*. "Capt: Robinson pirat hanged at Wappinge for this piracy."*

26 Dec. 1576, a ship of St. Andrews, master Robert Carpstones, bound to Dieppe, spoiled of goods worth 200*l*. belonging to Thomas Kaie [*in the margin* Kaile] and George Mildram, merchants, by William Thomas of the Wight. Witnesses; Charles Carstaris and John Faierfull. "Wil: Thomas pirate hanged at Wappinge for this piracy."*

28 Feb. 1576[7], a ship of Leith, master William Hey, passing towards Flanders and being at anchor at Margate, spoiled by Smyth of Southampton of goods worth 68*l*. partly belonging to Archibald Johnson, merchant of Edinburgh. Witnesses; John

* Marginal note.

Elizabeth.

1587.

Johnson, John Adamson, Thomas Adamson. "Wil: Appleton alias Capt: Smith pirate hanged at Wappinge for this piracy."*

8 April 1577, *The Swallow* of Leith, master Robert Watson, laden with goods of William Neisbath and Thomas Lowry to be transported to France, spoiled in Yarmouth Road by Robert Hickes. Witnesses; James Marjoribankes aged 26, Patrick Tenane aged 42, John Mackall aged 50, merchants of Edinburgh. Goods worth 922*l*. "Rob: Hicks, pirate, hanged for this piracy."*

16 April 1577, *The Grace of God* of Preston Pans, owners Alexander Lindsey and David Hamelton, merchants of Edinburgh, spoiled by Richard Hodges, Nicholas White, George Phipson, and Tompson [or John Thomas] of Rochester. Witnesses; Robert Greirson aged 50, Alexander Tompson aged 34, mariners. Goods worth 445*l*. "This was mistaken, for ye spoile was committed by one Wm. Hudson in a litle barke belonging to Richard Hodges; who never was privy to or partaker of that spoile."*

17 April 1577, spoiled by Edward Harrison of Beverley, *The Jonas* of Carrill, master and owner John Martin. Witnesses; John Corstorphine aged 33, George Martin aged 28, and William Smyth aged 28, mariners. Goods worth 84*l*. "Ew: Harison, pirate, dead."*

18 April 1577, spoil done by a fly-boat of Rochester, owner Christopher Androse of Rochester, master Thomas Hound of Thorp, upon *The John* of Dundee bound from London to Scotland; the merchant, Alexander Lindsey, was spoiled cross of Orford Ness. Witnesses; Peter Narne aged 40, Alexander Ramsey aged 40, David Bouchain aged 26. Goods worth 127*l*.

19 April 1577, spoil done by Richard Harrison, Nicholas White and George Phipson, thwart of Aldborough, upon Alexander Rany, owner of *The Nightingall* of Kirkcaldy, bound from Scotland to England. Witnesses; John Finley and John Browne, mariners. Salt worth 200*l*.

21 April 1577, *The Trinity* of Kirkcaldy spoiled by Edward Harrison, John Gullet, Nicholas White, Robert Scarborough and Tompson of Rochester. Money and goods of Thomas Hodgson and his brother David, worth 79*l*. Witnesses; Mark Steward and John Troumbill.

4 May 1577, David Indeach and partners spoiled by Yarmouth by a ship of Chichester pertaining to Mr. Fenner or Venner, in a ship of Aberdeen, master John Turnor; goods worth 288*l*.

6 May 1577, *The James* of St. Andrews, master John Eryme, coming from Rochelle laden with salt, spoiled near Portsmouth by a double fly-boat called *The Flying Horse* of London. Witnesses; Andrew Malcomb, Thomas Saunton aged 40, and Andrew Gilbert aged 50. Salt, money and goods worth 166*l*.

29 June 1577, *The George* of Leith, coming from France, thwart of Aldborough in Suffolk, spoiled by a double fly-boat of Rochester pertaining to Christopher Androse and Robert Martin; captain Edmond Worley, master Thomas Hud [or Hound] of Thorp; goods belonging to John Proven and John Acheson, worth 1117*l*. Witnesses; Alexander Wilson aged 23, Andrew Dunbar aged 28,

* Marginal note.

Elizabeth.

1587. Thomas Balliart aged 34, Alexander Mounbrey aged 40, mariners, who helped to lade the goods. "Christ. Androes, Rob. Marten, Edm. Worley, Tho. Hound, Jo: Callis, pirates."* Other witnesses to the same; James Tourie aged 21; James Diell aged 24, of Edinburgh, merchants of Edinburgh resident in Paris, who were in the ship; James Bogge, gentleman of the King of France his guard, who lent money to profit for the buying of the goods.

10 July 1577, a ship of Leith coming out of France spoiled in the Downs of goods appertaining to Andrew Logan, master and owner, and Andrew Williamson, merchant, by Captain Jones in a fly-boat. Goods worth 396*l*. Witnesses; John Robertson aged 28, John Corrouar aged 19, mariners, John Dowgall, merchant, aged 44, and James Moubray aged 20.

24 July 1577, David Indeach, John Burnet, David Ferguson, John Ferguson, James Jenny, Patrick Duffy, Thomas Grey and Andrew King spoiled by George Phipson of a ship called *The Fortune* with all her furniture and lading, value 1322*l*. "Restitution made to Andrew Kinge of 200 *li*. in money payd by D: Cæsar then judge of the Admiralltie, viz., 19 Decemb. 1584; who was then promised repayment out of the fines, but could never find it."*

1 Aug. 1578, spoil done by Captain Clarke in Yarmouth Road upon a ship of Leith, George Carr master and owner of the goods. Witnesses; Thomas Walkewood, James Modie, William Robson and Thomas Edmeston. Goods worth 100*l*. "Capt. Tho: Clark, pirat, killed at Graulinge."*

2 Aug. 1578, spoil by Captain George Phipson upon *The Christopher*, the merchant being Robert Watt, servant to the Lady Linnoes. Witnesses; Thomas Hamilton aged 24, Walter Reid aged 22, and Patrick Wilson aged 34. Goods worth 100*l*.

3 Aug. 1578, goods spoiled forth of a ship of Leith, John Dawson master, by Robert Hickes, belonging to Andrew Williamson and other merchants of Edinburgh. Witnesses; James Craik aged 24, John Gardner aged 35, and David Dawny aged 33. Goods worth 478*l*. "Rob. Hicks, pirate, hanged at Wappinge. There was restitution made to Stephen Glasco, procurer for th'owners of the said goods, not longe after, of 108 hogsheds of those herings, beesids som part of the salmon, to the value in all of 140 *lib*."*

22 Feb. 1578-[9], John Tompson and Henry Drowmount spoiled by John Grainger of Plymouth, master of a double fly-boat whereof one Morrice was captain, with 60 other pirates. Goods worth 524*l*. Witnesses; James Sounter aged 60, Patrick Ramsey aged 60, Thomas Hunter aged 50, James [*sic*] aged 50, David Mars aged 40, John Black aged 50, Andrew Mathew aged 30, Thomas Martin aged 30, David Cristall aged 22, and David Ciall aged 60. "John Granger dead at Portsmouth. Capt. Morris drowned in Holland. Restitution made not longe after to Mr. Adam Fullerton to the value of 159 *lib*. paid by Mr. Alderman Marten, who was then promised repayment out of the fines, but he could never find it."*

17 March 1582, George Besset and Patrick Wilson of Salt Preston, owners of *The Falcon* of Salt Preston, spoiled by Captain Challis in Lowestoft Road, being in a ship of Mr. Bellingham

* Marginal note.

Elizabeth.

1587. called *The Minikin*; the ship, with furniture, and goods belonging to John Marshall and John Franken, Scottish merchants, worth 232*l.* Witnesses; the said Bisset, John Fawconer, William Bate, and William Kerney of London, printer. "Capt. Challice, pirate, killed in Barbary. Restitucion awarded to the said Georg Bisset, 28 of March 1583, to the value of 232 *lib.* by commission out of th'admiralty court."*

17 March 1582. *The Jesus* of Borriston in Scotland spoiled by the said Challis of goods worth 200*l.* belonging to James Reynolds, Henry Chartees, Alexander Linsey, George Brewere and Robert Lamb, Scottish merchants. "Restitution made to James Rainoldes the 4 of July 1583, to the valene of 200 *lib.*"*

4 June 1582, William Valentine, otherwise Baugh, took *The Grace of God* of Salt Preston laden with apparel belonging to James Steward, then lord ambassador here for the Scottish King, and his servants, a chest of bowstaves of John Purvens [or Pawnes], and goods of James Raynolds and others, worth in all 372*l.* For which spoil the said Valentine was executed, and the ship and furniture restored to the value of 84*l.*

6 July 1585, William Steward of Mancrosse having laden *The Grace of God*, a Scottish ship, with goods belonging to Robert Scote, worth 1028*l.*, was spoiled in Yarmouth Road by Morgan Gilbert in a French ship called *The Diana*. For recovery whereof he had his commission out of the Admiralty Court, and costs allowed by Mr. Bankes before his departure, to the value in all of 1028*l.*

7 July 1586, John Duree, Scotchman, spoiled by Captain Canter in a ship of Southampton belonging to Mr. Edward Cotton, and set out by him to sea with a letter of reprisal, of foxskins, money and goods worth 391*l.* 6*s.* Part has been restored; there rests unsatisfied, 341*l.*

2 Sep. 1586. Andrew Watson, John Dowglas and David Garuey spoiled of goods worth 950*l.* They recovered 200*l.* "Hen. Flower, Tho. Cooke, Ja. Daves, Wil. Skinner, Tho: Parset, Tho: Duffield, pirates."*

21 Nov. 1586, a ship of Leith, George Padie owner and master, laden to Dieppe with goods of William Napare, James Inglis, Edward Forman, John Pebas [or Peblis] and Mungo Russell, merchants of Edinburgh, was taken near Dieppe by William Beare, Englishman, and carried to Ireland, where they landed the merchants and mariners and sold goods to the value of 3000*l.*: Then they conveyed the ship to Cardiff and sold goods to the value of 2000*l.*, and afterwards to Bristol, where some of the Scottish merchants arriving from Ireland compounded with Beare, paid him 350*l.*, and he delivered to them the ship and such goods as were left, value 2000*l.*

24 May 1587, David Garne had restitution for spoil committed by Flower and his company upon Andrew Watson in money, 12*l.*, by Robert Bradley of Aldborough.

31 July 1587, David Garnee had restitution touching the said spoil 10*l.* by Battle of Aldborough; and of Francis Burnell 2*l.*

9 May 1587, *The Elizabeth* of Orkney, belonging to Robert Browne, laden with salt belonging to Mark Linch of Galloway in

* Marginal note.

Elizabeth.

1587.

Ireland, taken by Thomas Cooke and brought to Milford, and there sold to John Vaughan the customer, John Kest the searcher, Jenken Davie [or David Jenkyns] and Morrice Camon, to the value of 500*l*.

18 May 1587. *The Mary* of Ayr, laden with goods belonging to Richard Prickard of Tenby, the ship belonging to John Osborne, John Bell and William Purries of Ayr, taken forth of Milford Haven by Thomas Cooke and Richard Smith, to the value of 700*l*.

1 Aug. 1587. *The Robert* of Leith, laden with goods belonging to William Hey, taken and spoiled by Edward Hewet and John Bold, to the value of 600*l*. "Wherof William Hey received agayne 21 Aug: by order from the L: Admirall to the value of 400*l*. of Capt. Bostok."*

14 pp. *Indorsed. Details of goods given.*

Dec. 2. **418.** SPOILS COMMITTED BY THE SCOTS UPON THE ENGLISH SINCE 1581.

27 March 1581. William Nichols of Northam, Devon, master and owner of a ship, sailed to Scotland with goods of Robert Blakes of Bridgewater, merchant, and others, in 1580. A Scot named Morlean set upon the ship, lying in harbour at Mull, slew an English mariner, and pretending that he had commission from the King of Scots to stay all Englishmen, took the said Nichols and his mariners and kept them a year in prison. Mr. Randolph, then English ambassador there, advertised the King thereof in Morlean's presence: the King promised remedy: but nothing being done, Nichols escaping from prison, went to the King and craved justice. The King sent him to her majesty, who gave him letters of favour to the said King, who, after Nichols had condemned the said Morlean in 1690*l*., gave his commission for payment thereof, charging the Chancellor to take Morlean's goods and lands and make payment. Nevertheless no restitution has yet been made.

31 March 1581. Robert Wilter of Liverpool was driven with his bark into Scotland by contrary winds, his lading of corn and herring was taken by a Scottish lord, and though he obtained, after being suitor for a year and a half, the King's letters for restitution, he could recover nothing. Loss and charges 200*l*.

1 April 1581. Thomas Copran of Dublin, merchant of the north of Ireland, spoiled by Robart Jonson of Ayr, who in a ship of 140 tons took from him the value of 200*l*. No restitution yet made, though humbly requested.

7 April 1582. The said Copran, "travelinge by sea unto the salmon fishinge at the Band [Bann] in the north of Ireland with his barke of 25 tonnes," took 8 tons of salmon; which being salted and packed and other wares taken aboard, he entered upon the water of Skerish [Skerries], Portrush, and cast anchor. Four Scottish barks rode hard by him, whose merchants sent into Scotland to fetch Adam Montgomery, "lord" of Bredstone, who held consultation with John Knoeces and others. Knoeces provided Montgomery with a bark and necessities, and he, in sight of the four other barks, assaulted Copran's bark, slew a principal man

* Marginal note.

Elizabeth.

1587. therein, who was of Bristol, wounded the rest and took the bark, and carried it to Scotland to John Knockes. The goods went to Mathew Montgomery, brother to the pirate, Hugh Nevin late bailiff of Irwin, Patrik Watson of the same, Robert Steward late bailiff of Glasgow, John Hamelton of the same, David Farlye, laird of Farlye, John Foster of the same, and others. Value of bark and goods 600*l*. Mr. Randolph could get no restitution.

8 April 1582. A crayer called *The Flying Swallow* of London, John Tailor master, robbed by a Scottish ship of Burnt Island belonging to Davie Clarke, master Robert Richeson, mariners John Credo, Patrick Fry and others. The goods went to Lord Seton, then admiral, and were bought by burgesses of Edinburgh. Value 2000*l*.

4 July 1582. Henry Gyles of Southampton spoiled by Richard Ramsay, a Scot, to the value of 500*l*., and is utterly undone by following the suit.

14 May 1584. *The Hound* of Colchester, Thomas Stamford master, laden with wines, money, *etc.*, of John Love of Colchester, encountered between Ireland and Rochelle a great ship of war, James Kockerd, Scottishman, captain, and James Couvin, Scot, master, which spoiled *The Hound* to the value of 1088*l*.

14 March 1585. *The John* of Hull spoiled by Mounce Heneson of Denmark and one Knightson, a Scottishman. The ship, worth 140*l*., and goods, worth 2420*l*., were brought to Orkney and kept by Lord Robert [Steward]. The ship was restored to the owners, but not the goods. "Alrede of Hull and companie robbed."*

Sum total—8968*l*.

Restored—140*l*.

Unrestored—8828*l*.

5 pp. *Indorsed. Details of goods given.*

Dec. 25. **419.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHELY.

"The bearris heiroy, Dawid Gordin and William Haye, Scottismen, that had thayr gudis takin be piratis, hes obtenid these sewerall recompensis in consideration of thayr lossis."

"The one, Dawid Gordin, be composicion from Maister Yowng and Doctor Cesar, besidis xx lib. of money, thre score *li*. in cloyth."

"The uthir some parcellis of his awin gudis restored to him, suche as ar contened in this present tikat."

"Thay bothe haif pressed me to mowe your lordschip that thay may haif command to the customaris and serchearis, that it may passe wytheowt paying off any custome. To requeist for theym I can not refuse it, bot what your lordschip shall think ressonable to be done to thaym, I leave to your lordschips awin consideration."
Signed: A. Douglas.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 27. **420.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"The Lard of Lethington that hes remaned wyth me these few dayis is now ready to depart towardis France, and I am to send one of my awin called James Forman be post towardis Scotland, in

* Marginal note.

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whose cumpanye theyr gois ane marchant off Edinburgh called Fyndlasoir. I must pray your honour to gewe ordour that thay may haif sewerall commissionis for post horsis, the one towardis Scotland for the personis forsaydis, and the utheir for the lard of Lethington for him self and two servantis."

"I haif heard be the report of ane Scottisman that come from Galilia [*sic*] and that did speck wyth the Lord Maxwell that the preparationis in Spayn ar not to be in redines before the myddis of Februar, and no soonar to go to the sea then the begyning of Marche."

"If such newis as I haif ressavd from the Maister of Grey be trew, it will be expedient that som heid shuld be takin to the doingis in France, speciall ye anent thayr proseadingis wyth our cuntrey."

"If your honour dessiris to haif any intelligens in the Prince of Parma his campe, the Maister of Gray his servand, that hes remaned this long tym wyth me, may be imployed both theyr and in France for recovering of intelligens. The man is honest and ane protistant, of contrar ye religion to his maister that is lyk to be the occasion of his ruyne if he shall not be helped."

"He did loan furthe some sowmis of money to dyvers captainis and admirallis that ar presentlye in the sayde princis campe at the sayde Maister his command; he wold be contented to mak his erand thyr for recovery of his lossis if hir majeste mycht be moved to grant his sute, or ony uthir licens of no importance that mycht subweyn to his necessite; whearin to he was partly reduced throw my motion onto him which I intended to some gud end."

"As for my awin part I must confesse at this tyme my abillite is not suche as I may perform suche mater as I wold for her majesteis service." *Signed: A. Douglas.*

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Lansd. MSS.
54, fol. 92.

421. ACCOUNTS OF THE FUNERALS OF THE COUNTESS OF LENNOX AND MARY.

Westminster.	Peterborough.	Inprimus for breaking of the grounde	} xli.
W. 26s. 8d.	To him for ringinge		lxvjs. viijd.
W. nil.	To him for rishes and strawinges	} ls.	
W. nil.	For demalytions and spoyles	} lxvjs. viijd.	
W. nil.	To him for those that caried the corps to the grave in the night	} xxs.	
W. nil.	To him for perfumes		ij s. vjd.
W. 6 <i>li</i> . 13s. 4d.	To him in consyderacion of the hangings of brode bayes that was hanged in the church	} xx <i>li</i> .	

Elizabeth. 1587.	W.	nil.	To him for the use of the vestrye where the blackes were kept and served out	}	xs.
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Peterborough. Summa totallis xlii. xvs. xd.

Westminster.	Summa totallis with the prebendaryes, petty cannons, singing men, schollers, choristers, and all other inferior officers of Westminster, be- sydes the gownes and coates which were geven, is	}	xxxviijli. iijs. iiijd."
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[What follows is in another hand.]

"The blacks were 700 yards, amounting to above a C. marcks.
The composition of the master of the wardrobe was that we shuld
be satisfyed according to the best president of composition in
the churches of Westminster or Powlls.
The composition for Lady Lenox, being no prince, was xlvijli. od
money, which the master hath under the steward's hand.
We received xli. for breaking the ground, wherout payd for making
the grave, iiijli.
We received to paye strawing, ringers, demolitions, porters of the
bodey and such lyke, xli., which is no part of the composition,
we being only the paymasters therof for the wardrobe.
We received more laste term, xxli.
So that we have received only litherto for our blacks and ground
breaking but xxviijli., being xxli. les than the last president and
more than xlii. less than the blacks which were due unto us, and
which the church would have detayned but for the masters
promise."

2 pp. Indorsed.

422. DE COURCELLES TO [D'ESNEVAL ?]

My lord, I have received those letters which it pleased you to
write to me the 2nd of June last, whereby you tell me that owing
to some commandment which you have had from the King you have
been obliged to render your office of Scotland into the hands of his
majesty, who is honouring the Viscount Pinart therewith.

I thought to have yet the happiness to see you again here,
according to what you told me by your preceding letters, although
it seemed to me at your departure from this country that you had
no great will to return thither unless upon some great occasion and
office of consequence for the service of his said majesty, which
might merit your parts: where you should find the affairs of this
country in such a position as they were at your arrival. For I see
that far from bestowing the affection which they pretend towards
France, they turn to whichever side they see profit, and from which
they think to receive the more advantage.

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1587.

Nevertheless I have always entertained them with the fairest words possible to me.

I do not doubt that the Viscount coming hither can only be to treat of affairs of consequence, and means of recognizing those who are friendly to France, who are always expecting either some opportunity or some hope of being assisted in their designs. You know too well the nature of the country, by which I have found myself much hindered since your departure, even for the expenses which it has behoved me to incur for my maintenance, since you have left me here with seven persons and some horses, which cannot be maintained except at great cost and extravagance in a year such as this has been, the dearest that has ever been known there, as I gave you to understand by divers letters, and whereof both the necessity in which I found myself, and the hope which I had of being assisted by you who had left me there, and who knew most exactly the expense which I needed to incur and had incurred since my departure from France, without having received a single farthing, nor yet anything since except 300 crowns which you left me, to the value of 56 or 57 shillings apiece. For as to the 250 crowns and [10 shillings] for the horses, my brother-in-law has told me that he paid them to you at the [town of Edinburgh], so that I now find myself, having expended the little money which I had, in debt on all sides, very wearied, soon in great shame, without knowing or judging to what I may be bound; seeing that having brought me, my lord, I remit it to you to cause some means to be given me from his majesty to maintain myself here during your absence.

I do not see that you put me in any hope of receiving anything or being provided for, although Monsieur Brulart wrote to me by letter of the 28th of March last that as soon as you arrived in France he despatched to you an order for 500 crowns, for your reimbursement of the money which you had left with me, and that a fortnight after the date of those said letters he sent me an acquittance for a like sum, which was in all a thousand crowns.

Since then Monsieur Pinart, by a letter of the 13th of April, informed me that you had told him that you had provided for money to be sent to me, and that I should . . . yet at Rouen, awaiting your return. Which caused me to hope that I should not remain long without being helped.

But by the last which it has pleased you to write to me it seems to me to be past all hope on that side; which makes me entreat you most humbly, my lord, that if by my service I have been able to merit nothing from you, yet at least having regard to my good will, to be a means, if so please you, that I may be succoured in the necessity and need wherein I find myself, in order that in doing the affairs and service of his majesty I may not be so in arrear that I may be ruined, though honest and deserving, but may be acknowledged by him.

1½ pp. *French. Draft.*

423. DE COURCELLES TO [PINART].

. . . * He told me in the presence of Mr. [Croye?] that he had caused a writing to be made for this treaty of 300 crowns, which

* Imperfect.

Elizabeth.

1587.

would be paid to me at the treasury, and promised also that I should recover for entertainment from his majesty, concerning which he promised me many times at his departure to be a means with his majesty. And of the which entertainment he continued to assure me by many letters which he wrote to me, whereby he informed me at one time that he had spoken thereof to Monsieur Brulart, at another that it would be better to await your return, whereby he would have a better resort.

Nevertheless he was so honest a gentleman that he would not, if he had received assistance in his embassy during a long time, and the acquittance that Monsieur Brulart ordered for me within the month, make [traffic] not only of my labour but of my means and subsistence; if he had received assistance in the embassy for a long time,—and beyond the thousand crowns which he had ordained for me—without giving me means [and ability] to make you . . . But I may say that instead of writing he has forced me to wait.

For although according to that which you tell me [touching] Monsieur D'Esneval I cannot [pronounce now], if I had [not] offered and submitted myself to do you all service I should not have put myself at your mercy to receive all ill words: and if I had not so far engaged myself as to receive ill words from you without having offended you, I should be pleasing to you. I have prayed you by all the letters that I have written to cause something to be granted to me. For as to the 300 [crowns] which you caused to be ordained for me, there is no near appearance of them.

And if it be not agreeable to you—[since] he had not done it—that I may then be in a position to make some end, without [ruining] myself. If I continue in the ill treatment of this time, and if God does not give me means, he has given me a good heart to [suppose always] kindness and [nobility].

[*On other side of same sheet.*]

As to the ambassador, [there is one no longer if my rank is other than has been borne by him] . . . which seems to me not to bear that of servant of Monsieur D'Esneval, and in consequence not to be in his pay. As to the said Monsieur D'Esneval, I will beg you to inform me what I ought to do if I receive no hope.

I would have endeavoured to govern myself to your contentment, but having seen him leave Scotland and spoken to him according to that which his majesty commanded me, if I have seen any one to counsel and informed his said majesty what I have been able to learn, what fault is it? I have committed no fault unless by the commandment that I had about it by the letters of his said majesty.

With regard to having played the great man, if that is so, it has not been by the means which have been given me since I have been here. But if it is so, it has not been to the prejudice of the affairs of his majesty, who seems to me to have as yet been entirely pleased with what I have done during your absence from court.

As to being the servant of Monsieur D'Esneval, and in his pay, I have always willingly offered myself to do him for your sake very humble service, not having sought from him, however, to remain in these parts after his departure, nor to accompany him in his journey, wherewith I could have been well content.

And I do not yet know what pay he has given me as his servant,

Elizabeth.

1587. of whom he ought to have had more care than to leave me with hopes without effect until this day.

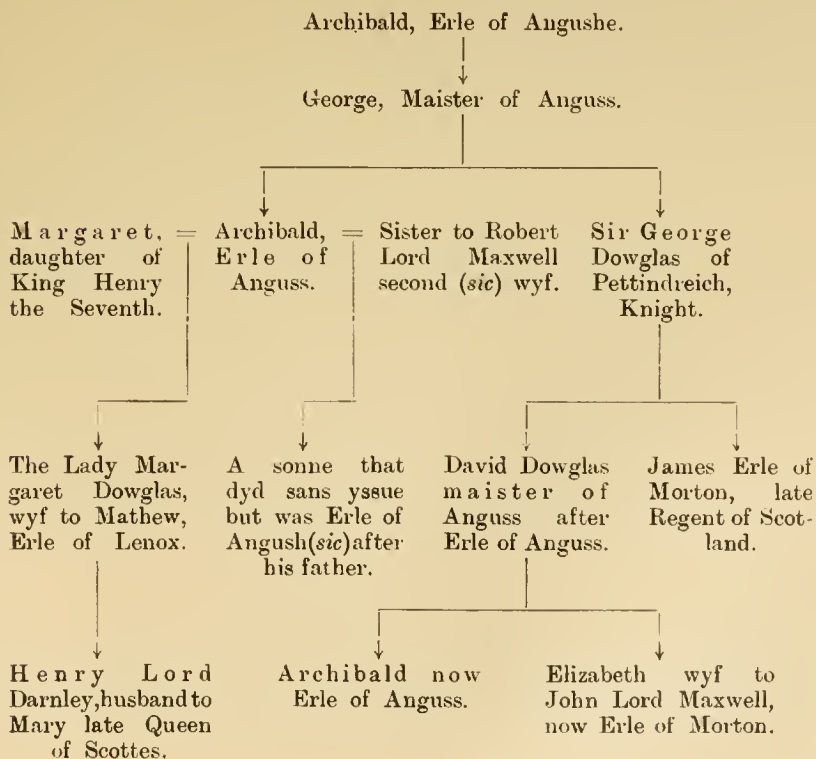
And I did not expect from what little service was in me, and without having offended or given occasion of discontent to any one, when of my liberal and free will in this manner I have done him the little service which has been in my power, such blame as I have received, not only in the presence of those of my nation, but of foreigners; without thinking that I had offended or given occasion for discontent to any one to speak so disadvantageously of me. For fear of being treated in such sort I will beg you to promise me, or to get his majesty to promise me, that I may withdraw, for this would be my will, and I should be greatly displeased that another should make a [faction] in such [fashion] against me.

Nevertheless, if so be that I be here in the pay of the said Siemr D'Esneval or otherwise, I have not been able to remain here without expense for the space of 14 months, wherein 300 [crowns] which he had left me at 45 [shillings] apiece could not last me long.

If I have run into expense it has been through having more regard to honesty, and having intended it for utility. And since it has pleased the King to employ me in his affairs, it seems to me that it should not be found wrong in me if I make request to have appointments reasonably.

2 pp. French. Draft.

424. PEDIGREE OF THE EARLDOM OF ANGUS.



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"The Lady Margaret Dowglas, after the death of her hault brother that was Erle of Anguss [*sic*], claymed that erldome as next heire therunto. But after that her sonne Henry, Lord Darneley, sought the mariage of the late Scottishe Queene, she, with her husband Mathew, Erle of Lenox, and her sonne Henry, did altogither release their right and title to that erldome unto David, the sonne of Sir George Dowglas of Pettendreich, thereby the rather to wyinne all that familie to them for the furtherance of their sonnes mariage."

"In Scotland erldomes do descend unto the females for default of yssue maele."

"For the prince to allow title of dignitie to the person that is enhabled therunto by an others resignation, is at the princes free choyse, and that is tearmed in the civill *Actus voluntarius*."

"For the prince to allow title of dignitie to the right heire in descent having the landes and inheritances is very requisite and needefull, els shuld he lose the service of such an estate, and that is tearmed in the civill *Actus necessarius*."

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. Copy. Indorsed by Burghley.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 240.

425. EARL OF ESSEX TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Sir, I had speech with her majesty yester-night after my departure from you, and I find that the success of my speech did much overcome my expectation. To repeat speeches of matters such as my acquaintance with you were fitter for such time when I shall have conference with you.

"I made her majestie see what in your health, in your fortune and in your reputation with the world you had suffred since the tyme that it was her pleasure to committ you."

"I toold her [how] many frendes and well-wishers the world did afford you, and how for the most part thorough out her realme her best subjectes did wish that she wold do herself the honor to repayre for you to restore to you that state which she had overthrowne."

"Your humble suffering of these harmes and reverende regarde towards her majestie must neede move a prince so noble and so just to do you right."

More I had said if my gift of speech had been comparable to my love. Her majesty showed a very feeling compassion for you. She gave many praises of you, especially that "you were a man of her owne choyse." She was so pleased with what she spoke and heard of you that I dare promise that your peace will be made to your own content and the desire of your friends, and that you shall come at least to the state you had. Which as I wish in my hart so will I employ my self to effect." "Tusday." Signed: R. Essex.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. Addressed. Indorsed.

[1587.] 426. STATEMENT BY MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 246.

"That my Lord Treasurer Burgley many yeares before his death did endeavour both secretly and openly by himself and his instruments to suppress and keepe downe Mr. Davison, may appeare:—"

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" 1. First, by his neglect to doo any thinge for him ever since his trouble, notwithstandinge hee had both the meanes, considering the place hee held in her majestes service and favour, and was otherwise bound therto in honnour and conscience, aswell in regard of the cause it self and speciall interest his lordship had therein, as the meritt of the gentleman both publicquely at the handes of her majesty and the state whom he had so long and so faythfully served, and privatly of himself, as some of his owne frends and servants can best witnesse."

" 2. By his continuall opposition to all meanes propounded, eyther for restitution to his place, or accesse to her majestes presence or . . . * of his estate."

" That hee hindred his restitution to his place may bee proved :—"

" 1. By his owne speeches discovering his mislyke therof to some of his private frendes."

" 2. By the testimony of others of her majestes Counsayle both dead and living, who out of their owne observation and knowledge have confessed asmuch both to others of their frendes and to Mr. Davison himself."

" 3. By the ordinary discourse and observation of his owne children, followers and servants confirming the same."

" 4. And especially by a dew examination of the causes inclyning him therunto, as namely "

" 1. His great desier and labour to make his son secretary, wherto Mr. Davison's restoring would in all reason have been a great impediment, considering the right hee had to the place both by her majestes letters pattents and his former possession, the tryall her majesty had made of his sufficiency and fidelity, and the like cullour his lordship should have had eyther to labour for his son, or hope of his prevayling, if the other had been restored, and her majestes service so supplied."

" 2. The hatred and mallice they bare unto him, because,

" (a) He seemed specially to stand in their light, and therefore bent their mayne battery against him."

" (b) They had done him many wrongs: for men doo commonly hate such as they have injured."

" (c) They feared hee might bee even with them of ever hee returned to his place, knowing that hee wanted neyther judgment nor courage. *Quem metuunt odeunt.*"

" 3. His unaptnes to serve their turnes, or subject himself to any of their humors or factions with prejudice to her majestes service and his owne honnour and conscience."

" 4. The hurte might rebound by his restoring to themselves; because her majesty should therby have had the lesse neede or use of their service in that kinde, and his lordship the lesse coulour or meanes eyther to worke in his son, or keepe the managing of those affayres duringe the meane tyme in his owne hands, a thing hee specially aymed at, both to hold her majesty in a continuall necessity of his service, tharby to fortify and enterteigne his creditte the better with her

* Decayed.

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majesty during his lyfe, and prevente the raking into his estate and actions after his death, as hath since sufficiently appeared by the successe."

"2. That hee hath crossed all meanes for his accesse to her majestes presence, may be proved,"

"(a) By the confession of divers of his owne frends and followers."

"(b) By the cause inducing him therto, namely least his accesse might bee a stepp to his full reconcyement, which they greatly feared and mislyked."

"And how hee hath otherwise hindred all meanes for repayre of his estate may appeare :—

"1. By his crossing all motions tending therunto, in taking exceptions, somtymes against the nature of the sute, somtymes to the vallew, otherwhyles to the tyme, and somtymes by a propounding some other thing that might seeme more agreable to her majesties humor or profit. to the end hee might—as the proverbe sayth—'Knock out one nayle with an other,' and so empoverish and hold him under."

"2. By the cause alleadged by his lordship to Mr. Davison himself, as namely thet feare hee had least her majesty should use his service : gathered out of his owne argument, affirming that if her majesty had repayred his estate shee would use his service : but all men know hee had no will or purpose shee should use his service, being a thing so contrary to his owne . . . * lykelyhood that hee would further the releefe of his estate, whatsoever countenance he made therof."

"3. And lastly by the testimony of many of her owne counsaylors and servants of which some are dead and some living, who out of their owne knowledge as ey and eare witnesses have confessed as much to Mr. Davison himself."

"So as by these circumstances it may evidently appeare, that it hath beene no respect of her majestes honnour or service, or just offence ministred by Mr. Davison, but their owne particuler ambition and mallice that hath made the Treasurer and his son to oppresse and kepe him downe so many yeeres together."

1½ pp. *Draft.*

C. P., vol. XXI. **427.** NARRATIVE OF SCOTTISH HISTORY. 1542–1545.

Après la mort de Jacques V. lui succéda Marie, âgée de sept jours, son unique fille et héritière, le trent de Decembre l'an 1542. étant lors au chasteau de Lythgno en la garde de la Royne sa mere, laquelle se trouva en grande peine a cause des divisions et partialités nouvellement survenues tant pour le gouvernement du royaume que pour la garde de la jeune Royne, qui fust occasion de différer le coronement jusque au moys d'Aoust ensuyvant par la sollicitation et pratiques des Protestans. Ce pendant le Comte d'Aran fust déclaré gouverneur du royaume et tuteur de la Royne selon les loix et coustume du pays, sa regence ayant esté publiée dans Edimbourg non obstant les oppositions formées par le Cardinal de St. Andre et quelques autres qui alleguoient le feu Roy dernier avoir

* Decayed.

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institué par son testament quatre administrateurs du royaume durant la minorité de sa fille.

Ainsi le Regent entrant en sa charge se saysit du Palais de St. Croix et du Chasteau de Faleland, et ayant en sa main le tresor de la corone il contraignist les tresoriers, controlleur et aultres officiers de rendre compte de leur charges, y continuant les uns et cassant les aultres. Par apres il fust pourveu tant a la garde qu'a la despence ordinaire de la maison de la Royne, sans que pres d'elle aucun y peust estre receu de la part de la Royne sa mere a sa devocion que le Sieur de Levingston. Sur ce la Roy d'Angleterre considerant l'occasion qui se presentoit de reunir les deux royaumes de l'Ile Bretagne par le mariage de son filz aagé de 5 ans et de la Royne d'Escosse se resolut de la mener a effect, et pour y commencer il communiqua particulièrement sa deliberation aux Contes de Cassils et Glencarne aux Seigneurs de Maxwel, Fleming et Gray detenuz prisonniers en son Royaume, leur remonstrant le bien qui pourroit reussir a toute l'Isle par ce mariage et les moyens qu'il conviendrait tenir pour la seure garde de leur Royne jusques a l'accomplissement d'icelluy. A quoy trouvant les dits seigneurs inclines d'eulx mesmes sur l'esperance de leur liberte, il les despescha en Escosse pour commencer cette negotiation et par mesme moyen envoya le Comte d'Angus et Georges Douglas vers le Regent avec lettres fort favorables pour le prier de retablir lesdits bannys en leur biens et dignites.

Le Regent ayant amplement entendu par les dessusdits l'intention du Roy d'Angleterre feist assembler les principaux de la noblesse au 3 des calends de Mars et publia le Parlement au moys ensuyvant pour prendre resolution sur les ouvertures que leur estoient faictes. Mais pour obvier que le Cardinal ne les traversast en cette affaire ilz le tennoient quelque temps prisonnier a Dalkeit, et depuis au Chasteau de St. Andre ou le Seigneur de Seton fut depputé pour le garten. Tous les pretres du diocese de St. Andre cessans pour ceste occasion de celebrer le divin service. Ce fut en ce temps que la religion Catholique commença a s'ebrauler en Escosse soubz la faveur du Regent, persuadé par eulx qui estoient nouvellement retournes d'Angleterre et par les predications d'un Jacobin tant contre l'autorité du Pape que plusieurs aultres ordonnances de l'Eglise, permettant a un clerc de lire la Bible traduite en Angloys et de choisir telles prieres que bon lui sembleroit. Le Roi d'Angleterre pour avancer sa deliberation et favoriser la resolution que s'en devoit faire au Parlement que se devoit tenir d'Escosse, y envoya en qualite d'Ambassadeur le S^r Radolph Sadler, chevalier, apres l'arrive duquel et a la poursuite desdits nouveaux restablyz le mariage dessusdit fut conclud et treves pour deux ans accordees entre les deux royaumes par le commun consentement des estatz, ce que le Roy d'Angleterre confirma depuis par ses lettres patentes en date du premier Aout delivrees aux ambassadeurs qui lui furent envoyez, c'est a scavoir, le Conte de Glencarne, Georges Douglas, Guillaume Hamilton et James Lermond chevaliers, au retour desquels toutes choses semblans a ceulx de cette faction bien asseure le Cardinal fut mis en liberte et le Conte d'Angus, le Conte de Glencarne et un gentil-homme nomme Thomas l'Evesque pour lui offrir de sa part son

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service requerir son ayde et le mariage d'entre lui et Madame Marguerite Douglas fille du Conte d'Angus et niepce dudict Seigneur Roy, lequel ayant particulierement entendu les doleances dudict Sieur de Lenox ses pretensions au gouvernement et tiltre de seconde personne en Escosse avec le mauvais traictement qu'il se plaignoit avoir receu du party Francoys pensa se pouvoir servir de l'occasion presente pour se vanger du Regent, maintenant contre lui le dict Seigneur de Lenox. Le dict mariage et support requis furent enfin accordez au dict Conte et le traicte faict a Cartel entre le Seigneur Warton* au nom du Roy d'Angleterre et l'Evesque de Cathenes frere dudict Comte et le Comte de Glencarne pour le dict Seigneur de Lenox.

Cependant la Royne et eulx de son conseil avancerent en ce qu'ilz pouvoient le party du Duc, le voyans entierement resolu a leur devotion et pour lui complaire davantage en un Parlement assemblé a Strivelingh ilz firent condamner le Comte de Lenox de crime de leyz majeste et trahison avec confiscation de tous ses heritages. D'autre part Jehan Steuwart, Seigneur d'Aubigny, frere du dict Conte de Lenox fust mis en prison en France par le commandement du Roy et prive de tous ses estatx tant de cappitaine de gardes que des cent hommes d'armes escossoys des ordonnaires de sa majeste tres chrestienne.

Je ne veulx oublier que le dict patriarche nunce de sa Saincteté fust fort honorablement receu par la Royne et tous les seigneurs du pays, mesmement par le Comte de Muray, oncle bastart de la jeune Royne, lequel en un banquet qu'il feist audict patriarche de Venize feist charger un grand buffet de toutes sortes de vases de cristal de Venize ou de Muray, qui est le lieu ou ilz se font, donnant charge a un de ses familiers qu'il feist renverser le dict buffet apres le premier service ce qu'estant advenu et toute la compagnie fort deplaisante de tel accident, soudainement le buffet fuit réchargé d'autres vases plus beaux et en plus grande quantite avec grande admiration du dict patriarche, lequel fut les jours ensuyvans servy de vaissells d'or et d'argent doré en tres grande quantite. Le dict Seigneur Comte estoit Seigneur de fort grande prudence sincerite et experience, ayant este employe en plusieurs importans ambassades avec grande reputation et heureux succes. Ala fin il mourut de la pierre en son Chateau de [blank].

Le dict Patriarche estoit depute legat *a latere* durant son sejour en Escosse et depuis il feist donner la mesme autorite au Cardinal de St. Andre. L'occasion pour laquelle expressement il avoit este envoye estoit pour divertir les Escossoys de l'alliance d'Angleterre et par ce moyen obvier au changement de l'ancienne religion lors abolie en Angleterre avec l'entiere ruine de tous les monasteres.

Sur le printemps le Roi d'Angleterre resolu d'obtenir par la force ce que par practiques il n'avoit peu gagner prepara jusques a deux cens vaisseaux bien equippez pour descendre en Escosse et y feist embarquer dix mil hommes a Tynmouth soubz le conduicte du Comte d'Herford et du Seigneur Lisle. L'armee arriva a Forth au dessoubz de Werdy Chateau un mille et demy au dessus de Leyth environ le 3 de May et print terre au havre neuf. Le Regent estant lors a Edinbourg ayant entendu l'arrivee

* Lord Wharton.

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de l'armee Angloise leur alla au devant avec quelques legeres forces, mais cognoissant qu'il n'estoit [*sic*] pour leur resister il se retira et envoya Mr. Adam Otterburie, Prevost d'Edinburgh, et deux des baillifs vers le Conte d'Herford pour luy demander la cause de sa venue et luy offrir de reparer toute injure si aucune il pretende avoir ete faicte au Roy son maistre l'admonestant leur proceder par voye de douceur plustost qu'aultrement.

Le dict Seigneur Conte respondoit n'avoir aucune charge d'entrer en quelconque appoinctement mais de vanger la faulsete et rupture des promesses faictes par aucuns au Roy son maistre mesmement pour la delivrance de la jeune Roïne, laquelle il demandoit lui estre mise en main pour la transporter en Angleterre qu'aultrement il estoit delibere de mettre a feu et a sang Edinbourg et toutes les aultres villes de l'Escosse, commandant pour ceste occasion aux habitans de se venir souzmettre a luy comme lieutenant general du Roy d'Angleterre pour en faire a son bon plaisir.

Le Prevost respondoit que les Escossoys estoient resolu d'endurer plustost toutes extremitez que de patir une si injuste condition, et la dessus se retira en la ville. Le Regent informe de la responce faicte par le dict Conte d'Herfort ayant faict fortifier le Chasteau d'Edinburgh se retira a Strivelingh. Les forces Angloyses demurerent toute la nuit au Leyth et le lendemain s'estans jointz a six mille hommes de cheval qui estoient venuz de Barwich souz le commandement de Sir Mylord William Euer et son filz, prindrent leur chemin a Lislebourg de coste de Camgellz ou ilz furent arrestes par quelques Escossoys, de sorte qu'apres quelques escarmouches ils se retirerent sur la nuit en leur camp aupres de Leyth. Le jour prochain ensuyvant avec toute l'armee marchant en bataille et toutes leur artillerie ils vindront a Edinbourg ou ilz entrerent sans aucune resistance et la ayans l'intention de planter leur dite artillerie pour assieger le Chasteau le cappitaine Stanhouse qui estoit dedans le chargea si rudement de coups de canon qu'il les contraingnoit de se retirer en laissant sur la place plus de sept ou huit cens des leurs, en revanche de quoy ilz meirent le feu dans les villes, pillans et saccageans tout le plat pays. En ce temps le Regent meist en liberte le Comte d'Angus, Mylord Maxwel, Mr. de Glencarne, Sir Georges Douglas et quelques aultres de leur faction, s'assemblant les plus grandes forces qu'il peut pour chasser les Angloys hors de leur royaume comme il feist, car vers le 14 de May les Angloys apres avoir brusle et pille tout ce qu'il avoit pen, separans leur forces se renoyerent une partye par mer emmenans avec eulx la Salemandre et la Unicornie, et l'autre par terre que ne fut sans avoir continuellement les Escossoys a la quen et avec diverses escarmouches Le Conte de Lenox avoit aussi une armee dans le pays a la devotion des ditz Angloys.

Les Escossois sauvages avoient ja monstré leur naturel inconstant et cruel. Car ceulx qui du regne de Jac. 5 estoient assubjectiz aux lois se comportoient paisiblement et payoient leur cens et arrentemens sans aucune contradiction, vivans souz un Roy grand justicier. Des aussi tot qu'ilz veirent le pays en combustion par les factions et partialitez des nobles ilz commencerent de mesme a courir par tout licentieusement saccageant et pillant tout ce qui

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se trouvoit a leur rencontre. A quoy pour obvier et refrener une telle audace, le Gouverneur deputa le Conte de Arguil en son pays et les adjacens, et le Conte de Huntley au quartier du North et aux illes d'Orcade et Shetland.

Le dict Comte ne faillist d'assembler soudainement ses forces et avec la meilleure dilligence qu'il peust aprocha de l'assemblee des [blank] jointez et confidenz ensemble, lesquels s'enfuyrent avant que voir l'ennemy et laisserent les maisons des Seigneurs de Grant et Lovet qu'ils avoient au paravant occupes. Le dict Seigneur Comte ne pent suyvre les fugans d'autant que le pays ou ilz s'estoient retirer est fort marescageux et montagneux les chemins y estans fort difficilles mesmement pour une armee. Le Seigneur Lovet tirant vers sa maison rencontra ses ennemys en teste et se trouverent si pres les uns des aultres que de tous les deux costez on fust contrainct de venir aux mains apres avoir combattu quelques temps avec l'arc et les flesches. Le combat dura jusques a la nuit et y fust faict tel carnage d'une part et d'autre qu'on ne peust scavoir a qui la victoire estoit demeurer jusques au lendemain matin en recongnoissant le nombre de ceulx qui avoient este tuez.

Le Roy de France pour ne perdre l'occasion qui le pressoit de pourvoir a la rupture de la ligne passee entre les Escossoys et Angloys depescha les Seigneurs de la Bresse Menager et Jacques Anon en Compagnie de Pierre Francoys Contareno, Patriarche de Venize, nunce en Escosse pour le Pape Paul 3, et envoya par eulx environ soixante mil escuz avec grandes munitions pour ayder ceulx de son party contre l'Angloys. Ilz arriverent en la bouche de la riviere de Cloyde avec cinq navires, mais le Comte de Lenox en ayant este advertys, enleva par ruse tout cet argent et le retira pardenent lui au Chasteau de Dumberton pour ayant satisfaire a la despense et entretenement des forces qu'il levoit de jour a aultre en intention d'aller attaquer en bref le Regent pour principal ennemy.

La principale occasion de malcontentement du dict Seigneur Conte de Lenox estoit pour ce que en un Parlement tenu a Edimbourgh en presence du nunce du Pape et des ambassadeurs de France le dict Conte d'Aran fust confirme Regent comme plus proche Prince du sang et que en ceste qualite la coronne lui fust baillee a porter au coronement. Ce que fust faict par le Cardinal, parent du dict Conte d'Aran, lequel gouvernoit entierement toutes les affaires en ce temps la de sorte que le dicte Conte de Lenox se voyant frustre de l'esperance dont on l'avoit repeu jusques alors, escripoit au Roy de France pour lui faire entendre la juste occasion qu'il avoit de se malcontenter et lui declarer l'intention en laquelle il estoit d'abandonner son service comme il feist avant qu'il avoit eu reponce, et arriva avec toutes ses forces en Lyth, distant d'un mil ou environ d'Edimbourgh ou estoit lors le dict Regent.

Mais accorde intervieu entre eulx et furent delivrez pour ostages Georges Douglas pour son frere, le Conte d'Angus, pour le Conte de Glencarne son pere son filz aisne et l'Abbe de Cassaghole pour son frere le Conte de Cassils, qui demeurerent en la garde a eulx appointee par le dict Regent. Le Comte de Lenox vint trouver le Regent a l'Islebourgh, et apres plusieurs promesses conferences par serment d'une part et d'autre demeurerent la pres de six jours.

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Mais tost apres le dict Conte de Lenox allant de compagnie avec le dict Regent a Lythguo se desroba secrettement et se retira a Glasguo ou il se fortiffia et y ayant laissé le Conte de Glencarne pour commander en l'armee la assemblee il s'en alla a Dumbertayne pour amasser de plus grandes forces.

Le Regent ayant eu les nouvelles du departement et deportemens dudict Conte de Lenox assembla les plus grandes forces qu'il peust et accompagné de plusieurs de la noblesse speciallement de Mylord Boyd duquel il se servoit en ses plus secretz conseilz et affaires tira droict a Glasguo a un mil pres il trouva en teste ses ennemys lesquels il rompist et meist en fuyte demeurans sur le champ du party dudict Conte de Lenox le filz dudict Seigneur de Glencarne et le Seigneur de Monipeny Cappitaine de gens de pied avec plusieurs aultres non signalez.

Le Regent, avec peu de perte des siens entra dedans la ville de Glasgo ou il se comporta fort doucement a l'endroit des cytoyens, se contentant de punir les principaux seditieux et rebelles par la perte et confiscation de leurs biens.

Cest accident estonna merveilleusement le Conte de Lenox et ce neantmoins ayant receu au Chasteau de Dumbertayne le Conte de Glencarne et quelques aultres qui s'estoient sauvez de la bataille, par leur persuasion il fortiffia de nouveau le Chasteau et le clocher de Glasgo lesquels furent pen apres assiegez par le Regent et en fin a lui renduz par ceulx qui estoient dedans, desquels il feist pendre dixhinet des principaux pour servir d'exemple a tous aultres.

Le Comte de Lenox se voyant fort bas de ses affaires depescha le Conte d'Angus et Mylord Maxwel vers le Regent pour traiter d'accord avecques luy, mais comme ils estoient en conseil avec ledict Regent au convent monastere [*sic*] des Cordelliers ils furent secrettement emmenez au Chasteau d'Hammilton et depuis le Conte d'Angus a Blaknes on ilz furent gardes fort longuement en tresgrand hazard de leur vie.

Le dict Comte de Lenox ayant entendu l'emprisonnement de ses envoyez, et considerant le peu d'apparence qu'il y avoit d'entrer en seure pacification selon le chemin qu'il avoit commance a tenir, il depescha vers le Roy d'Angleterre Georges Douglas Mylord Glames heretier de Jacques Hammilton.

11 pp. *In Nau's hand. Indorsed by Thomas Phelippes:*
 "Storve of Scotland by Nau."

Add. MSS.
 23,241, fol. 11.

428. JAMES VI. TO [THE LORD CHANCELLOR].

"I was at a lang conference with yone erl of ouris efter youre depairting yistrein. Surelie he hes delt verie plainlie with me, and ye sall find that he sall recompence yone bairnlie conceatis with obedient deidis."

"Patrike Murraie is presentlie to be at you, and thairfore be freindlie plaine with him, and in the mene tyme kepe all oure folkis on starting ouir meckill at yone man quhill ye heir mair of me. Fair ueill." *Signed: James R.*

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Holograph.*

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Cott. Calig.,
C. IX.,
fol. 624.429. CONFESSION OF THOMAS HARISONE CONCERNING THE
CONSPIRACY AGAINST MARY.

"The voluntarie confessione of Thomas Harisone, secretarie—as he said—to Sir Francis Walsinghame, and spokin in the glorie of his awin perfectione at Quhawlis befor us and utheris sundrie tymes, he being then of perfect onderstanding and no way distemperat."

"That the plot and conspiracie by Marie, Qwein mother of Scotland, was drawin, plotted and done by Sir Francis Walsinghame and one Phillips and himself, secretarieis to the said Sir Francis, and one Barnard Mawde, and that nather the Qwein mother nor the gentlemen convicted thairof knew ony moir thairin then we did to quhom he spoke thus."

"And that the letteris from the Qwein mother to the Bischop of Glasgow, the Duik of Gwyse and her secretaries, and all the anseris thairof wer writtin by thame, the Qwein nor hir secretarieis not knowing thairof nor at thair tryall not able to deny the samin—'God forgive my saull for it,' said he."

"And that the letteris sent amongst the gentlemen from one to ane other, and the answeris thairof for thair meiting at [] chappell, quher thay mett and wer first discoverit and takin, the gentlemen askin one another 'Quhairfor did yow wrytt for me?' 'And yow for me?' thay none of thame knowing any purposse thairof till thay wer takin, were writtin by thame. And lykwyss all uther letteris of that mater and chairge by theis gentlemen twitching the Qwein mother in that practeis werre done by thame and thair maister, quho, said he, tho thay denyit the mater thairof as onknowin to thame, zit nott able to disprove thair handes and writting deid for the samin, and zit wer as innocent thairof as we then present, to quhom he spoke it, he knocking on his breast and saying 'God forgive my saull for it,' and that nothing trubled him and greivit his conscience moir then that guiltles bluid did."

"And farder he said that he himself did subscryve Qwein Elizabethes name to the warrand to behead the Quein mother of Scotland, quhois hand he had it weill als perfect as hirsell, and hathe done it oftin for his maister, Quein Elizabeth not knowing thairof nor of the deathe of the Quein mother no more than we did, bot was muche offendid quhen scho hard thairof. For, said he, being sudenlie and speidilie followed and furthered by his maister, thair was no tyme for any noteis thairin, nather to the one Quein nor the uther. 'For my maister,' said he, 'knew weill that if Quein Elizabeth had knowin thairof scho had nott bein beheidit.'"

"He also confessit that the plott by Parrye was wrocht by thame as this uther of the Quein mother was, and we thairupon admiring thair straing practeis and seaming to commend thair grit perfectione in thois workes and exploittes, 'No,' said he, 'thois wer easie to do and sone effaced, but the Duik of Norfolk his conspiracy,' said he, 'was ane gallant and fynelie wrocht plott and weill handlit.'"

"Farder he said that Phillips could als directlie wryt any man's hand if he had ones sein it as the man himself that writ it, and

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[1587.] that the said Harisone for any subscriptione had handit weill als perfectlie or any man himself. And thairupon challenging all the companie ther present, about sex or sevin in number, for ane dusson of aille, none durst ventere of him, all wer so effeared of him bot one, by quhom he gave good testimonie of his skill."

"And also by this meanis and thair maister haiving the privie signettis perfectlie of all the staitis in Cristindome, thay could als perfectlie act and work quhat thai wolde with any Prince in Cristindome as at home. For instance quhairof he tauld of ane licence he had maid for himself onder the hand and privie seall of the Dnik of Florence to pass frielie in his contreyis. Zit falling into the inquisitione or sum uther grit truble onder the Dnik with greit dainger and fear to himself, as he said, by that meanis passed thorowith the samin, the Duke and his secretarieis not able to disprove it, tho thay usit grit diligence by all tryall thairin, protesting, said he, thai never rememberit my name nor sie any suche man as my selfe 'quhile I was suir,' said he, 'thay never did. Befoir that tyme I vas takin and brocht befoir thame and so forced to stand upon that licence for my delyverance thairin, quho was frieid with grit joy to myself, haiving ane litle tyme limited to depairt and travell throuh his contrey.'"

"Then I came into Ingland and presented at my coming myself to the Lord Buckhirst, then Lord Thesaurer, schewing him my hard and neir eskaipe out of Florence, and the maner thairrof, quho answering 'Harisone hes thow nott yit left thatt?' he saying 'No, my lord, I am als good at it as ever I was, and if yow will mak tryall thairrof zow sall sie it!' Quhairupon the Lord Thesaurer calling for ink and paiper writ his name to try him, 'quhiche,' said he, 'I imitatted so richt that he knew nott his awin hand, quhairupon the Lord Thesaurer being greivit I was banished and sworne upon deathe nott to cum within threttie mylles of London, by quhich meanis I was forced to teache in the contrey as ane scrivinar for my living,' lamenting he had not takin hold befoir in his better tyme, as Phillips had done, to leive in better estait, nor then provydit to have avoidit that baisenes he now was leivit in, zit saying he was content thairwithe becaus it was Godis judgment of him for his former fault, God forgive his saull for it." *Signed:* Chr. Maire. Robert Mayre.

3 pp. *In a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "Harrisone's confession that served Secr. Walsingham."

1587-8. 430. [] TO WALSHINGHAM.

Jan. 1.

Upon the first instant there is a great day of law to be holden here at Edinburgh between Earl Huntly and Earl Marshall. A friend of Huntly has slain a near kinsman of Earl Marshall, and he follows Huntly as causer of the same.

There has been a great convention in the north by the lords there. Their meeting was at a gentleman's house in the Brae of Mar, and sundry lords of this side had their minds with them by their secret servants, such as my Lords Claud and Glencairn and divers others, and, as I am credibly informed, Lord Hamilton's mind was there too, for that he and his brother is well agreed.

Elizabeth.
1587-8.

Lord Hamilton does not favour Angus, and [is] all for Maxwell's cause. He is out with his brother-in-law, the Master of Glamis, and judge ye if he will favour his sister's son, Huntly, or no.

Huntly by proclamation openly is charged to come to this day of law with a few company, but I am sure he will bring such a company as will bring him safe away however the matter will go. They think to put him in ward if he comes, but it will misgive, for he, Montrose and Crawford were written for afore, but they come not because the King wrote they should come but with a few company.

The Chancellor and Justice Clark rules all still as they please, but sudden will be their fall in my opinion, for they run a course even now will help them to it. For they are sending with Clark's uncle men of war to Orkney to take up the rents and duties of the same, because the Chancellor and Clark took the same in fee at the last parliament out over Lord Orkney's head that has it. And although there be none angry yet with it but Bothwell, it will breed a farther matter if they prevail, for the King is very well minded they should have the same.

The King was desired by a gentleman called the Laird of Enderleeth to come to his house the three days in Christmas, and his majesty rode down of Saturday at night, because Christmas even was the Sabbath day, and came to the gentleman's parish church, called St. Cuthbert's, hard without the castle of Edinburgh, of Sunday to the sermon, where there preached a minister, called Mr. Robert Punte, who did reprove the gentleman in open audience that he should desire the King in this idolatrous day to come to his house; and did reprove the King also that he would gang to his house then, being but superstitions "to gar the people fallo the same."

And his majesty, when the sermon was done, very coldly said to the minister, "I am very sory that ye reprovid this jentill man for my coming to his howse." "Ye tak the matter wrang to judg me eyther to favour any pastrie [*sic*] or raise superstecion. I graunte it is another the papiste's made, to eete flesh in Christmas and fisch in Lent. And ye yourselves thatt ar menesteres gart me mak a nack of Parliament that nea man showld eate flesh in Lent, and so ye allow ea aekt of the papistes; and I think it is no falt to eat flesh in Christmas mare nor fisch in Lent."

And so his majesty came away from there to the Abbey, of Wednesday, before 12 of the clock, because he would not keep the holy days out.

Although his majesty be not angry with this great reproof there is many that are good Protestants that is very angry with the ministry that they should meddle with his majesty with so sharp reproofs in open audience, he being so well inclined to religion as any prince in Europe, both in religion and in the favour of your country, if you would use him well. For if ever he is towards religion otherwise than well it will be the minister's sharp threatening will be the cause of it.

The King upon Thursday last rode over the water to Burley, and but half a score with him—and although in my opinion there was no cause—yet they sent the Master of Glamis and Justice Clark after him for fear of the other lords. But if he were not better

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1587-8. inclined to them and religion than the other lords, it is not sending after him would serve the turn. *Signed with a symbol.*

$2\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* "From a secreate advertiser out of Scotland."

Jan. 1. 431. [] TO WALSINGHAM.

I had commission from the ambassador, Mr. Archibald Douglas, to buy two horses to give the King, which I bought, and could not get away without Lord Hunsdon's letter. Although Mr. Archibald shewed unto me that he would be at home so soon as I, yet I thought good to speak to the King myself to see if he would take the horse or not before I sought Hunsdon's letter. I had some letters from Mr. Archibald to give the King, which he would not receive, neither the letters nor horses, for when I shewed his majesty that he had bidden buy the horse good, and that he would come home himself, "he gav a smylyng lawghter and marveld whatt his heam commyng should meen."

Further, there is a servant of my lord of Arran, called Gawen Stewart, that did repair to the court divers times and had speech of the King, and he is commanded to Edinburgh castle—what the matter means I cannot shew you. I hear Colonel Stewart is very busy and in good credit with the Prince of Parma, and if his credit will stretch he will bring matters to pass according to the lords of the north's desire.

As to Lord Maxwell and the Master of Gray I refer that to your own discretion. Lord Johnston has married Lord Harris' sister, which will cut off all the feuds between the Maxwells and him.

There is a great bruit of Maxwell coming shortly home, and I am credibly informed he has been at Rome and went to it from Lisbon. *Signed with a symbol.*

1 p. *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* "From a secreate advertiser out of Scotland."

[Jan. 17.] 432. HUNSDON TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 246.

. . . letter ready to be . . . knowledge of the cause . . . should have come hither which was upon . . . Ladiland, servant to Colonel Stewart, who came through this town with your passport, howsoever, it came to pass; and I am certainly given to understand that that meeting will be put off with fair speeches and promises, and such like delay as this was, until the King hear again from Colonel Stewart or he come himself, who is looked for very shortly.

Thus her majesty may see, and all you may find what to trust to at this King's hands, for I dare assure her majesty that this King means to revenge the death of his mother if ever he be able, and that what fair speeches or promises soever are made of him, her majesty shall find it but plain dissimulation. And therefore, being past hope of any good meaning in him, I dare not as a councillor but give her majesty advice to trust no longer to their fair speeches, but to make her Borders presently strong, able to make their borderers leave their habitations as they did before Christmas,

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when they were afraid that I would have made some great revenge with this small company that her majesty has here, which made the King send presently to me to let me understand how greatly it was against his will, and that he would presently send a nobleman to me, to what place and what day I would appoint, to satisfy me in all things, as I have written heretofore at large. But it is all but dissimulation, and that we shall find if we trust to them.

To "requit" such occurrences as it has pleased you to send me from beyond seas, as they come to you, I have thought good to let you understand that there are sundry ships arrived here out of France, some from "Burduye" and some from Rochelle and other places of France, which assert for certain that the Duke of Guise has received a great overthrow, with the loss of 10,000 or 12,000 men, and as it is said by some in France, the Duke himself slain. Some others say hurt, but not slain, and that the word was there that the King of Navarre should be proclaimed the second person. They assert that in this conflict the Prince of Condé was unhorsed, and one Symerstone, a Scottish man, who is there with the laird of . . . horsed him again. . . . 1587. *Signed*: Your assured friend, Hunsdon.

1½ p. *No address.*

Jan. 18. **433.** COMMISSION TO DEAL IN BORDER CAUSES.

"Jhames by the grace of God Kynge of Scottis, To all and sundrie whome that effeiris, whaies knowledg thir our letters sall to cam, greting. Wit yee that we for the better preservacion of the amitie betwix our realme and leigis and the realme and leigis of England, composing of all controversies and differences betwixt the marches, and establishing of a perfecte order and stedfast quietnes betwixt thaim in tyme coming, to the terror of theeves and malefactors, and comfort of the gude and peaciablie subjectis of baith the realmes, to have nominate, maid, estatute and ordanit, like as by the tenor heereof nominatis, makis, estatutis and ordanis our trustie and wellbelovittis Johnne Carmycaell of the Ek [*sic*], and of the masteris of our stabule, Alexander Home of Hutton Hall, warden deputie of our Est March for-aneant England, and M^r Georg Young, Arche Deane of Saint Andrewis, our secretarie deputie, our speciall commissioners, to the effecte under written:— Giveand, grantand and committand to thame conjointlie our full power, speciall command, expres bidding and charg for us and in our name and behalle to meete and convene with whatsoever commissioneris auctorisitt with like power for the part of England, at sic convenient dayes and places as shall be thought expedient, and with thame to treat, conferre, deliberat, resolve and conclude upon the best and maist convenient meanes, for the removing of whatsoever controversies, debaittis, querrelles, grevis and jlestis for blude, fier or geir intervenit at any tyme betwixt the marches, and resting unredressit sen the last meeting of commissioners to the day and daite heereof. And therupon, and upon what somever order sall be thought convenient for the establishing of better quietnes betwix thaim in tyme coming, to appoynte, contracte, indent, conclude, subscribe and interchange seallis, and generallie all other

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things to doe, use and exerce, that to the execucion of the premisses may be thought necessarie, although the same requyre mare speciall commission then heere is expressit, ferme and stable hald, and for to hald all and whatsoever thing our saydis commissioneris conjunctlie leades to be done therin.

“Gevin under our great seale, and subscribed with our hand at Halwenhowes [*sic*] the xviiiijth day of Januarii, and of our reigne the twentie and ten. 1587.”

“This we affirme to be the just and autentique copie of his majestes commission, wherwith we are auctorizit in this treatie. Carmycall. Alex. Home of Hutton Hall. Georg Younge.”

1 p. Copy. Indorsed.

Jan. 23. 434. WALSINGHAM TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 197.

. . . * some . . . and therefore . . . repair to the court according as directed.

This bearer can show your lordship that the state of my body may not well endure travel, otherwise I would not have failed to give attendance, though without great hope to do any good to the cause of Scotland, which groweth ever more incurable and subject to unnecessary jealousies.

“If Mr. Archibald Douglas had been dispatched hence unto the King his master with some reasonable contentment, there might by his travayle and dexteritie have been a countermeyne made to sondrie daungerous practises that I fear nowe will hardly be stayed.”

Seeing Carmichael, who hath acquainted the King his master with her majesty's answer to the request propounded by Mr. Archibald, pretendeth by his letter to the Lord Chamberlain to have charge to deliver to his lordship some matter of contentment, it were not amiss to stay farther resolution touching that realm until her majesty be informed from my Lord Chamberlain what that matter of contentment is.

“Yt is likely that it wilbe plausible howsoever the King standeth affected, for that he is not yet in state to enter into anie publicque action against her majestie. B[ut] yf it might have pleased her majestie to have used Mr. Archibalds service when he offered the same, he was not then without hoape to have drawn the said King to have embarqued himselfe in soñe publicque action against . . . for lack of timely prevention . . . altogether upon the Spanish peace, which . . . may prove as profitable hereafter as it seemeth now to be plausible. From the Savoy. Signed: Fra: Walsyngham.

Postscript in Walsingham's hand: “I am forced thorowghe a defluctyon into one of my eyes to use the helpe of an others hand.”

1½ pp. No flyleaf or address.

[Jan.] 435. [] TO WALSINGHAM.

“I had wrettin to you afor had nocht bene that I knew that Robertt Carvell was away and that my lord wold nocht suffer na leter to pass anentt the present estait of this cuntry. Zour honour sall

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wnderstand that the Erle of Huntlie and the lordes of his factioun hes maid ane band amanges thame, and hes gadderit ther forces together, twa or thre sundrye tymes, and was cuming foreward, mynding to haif put thir lordes away that hes presentle the King."

"Bot partle be the reveling of the King, and partle be the town of Edinburgh, that wos chargit to be in armes, thai stayit and come na furer nor Dunfermeling, becaus ther purpos misgaif thame."

"Bot now sensyne at the Kinges desyer the Erle of Huntlie is cumit in quyatt, and my Lord Hereis with him, and remanes in the Abey. The King desyritt the Erle of Huntlie to agre with the Secretar, quhaes anser was agane that his majesties word was ane law to him, bot he wald never traist samekill unto him heirefter as he did befor, and swa thai ar agreit and every ane of thame dynitt and souppitt with utheres."

"Thair hes bene ane grett assemble of the hail ministeris of this cuntre in Edinburch within this xv dayes anent the convention of the kirk, and the banesment of the gesevittes. The King has agreit to all the acttes, and hes promesit that thay salbe everie ane putt to executioun, and quhair ther is na stependis to sustene the ministeris for preching of the word presentle, he sall gif it outt of his awin patrimonie quhill thai be utherwayes provydit."

"And anent the banischment of the gesevittis, it was ordanit be oppin proclamition that thai sould mak out of the cuntre in the first schippin under the pane of deid without favour, in cace thai war aprehendit heirefter, or zit returnis into the cuntre agane, without his majestes leychence."

"And in speciall M^r James Gordoron, quha was presentle in the abey, was ordanit to be delyveritt to the town of Edinburgh to be keipit be thame till he wos shipit and putt avey. Bot sen the Erle of Huntlie cuming ther is lytill thing put to executioun, the hail thing that sould sustene the kirkes be north Aberdene the Erle of Huntlie hes gettin the gift therof to him self, quhilk wilbe neir xx thousand merkis be zeir."

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 12. 436. MEETING OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE LEAGUE AT
BERWICK.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 127.

. . . ved in the special . . . being . . . most desirous that the effect thereof . . . speedily appears on both the Borders, to the discouragement of thieves and malefactors and comfort of the good and peaceable inhabitants of both the realms, have therefore "statuted" and concluded that the said filings shall take immediate effect by swearing and delivery on every March at such convenient days and places as they have here absolutely set down. "They are to say," such bills as by the said commissioners are filed betwixt the two East Marches, to be sworn upon Saturday next the 24th instant at their usual places of meeting, and delivery accordingly to be made at the same place, the 15th day of March next.

Such bills as by the said commissioners are filed betwixt the East March of England and the Middle March of Scotland to be sworn the 26th and 27th days of the said month, beginning the first day at

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Ryden and the next at Durham, their usual places in like manner. And for delivery thereof, because the lots drawn thereupon by the commissioners have given the first to Scotland, and that by good deliberation and consent it is thought meetest that in such cases where there are numbers of offenders to be delivered by any of the wardens to their opposites, the warden upon whom the first delivery falls by lot shall at the day appointed bring with him to the appointed place within the appointed March so many as he can have in readiness to be delivered, and there deliver them to "her" opposite officer, who shall be bound to do the like to him at the next day of meeting, therefore it is accordingly indented and agreed that the delivery of the said foul bills betwixt the East March of England and Middle March of Scotland, shall be upon the 18th and 19th days of March next, the first day at Ryden, where the Lord Hunsdon or his deputy shall bring so many as he may have in readiness to deliver, . . . shall be sworn upon . . . next at Kirk Yeatham and Kirk Newton, beginning the first day at the Scottish bills in Kirk Yeatham, and the next day with the English at Kirk Newton in the delivery thereof, because the lot drawn thereupon by the commissioners has given the choice to England. Therefore the Lord of Dessorth or his deputy, the 25th day of March next, shall deliver at Kirk Newton so many of his offenders as he can have in readiness, and shall receive the like by Lord Hunsdon or his deputy at Kirk Yeatham upon the 26th day thereafter, and so continue day by day till their said bills on either side be put to point.

Betwixt the Middle March of England and Ledisdale the swearing to begin at the Scots' bills the first day of April, in Jedburgh, in the presence of the Earl Bothwell and the Lord Hunsdon and their deputies; and the like with the English bills in Harbotell upon the 3rd thereafter, in the delivery thereof, the lot giving the opposition to Scotland.

The deputy of the Middle March on the 11th thereafter shall bring to Jedburgh and there deliver to her opposite, so many of the offenders' bills as he can have in readiness, and shall receive the like at Harbotell on the 13th day thereafter, betwixt the West March of England and Ledisdale, the swearing to be 15th of April at Kershopefoot [Krissoppe fot], and there delivery to be made the 20th day thereafter beginning by the Cavells. And for the two West Marches, the swearing shall begin at Scotts' bills in Drombrur [?] the 25th of April and shall be followed with the English bills at Carlisle the 27th thereafter. Wherefore delivery shall begin the 2nd day of May next at one of the same places, leaving the choice to Cavells.

John Foster, John Selby, Richard Lowther.

Carmichael, Alexander Hume of Hewtonehall, George Yonge.

2 pp. Copy.

Feb. 15. 437. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 331.

I received your letters the 14th instant, and have written to the Lord Treasurer as by the *verbatim* copy inclosed. This is the first I received from you since the 22nd of December.

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1587-8.

I understand from my serv[ant] that I want an acquittance from the exchequer of six thousand odd pounds, and a book of certain moneys disbursed for Mistress Peyrepoynt that came to 2100*l.* or 2200*l.* This acquittance and account were in an iron chest in my house : Yonge and Barker have done their pleasure with the same chest, and taken the keys away.

I cannot be quiet till I hear better news thereof ; I beseech you to help me, that Barker and Yonge may be charged to let me have them again, else I will never see my country again, for they seek my ruin. I have appointed my servant Montgomery to wait upon you to solicit my cause. Edinburgh. *Signed*: T. Fowler.

1 p. *Holograph.* No flyleaf or address.

Feb. 16. **438.** ROBERT CARVELL TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 332.

Those men of whom you enquired were in Edinburgh the 5th instant, and Mr. Asheby dealt with the King about them. Thereupon he sent to the provost to make search for two men who came in with Thomas Tirye ; but the provost and his officer could not find them : “ and yet is manifestly knowne that the same night they were lodged in Mr. Robert Criton his chamber in Edenbr[oughe] and the next daye conveyed them selves aw[ay] in to the northe, and there do staye for shipp.” I was promised to have been brought to the sight of them, and have not been.

Stoker, Bellamy and Heathe are all in or near Edinburgh ; it is thought they be rather sent thither than escaped out of prison. If it be your pleasure to have them taken, I am promised for 100*l.* to have some of them delivered in Berwick, if the practisers of it may have 10*l.* or 20 marks in hand, and the rest upon performance.

There is a gathering in Edinburgh between Earls Huntly and Bothwell about the captainship of the guard. Bothwell thinks to get it, and hath undertaken the safeguard of the Chancellor, and lodged himself in the court near unto him. “ And it is thought he had bene slayne er th[is] if he had not bene.” Berwick.

1½ pp. *Holograph.* No flyleaf or address.

Feb. 16. **439.** SECUNDUS [JOHN COLVILLE] TO [WALSINGHAM].

The information made by Mr. Walkar from me concerning B. is true, and I send herewith his own letter, with one from C. which shall content honest men there. That from C. must be returned to me, for so it was committed to me.

If B. be entertained, he will effectuate great things. “ For as to the nobles which were banished, excepte they be unthankfull, they must kepe a faithfull deutie unto the state.”

B. shall cause C., with seven other earls that never were yours, to give themselves to you for entertainment of religion and your defence, B. engaging his credit for their fidelity.

It is necessary to draw such as have been opposed to you to be your friends, as I shall answer to God, to Mr. Secretary and to yourself. “ If I knewe that this societie should beare covin to the beinifit of religion and of the realme I should never travell therein.”

The occasion of the troubles partly I showed to Mr. Walkar ; the bearer can inform you amply thereof.

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1587-8.

There is a gentleman in the French court, who was three years secretary to the bishop of Glasgow, entered some familiarity with me. If you think good I will entertain friendship with him. He says that the bishop of Dumblane has commission from the King of Spain to signify to this King his preparation against you, and know if he will take part with him for the revenge of his mother's death; if not, he will esteem him his enemy, and guilty of her death. When the answer shall be given I shall learn part, if you think good I deal with him.

You know the evil that some above bear unto me; I beseech you consider it, and let the bearer be returned with all haste.

"Let me knowe yf ther be so muche place reserved for us as that we be not condemned there before we be herde, or yf they have intention to assist our evell luckes."

1 p. Copy. Indorsed.

Feb. 22. 440. MATTERS PROPOSED BY ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS FOR
THE LEAGUE AT BERWICK.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 128.

Whereas sundry foreign invasions have of late been made upon the Borders, greatly violating the league of amity between the princes and realms: secondly, whereas above 100 men have been detestably murdered, to the dishonour of the religion mutually professed, and making both realms guilty of execrable bloodshed against God: thirdly, whereas spoils and thefts made upon true men, and resting in the hands of thieves since the last treaty and during the ten years last, amount to about 60,000*l.*, to the overthrow of justice and exceeding danger to both the realms by example: whereas also there accompanies these enormities instantly mortal hatred between the wardens of both nations, many deadly feuds and sundry thousands of complaints and quarrels between the subjects on both sides, for redressing of all which enormities, upon grievous complaints made to both the Princes, it has pleased them both out of their honourable disposition to justice to concur in one form of large commissions given to us, eight or six of us: be it therefore known hereby to the opposite commissioners and all men that we the commissioners of her majesty, as well to testify her highness' gracious intention to justice, as also for the religious discharge of our own duties, have here set down under our hands the substance and manner of our desired proceeding to the execution of our said commissions, "eftsoones" requiring your lordships the commissioners for Scotland to set down in writing particularly to every article ensuing your assent or dissent directly, and either to concur with us in speedy execution or to deliver us under your hands your reasons moving us to the contrary.

We have commandment and authority by our commissions to hear and determine invasions, murders, spoils, thefts and all other injuries done by either nation to others in Border causes. We are therefore ready severally, and in order to try and deliver for every invasion the principal party . . . since the last treaty, 1587, until the ending of this commission, we desire the opposites' concurrence in granting the like to us.

Elizabeth.

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Secondly, we are not only in special to hear and conclude the crimes expressed, but also in general we are by the said commissions made messengers and agents in her majesty's name by her highness' further instructions or commandments to require satisfaction of any offence given unto her contrary to the express words of the league and treaties standing still in force, or that *ex æquo et bono* may be necessarily inferred by just consequence and equity. So we are likewise ready to give our opposites satisfaction for these crimes above mentioned or any other violation of the league in Border causes, though not expressly mentioned in our commission, to reform or redress according to the best equity of the said treaties either custom or fact which shall be prejudicial to the straight course of justice and the mutual amity, desiring hereunto their answer in writing and concurrency in action.

Thirdly, we are commanded and authorised generally to do anything in her majesty's name for the removing of all injuries, *etc.*, and conservation of the friendship, *etc.*, with all circumstances appertaining thereunto. We are therefore ready to give satisfaction to the commissioners of Scotland for all and every of their bills which they shall prove by any just way or mean, but only by avowry, assize and honour of the warden alone, who is bound to "speire and fyle" and deliver upon his honour. But also we will receive English or Scottish proof as may justly lead our consciences to join with . . ., accordingly we desire of the opposites acknowledgment in writing, and concurrence in action, for the like, since we find this the only way to do justice in giving every man his own.

Fourthly, we are ready to present our wardens here at Berwick to join with us in "filing and cleaning" upon honours, or to assist our reforming of old abuses or in ordaining of new expedient laws for their more orderly meetings hereafter, or to take away feuds, *etc.* We desire our opposites to set down their assent thereunto in writing, appointing a day when their wardens shall appear accordingly.

2½ pp. Copy.

Feb. 24. 441. [] TO WALSINGHAM.

*" And as to his father brother, he is eist in Seytoun, and na word of his passing away, quhilk will mak the minsters to cry out now mair nor thai did befor."

" Forder zour honour sall understand that upone the 22 of this instant, ther fell outt outrageous wordes in the Kinges chalmer betuix my Lord Bothuell and the Master of Glammes for sum alegit reportt that the Master of Glammes sould haif spockin against my lord, and sould haif fauchin the singular combatt betuix thame; bot the Kinges majeste causit the town of Edinburgh to tak heid to the Master of Glammes that nyct, and upone the morne he agrehit thame."

" Forder ze sall wit that the crownar is cumit hame be Milstramer, within this xx dayes, and has broucht hame letteris from the King of Denimereck to the Kinges majeste declaring that he

* First sheet wanting.

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"Quhat uther newes he hes brocht ther is nane certane, except it be the lordis of the north, quhom he spack at his landing at Leuth befor he come to the Kinges majeste."

"As to the commissioneres that is at Bervick, I traist it sall all twrne to na thing, except ze be mair earnest and mak mair moyane with ye Kinges majestes self nor ze do."

"As to uther newes I haif nane for the present, bot gif ony falles out I sall advertess zow at my cuming, quhilk wilbe within ane xiiij dayes God willing. In the mene tyme I pray zour honour to remember to get my leychentee past agane that tyme quhilk I spack of to zow, becaus it may be that I will haif ado therwith schortle. *Signature in cipher.*

1 p. *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* "Occurrentes owt of Scot. by a secreat adverticer."

March 1. **442.** BURGHLEY TO HUNSDON.

*Nevertheless her majesty's pleasure is that you write to the King, grounding the principal cause thereof upon these late good proceedings by her majesty's commission and his, and you shall say that you are glad to have been a director therein, accounting it an honour, promising, wheresoever you shall be, to do your utmost to maintain the same; praying the King to choose well-disposed men to have charge on the frontiers, for continuance of the quiet like to ensue upon these late conventions.

You may add that this action for redress of disorders upon the frontiers will content her majesty, for the maintenance of peace between the realms and renewing of good amity in the eyes of the world, to the liking of their friends and misliking of their enemies, who for the cause of religion did envy their felicity.

Yet her majesty is grieved to see the workings of papists, abroad and in this country, to work intermission of the former good offices. And whereas the King is provoked to take occasion of an accident not recoverable, yet not to be so imputed to her majesty as falsely hath been surmised, she, knowing her conscience clear and minding to make it so appear to the King, by her letters and message made a full declaration of the accident and her innocence; "which to hir great misliking she fownd the King sinisterlie perswaded to receave a course, contrary to all order not onelye betwixt frendes but of justice betwixt strangers, not to heare the awnswere of a partye in any cawse of unkindnes or of crime."

For further proof of her majesty's innocence she hath found it strange that, seeing the occasion and circumstances of the accident were in a public assembly not only declared but proved and confessed, "so as her majesties actions weare cleare and voide of all meaninge in hir to charge hir for the fact," and that the King's

* Beginning wanting.

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minister Archibald Douglas could have satisfied him of her innocence, yet she hath seen no argument from the King in all this time of his former kindness towards her, for her great benefits already bestowed upon him and such as he might hope for.

Contrarywise, she heareth of admittance into his realm of such as, out of hatred to the religion he and she profess, labour by persuasions and offers of money "to make a change of that which is, hath been, and owght to be, the best knot of an indissolluble love betwixt her majestie and the King." These professed enemies of God, vassals of the antichrist of Rome, seek to procure a breach betwixt princes and their countries.

Yet her majesty, finding the King's disposition for peace upon the frontiers, expects from his own wisdom and the advice of those not affected to Rome, that he will consider how profitable for himself and how commendable to God's sight and pleasing to good people shall be the former amity intended by the treaty at Berwick when the Earle of Rutland was there.

So you may offer to the King your utmost service therein, praying him to take in good part the length of your letter, because the matter so did induce you, and the knowledge you have of her majesty's Christian mind towards God's cause and her affection for the King: and that you would not have presumed to write, but for the motion of his servant Mr. Carmichell.

Thus I have repeated to your lordship as near as my memory serves me the substance of that which her majesty spake to me to be written to you. The order I do remit to yourself for the manner and form of your style and writing.

You should acquaint Carmichell with the substance hereof, considering that without his so often motions her majesty would not have had you write at this time.

2 $\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Copy. Indorsed.*

March 4. **443.** [BURGHLEY] TO [MAITLAND].

Cott. Calig.,
B. VIII.,
fol. 242.

"I am sorrie to finde by your letters that the execution of the King your souveraines mother shoulde be likely to bringe forth anie suche effectes as you seme to affirme will undoutedly insue upon the knowledge therof in Scotland, and worke anie alteration in the King your souverains minde, and of that people, from the amitie of this realme, the contynuanee wherof hathe beene so carefullie sought and desyered."

"For yf heeruppon he will needes make warre with this realme, ment " that you and others of wisdom about him, that depend upon his fortune, whose advice he will use in a matter of so great importance, weighing the same shall judge how unfit it will prove every way for his own estate to enter into that course, " which cannot cure that alredie doone, and in ye eand will tourne to his dishonour, danger and certen prejudice, in steede of reputation and suretie which he maie seme to affect therby."

"For gf heeruppon he will needes make warre with this realme, thre thinges woolde be consydered: first, howe just and honest this warre will appere in the eyes of the worlde; then what meanes he hathe to goe through withall; lastly, what maie be the

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consequence therof anie waie, and especially in respect of that he pretendethe in the succession of this crowne, which therby shall come in question."

For the justness of the quarrel without which it is not only unlawful to enter into war, but also nothing can be expected but unhappy success, he taking arms against this realm in revenge of an action so necessarily done, by general consent, for the safety of her majesty's person and this state, "accompanied with that justice, as all the worlde maie be made judges of the honorable and upright proceeding used in that behalfe," he must be said to oppose himself to the course of justice, and so to the judgement of God, "whose ministers this state was in the execution therof." So we, standing in defence of justice, shall not lack the assistance of the Almighty against all who shall in such a quarrel attempt anything against this realm.

For the means of going through with it, if your sovereign trust to his own force, all must see that Scotland of itself could not make head against England, "augmented in power and welthe as Scotland is confessed, by reason that France, that served themselves therof in tymes past to annoy England withall, while theie had a footing in France, having not nowe the like use of that realme as heretofore theie have had, hathe not the like respect."

As for foreign means, when you consider how long you shall solicit for little assistance, as the King's mother found to her cost, and how uncertain the success of all your attempts against England, "which by the conjunction of Holland and Zeland hathe gotten that strengthe by sea, as by Godes grace thoughe all the princes of Europe were banded against this realme we should have noe just cause to feare"; and the consequence if the King should be taken or forced to fly his realm; having so incensed this state against him as they shall deprive him of the succession, "as by lawe theie maie," to what extremity he should be reduced, I doubt not but it would be seen by men of judgement not transported with passion to be best for him to forbear such a desperate course.

On the other side, carrying himself with moderation as becomes a prince of his perfections "and is necessarie in this remedillesse action," he shall provide for his own security, and through good usage of her majesty, "whoe hathe deserved soe greatly at his handes," win the goodwill and affection of the whole realm.

For, "yff a course of revenge should be taken uppon the late accident," and the people of this island be brought to draw blood one of another, the ancient enmity between the two realms, now extinct and buried, shall be so renewed as the English will not accept him for their King, who hath made such a breach of the quiet of both realms upon so unjust a quarrel.

"But especially the whole nobilitie, by whose sentence the late Quene was condemned, the same being approved by parlement," seeing the King so vindictive, should think it toucheth them near, and "woolde rather hazerd the marching over their bellies, then to yeld to the gouvernement of suche a prince as theie should stand in doubt woulde one daie call their honors and lives in question."

What remedy he may expect to obtain in such extremity from foreign potentates, who are not over hasty to embark in dangerous

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enterprises for other men's sakes, Don Antonio may serve for a lively example, wherein, as in a mirror, he may behold his fortune, falling into the like hard estate.

There are but two potentates that he can make account of; the French King and the King of Spain, neither of which to depend on as through whose assistance he may obtain present possession of this crown: whosoever shall persuade him to such a course shall discover either great passion, or want of fidelity and judgement.

It is not safe for any prince to trust in them to whose designs his good success may prove a hindrance, in which respect neither of those two Kings can sincerely wish your sovereign's good, for his religion is odious to them both; and if it bred difficulty in his mother's proceedings with the Catholic princes, when it was hoped that her authority, being at liberty, should alter his disposition, "which notwithstanding moved her to proceede after that manner in the enterprise nowe lately, without anie consyderation of him, promising to make the King of Spaine her heire, in case her sonne became not Catholike," much more shall those princes be backward in the advancement to this crown of one who shall be likely to be prejudicial to the Roman religion, being the more mighty by the union of the crowns.

It is repugnant to the policy of France, in respect of the ancient claim England maketh to that crown, to suffer the uniting of this island under any prince; for a King of France to help a King of Scots to the crown of England, were to strengthen him to one day prosecute his title to that crown.

As France presently standeth you shall not find the King willing to cast himself into any foreign war; sore against his will he was forced by the Guises to allow the civil war; for which—what show soever he makes—he hates them in heart.

"And yf perhapes the polletickes should be content, although yt lies in us divers waies to stoppe and prevent anie suche mallicious practise, for their owne ease and quiet to serve them selves of your souverains quarrell for the present, for to transport the warre out of their owne cowntrie into this island," yet the King shall be but an instrument, as his predecessors have been, for the effusion of Scottish blood and the spoil of that realm.

It were no good counsel for those that depend upon the French King's fortune, to advance a King of Scotland so near in blood to the house of Guise, "by whose assistance their dessein to possesse that crowne and to depose the King—a matter by him greatly doubted—maie the better take effect."

For the Spaniard, his age and unsettled estate would rather move him to peace, if it were offered, than to any new enterprise, and such could not but be dangerous to your King, "consydering his [the King of Spain's] ambition, his practises, his power, his couller of right," having figured himself an empire over this part of the world, laying a foundation for subduing this land in Queen Mary's time, being our King in her right; "the conquest was fullie concluded afterwarde under coullor of religion, as by the Prince of Orange, then of the Privie Cownsell, was afterwarde reveled: he nowe pretendes—your souverains mother being dead—to be the first prince of the blood royall of England, being afore respected,

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thoughe falsely, heire of the howse of Lacanster, as by the petigre and bookes published by the Bishop of Rosse and others in his favour maie appere."

During the late Queen of Scots' life the Jesuits and others practised to elect him to the crown, to the prejudice of her title, as meetest to rest in the Romish authority:—"for though your souverains disposition to that religion was not desperat, theie assured them selves that he woulde not part with the supremacie noe more then King Henry the 8."

We may easily judge how far he would prevail of the donation made of this crown by the Queen of Scots in her letters, promised to be confirmed in her will, whereof his ambassador Mendosa at Paris sticks not to make open vaunt: and what she practised to that effect with her servants since her condemnation, God knoweth.

"Lastly, being the strongest, what should lett him to dispose of the praie as he listeth? Warrant he coulde wante none, so long as the Poopees be and are of his owne and onlie making."

That by change of his [the King of Scots'] religion he can better his condition is very improbable, since the respects of their own estates and pretensions will still remain. The usurpation of Portugal proves that the King of Spain's ambition cannot be restrained by any bonds of religion, honour or justice: and the simple assistance Don Antonio, a Catholic, hath received, shows what would happen to your sovereign in like case.

All which argueth how dangerous it were for your sovereign to depend upon the Spaniard or any such friend's assistance, which might turn to his own subversion.

The King's revolt from religion, seeming a want of religion rather than a change, will be his utter discredit in all Christendom, losing him his natural faithful subjects and well-willers throughout the world, winning him but hollow-hearted friends, since no assurance can be had of his constancy in any religion, "yf ytt shall appere that uppon stomak or advantage he shall fall from his God," and that religion wherein he was brought up: neither can he suddenly inherit his mother's credit here, which also was not sufficient to hold the Catholics of England united.

For any other objections whereby he should be urged to seek foreign support, such as the offence already taken by the nobility and people of this land that he hath—contrary to their joint pursuit, being assembled in parliament—mediated for his mother's life, "ytt lies in his owne power to remove the same, yf he leave when ytt is tyme, as he persisted while there was hoope."

Touching his honour and reputation, wherenpon ye all seem so much to stand, surely he hath sufficiently cared for it, having mediated for his mother so long as there was hope. Since she is dead, and the justice and necessity of the execution stoppeth all slanderous reports, the whole proceeding being imparted to all he cares to have satisfied, it shall be more for his honour assuredly to show how he can moderate his passion by reason.

So it is wished by all good men, for the common good of this island and his own greatness, that he would thank God, who hath delivered him of the burden of revenging his father's blood, spilt by her consent and privy, and hath established his throne,

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1587-8. continually undermined by her practices; "the eande wherof, yf he be well conseilled, will be the beginnunge of all happines in Scotland, where in stead of being sent for an ostage or warde to Poope or Spaniard, as the saied Quene wolde have made him, he maie nowe absolutly and quietly reigne."

My care for the amity of the two realms hath carried me into longer discourse than I purposed, but having collected these and many more reasons concerning the weal of these realms, to be imparted to you by Mr. Douglas, finding him unwilling to meddle therewith I write to yourself, whom I need not exhort to do all good offices that satisfaction here may be joined with the service of God, of your sovereign and country, which shall thereby reap the fruits of peace. Greenwich.

4 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. Draft.

March 6. **444.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Quhairas a Scottis man cumming frome Scotland with a schips laeding of heringe which he haith sauld and delyverit at Lynne, the monie quhairof he is bound to imploy ather at Lynne or some other pairt thairabout, which he can nocht in anie commodetie except in cornis; quhairfor I most requiest your lordscip that he may be licensit to transport so much barlie, peass or beans as may releif him of his band." *Signed: A. Douglas.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

March 12. **445.** COMPLAINTS BY SCOTS OF PIRACIES.

The demand of the Scotch ambassador is that, according to her majesty's promise for restitution of goods spoiled from the Scots, restitution be made for the value of the spoils, as adjudged by her commissioners.

To be answered by the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Admiral, Secretary Walsingham, Mr. Mildmay, Dr. Lewes, Mr. Randolph, Dr. Awbrey, H. Killigrew and Mr. Peter Osborn.*

Mr. Davison did in the Queen's name promise to the King of Scots restitution, and the commissioners likewise promised it.

The Mary of Ayr and *The Elizabeth* of Orkney: Vaughan. To Haverford West. Cannon had part of the salt: he is dead, and his son is called to answer it.

A robbery and murder of Scots in a ship of Kirkcaldy in Scarborough haven by men of Scarborough, whereof inquisition hath been made. Dodsworth, the judge of the Admiralty, hath prosecuted the matter, and three have suffered.

Against one Peddell of St. Cathorques, for robbing one Stave [*sic*] a Scot; and George Totterig and Mr. Morra, all of Edinburgh; he took 180*l.* from one and 60*l.* from the other.

1586. A ship of Leith, George Padg master, laden to the value of 7000*l.*, taken by William Beare of Ratcliff at Dieppe, and carried to Ireland. Goods sold there worth 3000*l.*, at Cardiff worth

* Commission 22 June, 25 Elizabeth.

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2000*l*. At Bristol the Scots compounded for 300*l*., and Beare delivered the ship and the rest of the goods. The men of Bristol, having six of Beare's company, suffered them to escape.

A ship of John Sumpter and of Yong of Chichester robbed *The Scout* of Leith, to the damage of 1250*l*. 900*l*. is proved, and 379*l*. restored. The Lord Admiral hath a bond of Yong of 1300*l*. he promised to be delivered to the Scotchman's use.

Dec. 1586. A ship of Leith, John Drumos master, laden with wines, lost in Mounts Bay; seized as a wreck. The cause to be proved before the Judge of the Admiralty.

June 1587. Eleven Scottish ships, by one Strangrish, a pirate, who landed at Scilly, where Mr. Godolphin sought to apprehend him, but he fled, and so Mr. Godolphin stayed part of the goods.

Loan in Colchester robbed a ship of Lord Robertes, of Scotland.

Battes and Whyt of Sandwich robbed two ships of Edinburgh; Lord Cobham hath taken bond for restitution. Three Scotchmen are robbed: Mr. Barry of Doon to be sent unto.

Mr. Cotton of Hampton took 390*l*. of John Dury, and hath restored 50*l*.: so he oweth 340*l*.

Edward Huyok and John Bold robbed William Hays of Leith of 600*l*.—"wherof 400*l*. recovered by the Queens shippes by Bostock, and one Howell the master of the shipp."

Morgan robbed Robert Scott, William Stuard and one Montrose to the value of 1028*l*. Bankes, the Lord Admiral's servant, procured Morgan to render himself upon condition of pardon; and so he was pardoned. Morgan did the robbery in *The Diana*, belonging to Duke Joyeuse.

The mayor of London to certify the examination of a fray made by Englishmen of Hull upon Scotch mariners for a quarrel begun at Malstrom in Norway.

A preacher at Ratcliff rated at the King of Scots on Sunday the 10th of March.

3 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *In Burghley's hand and indorsed by him.*

March 16. **446.** HUNSDON TO BURGHELEY.

According to my last letter I returned yesterday to this town, and this morning the laird of Carmichael came to me and brought me a letter of credit from the King, as also certain instructions in answer of my letter sent to the King, signed with the King's hand, the copies of which I send your lordship herewith.

Touching the 5th article I told him I marvelled that the King was no better satisfied touching her majesty's innocency in that matter, being so openly proceeded in as I wrote at large to him, whereof his ambassador was so well acquainted.

Carmichael answered that the King had commanded him to say, as he hath affirmed in the latter end of the articles, so was he no ambassador of his, since he was discharged when the Master of Gray was there; so hath the King had no dealing with him since, and no declaration from him in any sort of her majesty's innocence.

And touching any articles that Archibald Douglas propounded as from the King, and received answer again, the King affirms that they were not by his commandment, nor knows not what they

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were, nor what answer was made to them; "so as he ys nearly ignorant of any of A. D. doynges there, more then as he hearythe sumtymes indyrectly from Rychard Duglas, wherof he makes no accownte."

He told me that the King understands that Archibald Douglas, finding he cannot bring matters to pass as he would, practiseth with papists; "and yt semes dyrectly by Carmychell that he hathe rather dune bade offycys betwene hir majestie and the King then goode."

Thereupon the King hath required me again that if any letters come from him into Scotland or to him out of Scotland, to send them to the King; wherein I would know her majesty's pleasure. If he come here he will die for it, for the King would fain have him.

He advised with me how my son Robert, "eyther by sum matche of huntynge or by sum uther like meanes myght take occasyon to go yntoo Skotlande," to whom the King would impart more of his mind than to any man else but myself, and would gladly make him amends for refusing to speak with him when he was to have come to him. I told him it were neither honourable for her majesty nor for the King for him to go in that sort; but since the King seems to be ignorant of her majesty's innocency and honourable proceedings, and avows that he knows not Archibald Douglas's demands nor her answers, if her majesty will write to the King and send it by my son it would be honourable for both.

He assented that that would be best, but in anywise that her majesty would not write anything hardly, but with all the kindness that may be. And Carmichael will come to this town to receive my son, and never leave him till he have brought him back; and hereupon some other ambassador may come to furnish greater matters.

Carmichael finds great lack in our slackness and slow proceedings in this matter, and saith plainly that it hinders greatly these matters: for there is lately come out of France one John Chisholm, of whose coming he wrote to me and I to your lordship, "who promysythe wonders and mowntaynes from France yf the King wyll harken that way; and sundry uthers who arr styll yn hys care too persnade hym too France; and we doo nothyng butt delay tyme and dyffer of matters"; he desires matters be more effectually proceeded in if we mean to do any good.

Carmichael tells me that my son being come down the King would have me with her majesty; for as there are some about him that do their best to hinder this course, so there are some about her, though not directly, that do the like, "whyche he thynkes yf I werr there wolde nott so reddyly doo yit. I perseve the King gretly suspectes A. D."

Thus I have set down the effect of our conference, referring it to her majesty's consideration; I trust she will consider that in delay is danger.

"I pray your lordship desyer her majestie too doo me so grete credytt as too grante the King a plakarde for 6 or 10 horsys for hys mony, beyng yndede utterly owte of horsys, he rydes them so sore. Seurlly he may thynke my credytt very smale yf I cannott obtayne so smale a matter, havyng sent too me so often about ytt,

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1587-8. as your lordship may perseeve by the latter ende of hys letter which he addyed with hys owne hande : and Carmychell doothe assure me that the King dyd pen with his owne hande all hys instruceyons."

Lord Maxwell is not come into Scotland. Berwick. *Signed:* Hunsdon.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same :—

(James VI.'s answer to Hunsdon's letter.)

1. "Ye shall assure the Lord Hunsdon, in our name, that we cannot but accepte in verie good parte his loving and playne letter, and that we never looked for uther at his handis then as of ane best affected to the ameticie."

2. "Ye shall likewise declare unto him in our name that, as it was ever our intencion to manteyne justice, and repres all insolent disorders on our borders, so have we ever and will heereafter at all opportunitys kytie the same in good effecte, notwithstanding whatsomever calumnys has byn geven out of us to the contrarie. And as for the choyce of our officers ther, as we have made choyse of them that be in office, for godlie, upright and well affected men to the peace, sa maye ye well assure him that, upon dewe triall of the contrarie in any of them, we will not be slawe to place better disposid persons in their rowmes."

3. "Ye shall perswade him that for any unkyne we have concevyd of the Queene his mystris, it was not by the instigacion of any papistis or uther whatsomever, but onlie that we could doe no lesse in honor then suspend sic loving and hamely forme of intelligence as was betwixt us, till we might have a full triall of her innocencie in that wrange quhilk we reseavitt, agreeable to her purgacion made unto us."

4. "Touching her declaracion made unto us by her letter and messadge, ye shall informe him how we never refusitt to heare what she could alleadge for her purgacion in that matter. It is true that for divers resonable cawsys—as we doubt not him selfe can consyder—we thought yt no wayes meete at that tyme that her ambassator showld come in unto us, but yet nether refused we his letter, nor to heare his credit and message, allthough by intermediat persons. And as him selfe can testefie, our anser was that as we could not of no equetie nor lawe refuse to admitt a tryall, and in the meane tyme not to condemne a person unharde so on the other parte could we do no lesse then suspend our judgment, from clensyng or condemning till further triall, whereof our moderatt behaviour at all tymes synsyne we doubt not maye beare witnes."

5. "As for any proofes she hath given of her innocencie yet, we remitt yt to her owne judgment, whether she hath yet satisfyde the world to her honor in that matter, or not."

6. "Be this he maye judge what has ben the staye of our not renewing as yet our former kynes with her; and as for the eusinge of the advisys or perswasions of any papistis in this cause, ye maye assure him, that as ther cownsayllis therin maye justlie be suspectid unto us, so never wer we ledd be their advise theryn, neyther have we, nor ever had about our person any messengers or suppostys of the antechryst our common adversary, allthough we are not

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1587. ignorant how ofte and how falsley we have ben mast maliciously calumniatt with the contrarie. And as to our constancie in religion, gif we have not in all our behavior given a sufficient prooffe therof allreddie, we will not prease to perswade him, nor na uther with further argumentis therin."

7. "As to the anser of any articles which Mr. Archibold Duglas proponid to the Councell in our name, ye shall informe him that he was dischargid of his commission of ambassade at the returne of thoes that were joyned in commission with him, and gif he hath gyven him selfe out ther sensyne for our ambassador, ye maye assure him that in sa doing he hathe abbusyd baith Queene and Councell."

"Further we remitt to your owne reporte."

"James R."

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Draft. Indorsed:* "x Martii 1587. Mr. Carmichells instruccions sent from the King of Scottes to the Lord Chamberlaine."

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 216.

Another copy of the same.

March 18. 447. SIR WILLIAM KEITH TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 294.

[Fragment of a letter.]

"as lykwaiss for my skriblit and fachowse lettir, praying onto God for zour lordship heilthe and weilfair now and ewer. From Cowrt, the xvij of Martche." *Signed:* "Be your honouris at all [times] leiffully to be comandit, Sir W. Keithe."

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed.*

March 24. 448. JAMES VI. TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 309.

"Richt trustie and weilbelovit, we greit zow weil. It is in . . . * that we haif understood by many taikynns that this our servant . . . * Blair the berer heirof hathe now more especealie conseaved a sinceir effectioun alwayis towardis us, not onelie to our . . . * bot also in qubatsoevir personis, we haif recomendit to zow . . . * letteris, quharin we can esteame no utherwayis to th . . . * ane prince of his good and weil affected freinds, and thairfoir we haiffe the full effect hoping we con . . . * of dewtie haiffing sik occasioun offerred by the . . . * to quhome we moist eirnestlie desire to oure . . . * to intend your thanckfull favour and countenance . . . * his distressed caussis, quairof ye sall under . . . * to be moist acceptabill unto us and veray gre . . . * sall esteme ourselfis obblissit thairin and ye may . . . * weil assured to reape the fruit thairof quhair we may find ony convenient guid occasioun to ple . . . * And the rather for the continewance of your guid . . . * towardis the said Mr. Patrik quairof we . . . * and require yow veray hartlie. And so . . . * and weilbelovit we commit yow to the protectionn of the Almightie. From our palace of Holierudhous." *Signed:* James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *No address.*

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588. 449. [MAITLAND] TO THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADORS IN
April 1. DENMARK.Add. MSS. 36,
530, fol. 3.

“Cum nobis nihil prius esset in votis aut antiquius quam quæ superiore autumnō de remittendis in Daniā amplissimis legatis decreta fuerant eadem jam primo vere diligenter adimplere, mortalium sors invidiosa Dominum Jacobum Meldrumium a Segy heredem, consiliarium regium et supremi ordinis senatorem, ad id muneris principem destinatum, immature circa Calendas Februarii dira febris absumpsit.”

“Qua civis optime de republica meriti jactura quanto inexpectatior tanto omnibus luctuosior extitit, mihi omnium maxime, vel eo præsertim quod supra bonorum omnium conjunctionem qua mihi familiarissimus extitit, tum hujus negotii studiosissimus suam in eo firmando retinendoque operam mecum promptissime collocavit.”

“Quare nova exinde consilia capi oportuit, alius designari legatus non qualis qualis [*sic*] sed quem fovendæ utrinque initæ jampridem amicitie ardor attingere quodammodo videbatur. Huic—si ita videretur—comites deligendi non dispari omnino voluntate, cæteraque omnia pro negotii magnitudine opportune procuranda.”

“Quæ dum istic diligentissime curantur, ne mutatæ voluntatis suspitio—quæ vos transversos quodammodo agere jampridem cœpit—altius radices ageret, prima arrepta occasione tumultuaria quasi festinatione admonendos esse censuimus. Sed quanta interim dolori: accessio crudo adhuc vulnere gravius infligitur.”

“Literæ utriusque vestrum titulis ad Petrum Iunium inscriptæ afferuntur, Gulielmi Stewarti non absimili testimonio comprobatæ, de pacta Serenissimi Regis Danorum primogenita, ejusque potiundæ spe nobis penitus sublata, nostramque in eo maxime causatam incuriam.”

“Quamvis justissimæ nobis quærimoniæ locus sit, quod neque sacrosanctæ veteris amicitie leges nec anticipatæ postulationis favor Domino meo clementissimo ad repulsam evitandam quicquam profuerint quo minus labefactatæ quodammodo amicitie nevus inustus esse videatur, instituto tamen Domino meo invictissimo et ab innata sibi constantia et inveterata cum Danis necessitudine discedere quam alienissimum esse putavi, et tacendum potius quam querendum et reluctantibus fati et adverso potius numine tentatum existimavi. Quod tamen de persona non de negotio statuendum esse censeo.”

“Itaque si nobis fata primogenitam prorsus eripuerunt, hoc saltem vestrum utrumque rogatum esse velim, ne de ea quæ nascendi conditione proxima est quicquam interea statuatur donec prius de invictissimi Regis nostri erga eam voluntate per legatos suos innotescat.”

“Quod ad me attinet, ego omnem meam operam studium et diligentiam in eo maxime collocavi ut inveterata jampridem utriusque regni necessitudo, auspicata utrisque Regibus affinitas civibusque fortunata conjunctio optatum bonis omnibus finem tandem consequatur, quod debitum a me principibus obsequium et vobis studio non vulgari devota voluntas jure quodam singulari præ reliquis nostratibus deprecere jamdiu mihi videbatur.”

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1588.

“Pluribus de hac re per Robertum Arnottum apud utrumque vestrum egi, cujus reditum ante legatorum dimissionem præstolamur; qui nisi brevi redierit nulla reditus habita ratione legatos quamprimum adspirante numine dimittemus.”

“Interea si quid est in presentia, aut si deinceps dederit occasio, quo meum erga Serenissimum Daniæ Regem ingenium ipsius obsequio post Invictissimum Scotorum Regem proxime destinatum innotescere potest, dabo operam ut probæ hactenus voluntatis in me collatum beneficium non inutiliter positum esse videatur.”

“Vobis autem, quos unanimes unis literis compendii studio complector, nec confirmatæ amicitiae tesseram putide recensere nec de meo erga vos ingenio amplius quam superioribus literis profiteri queo, rogare tamen ut quod Regibus utrisque salutare nobis utile et honorificum omnes autumant, id qua possumus fide et diligentia pari studiorum contentione procuremus. E Regia Sanctæ Crucis.”

1 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Copy.*

April 3. **450.** EXECUTION OF MARY.

“Hir majeste in this case hathe soe proceadyd bothe in publyke justice and in all other hir pryncely dealynges that nothyng doughtithe but all the worlde stand satisfyd therewith.”

“But she hathe cause too dowght that that kynge only will receve noo satisfaction at all.”

“First, for that she can not imagyn but all the course of this great cause is sufficiently knowen unto him too be just and on hir part most honorable.”

“And then that noo moore can be addid for hir justificatyon except he wold that hir offence should reache too indignacion towards hir counsellors, that sum of them might be executid, agaynst all justice, havynge but assentid and orderyd that the were warrantid too doo, bothe by the faulse reportes of hir secretory from hir selffe, as lykewise by the great soule of England; or els that hir secretory might be hangid and therin hir majeste hathe byn of mynd the Kinge wold take smale contentacion, rememberynge how muche he esteemythe the good will of this nacion.”

“But yf hir sinceritey might be the more manifestid by sendynge hir sayd secretory unto him, she will not sticke too doo soo.”

“She is greatly grevid too see hir former great and kynde dealynges with him soo neglectid, wherin what she hathe done, himselffe and his must witnesse, and that she hathe ment bothe honorabely and kyndly too contynew all good offices and helpes; as his ministers here—as she tooke him—can well witnesse.”

“As towchyng the contynuacion of the amytey, considerynge how saiffe and profitabile the same may be untoo him, as likewise how comodius too bothe the crownes, she nothyng doughtithe but he shall fynd them badd instrumentes that shall dissuade him from hit, but for hir part therin she is myndid too performe and contynew the same yf he shall doo the like, and give good cause thertoo. Otherwise she nether ferithe him nor any other prynce that shall offer offence ether agaynst hir person or crown, *etc.*”

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“ With the rest of substanciall matter I trust your lordschip will proceed accordinge too your wisdome, as alredie yow have concevid, etc.”

1½ pp. *Indorsed.*

April 6. **451.** BURGHELEY TO HUNSDON.

“ Thowgh yowe will thinke yt longe sence you sent hither such articles as Carmichell browght to yowe from the Kinge of Scottes, havinge had noe awnswaere theareto; yet besid the lett therof by my sicknes, whearebie I cowlde not have oportunitie to sollicite hir majestie, in verie trewth I understand that hir majestie uppon the readinge of the sayd articles fownd such just cawse of mislikinge of sondrie partes thereof as she was not well disposed to make anie awnswaere theareto.”

“ But yet at length, becawse neither the Kinge shuld thinke himself neglected for want of some awnswaere, nor yet hir majestie wold willinglie suffer him to take soe strange course as he dothe in his forme of awnswaere, withowt reformation therof by a frendlie and plaine admonicion: hir majestie hath commaunded that yowe shall lett him knowe both the cawses of hir mislikinge, and hir openion also for redresse theareof, in this sort following.”

“ First, wheare he pretendeth that he cold doe noe lesse than suspend such forme of intelligence as had been betwixt them untill he might have a full triall of hir innocencie; neither, notwithstanding hir majesties declaracion made to him by hir letter and messuadg, cowlde he doe anie lesse than suspend his judgement till a further triall weare made: in these strange manner of speches, with some other followinge, tendyng to charg hir majeste as though she had geven noe proves of hir innocencie, the Kinge dothe herin offer to hir majestie great cawse of offence, for hearebie he semeth not only to have a hard and dowbtfull opinion of hir innocencie, but in a strange manner to require a triall theareof.”

“ For the first, considering howe she did by hir owne letters and messadge clearelie acertayn the Kinge of hir clearenes, ether for knowledge, assent or allowance of the fact, and afterwards made it manifest by publique proceedinges in the face of the worlde, and in a place of the highest judgement of hir realme, howe the fact was committed not onelie withowt hir knowledge, but against her will; and in what sort hir name and authoritie was abused by a secretarie of hers, being for the same—uppon his owne confession besides other proofes—openlie condemned and punished, both by fyne and imprisonment.”

“ Hir majestie knowing hir self innocent as she doth, must thinke hir selfe verie hardlie used, to have the same, after such evident proofes, to be browght into dowbt and question: for on hir part she woulde never once conceive the like against anie person in a cawse soe evidentlie proved, much lesse against a Christian prince, of birthe and state.”

“ But more strange it is that the Kinge also by his wordes semeth to exact a further triall for his satisfaccion, whearein hir majestie mervailleth what kind of further triall he would or can demand other than hath been: for if neither hir owne worde and writing as a

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Christian prince, with the testimonie of hir conscience, nor the unfained sorrowes of hyr hart for the fact, committed as it was withowt her knowledge, nor yet hir grevous offences and indignations against such of hir counsellors as weare privie to the matter and revealed yt not to hir, nor yet the earnest and severe proceedinges by hir commandment to trie owt the offendour, nor fynally the judgement in publike place geven against him that was the principall and the onelie offendour, shall serve for a sufficient triall to cleare hir majestie; it must necessarelie followe that such as will not thearewith be satisfied are to be thowght either peremptorelie or unnaturallie determined to reject all trewth and reason; and howsoever theie maie seme in wordes to speak of triall, yet in deade they meane flatly to allowe of none."

"And becawse the circumstances of the prooves maie better appeare than as they ar generally afor mentioned, your lordship shall declare howe before the fact done the demaundes of the parlement weare by sondrie longe declaracions and perswasions most importunately used to hir majestie, to have had hir assente: and yet howe alwaies hir majestie refused, and with a naturall repugnancie of hir minde, denied it, to no small offence generally of all hir good subjectes: at which actions your self was present."

"And for the great contempt and abuse by hir secretarie, in making a false report to procure the execucion, directlie contrarie to hir will and withowt hir knowledge, your lordship shall have the forme of the proces against him, and his owne confession in place of judgement, and the sentence geven by persons of the greatest estate and the principall judges of the realme: which was not done in anie privatt place, or in privat forme, but in the highest court of the realme."

"And after you shall have in this sort declared thes proceedinges with theire circumstances, you shall saie that hir majestie cannot imagin what other course she might take further to content him, except some of thes three projectes that followeth shuld be propounded by the Kyng."

"First, to have hir majestie to proceade in some other sever manner than she hath done against such of hir counsell as weare privie theareto; and yet in truth they war altogether deceived by the secretarie affirming to them that which in dead theie semed to be glad of, in respect of the suretie and generall quietnes of the realme that they war all perswaded shuld growe thearebie."

"Or secondlie to demanda the blood of the secretarie to be shed, which generallie wold be abhorred of the people of the realme, whose good wills hir majestie thinketh the Kinge wold be verie lothe by any meanes in his respect to loose."

"Or lastlie to have the sayd secretarie sent to him, by whome he maie be duellie and clearelie informed howe innocent hir majestie was for this fact, and howe culpable onelie he was himself for the same. But yet it maie also be dowbted that this latter will smallie availe to the purpos of satisfaction otherwise than to have cruelty and mallice extended against him withowt profit to the cawse."

"Finallie yowe shall conclude that if, uppon this hir majesties playne declaration to the Kyng how much she mislyketh his late cours expressed in his answer, it shall please the King like a

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Christian prince to thinke of her majestie as of a prince that would not offend God in avowing of an untrewthe, and as one that, if she had been assenting to the fact, she wold and might have avowed as just, by the lawe of God and man, and soe she would not have feared to have done; and theareuppon will change this his late course shewed by his awnswere, and retorne to the forme of theire former intelligences and exercise of kindnes and amitie, he shall find hir majestie as readie to shewe him all offices of firme frendship, not onelie in wordes, but also in deades, as he shall or can reasonable require."

"And so he might have understand this last sommar, if such answers as hir majesty delyvered both by word and wrytyng to Archbald Dowglas, than by hir majesty reputed as his ambassador, had bene sene and considered by the Kyng; of which answers also your lordship had a copy to have bene imparted to the Kyng by Carmychell; but whyther they war so shewed to the Kyng her majesty knoweth not."

"As for sendyng of your son from hence, hir majesty can hardly yeld therto, considering both the first refusall of hym and now of late his retorn back from thence without the Kynges use of hym, though yow know he was purpoussly put in commission for the border matters and sent thither to the end he shuld have gon to the Kyng."

4 pp. *Draft, corrected by Burghley. Indorsed by him:* "6 April 88. The last drawght."

Draft of the same, with differences. Indorsed by Burghley: "V Aprilis 1588. The last draught but on."

Draft of part of the same. Corrected by Burghley. Indorsed: "3 April 1588. Instruccions for Scotland."

Another draft of the same.

April 8. **452.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO JAMES VI.

"I beseche your majeste fyrste consydder that I lye here and hathe comyssyon as the Quene of Inglandes ambassadour, your leage freind and kinswoman, that agrees with yow in relygion, and wisshes yow good every way—the saffety of hir selffe foresene."

"Next, I proteste I love and honour your majeste, so farr as with duty to my soveragne I may. Therefore this present tyme aperyng to me so daungerowse, I am fyrst in the Quene my mistress's name, to desyer your majeste to remember your selffe that yow ar the fyrst absolute kinge of the true religion, and hathe holden it frome your cradell; then that yow are reputed yet true of your word, very constant, and voyd of any notoryowse vyce."

"Therefore for the love of God, shewe not your selffe, in this tyme of the greatest proffe, to be neyther truly religiowse, true of word, nor constant, but rather subject to all vyce—if currupted in religion—as what good Chrystian wyll not take your majeste to be, if yow apon so just and manyfest proffe do not severely execute and seke revenge of thes papistes and Spanyshe faccyonaryes that now ar gatheryng and have reysed forces within your realme, to

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1588. suppress true religion, oppose your awethoryte, and confuse all your good subjectis and servantis."

"Your majeste myght sumwhat excuse your not severe dealinge with them before, when the proffe,—becawse no more was sowght for rested, as was sayde, apon cyphred letters, but theyre aparant rebellious dealinge at this tyme your majeste cannot excuse."

"O noble Kinge, consydder, and be not deceived, that thes troublesum men wold have no leage with England, but wold hasten an attempt to conquer it, becawse indee they wold never have you to enjoye it. And why? For they no dowt foresee that if yow joyne in leage with that realme your majeste shall have the better strengthe and power to rule and commawnde suche ambyseuous insolent subjectis as they, who disdaynes to be comawnded by your majeste or to obey any justyce. But if yow shold injoy the crowne of England, much more then think they—ye, and I have hard it spoken—they shall receive lawes frome England, they shalbe governed by a viceroy, they shalbe made underlinges to it, and the swetenes of that cowntry will make yow careles of this, the obedience of that nobyllite and subjectes generally will make yow detest thes, *etc.*"

"And looke in to the lyves of your mallcontentes and your majeste shall fynde them of noe religion, but that all theyre procedinges is to serve theyre owne turnes to lyve at lyberty disobediently, to kepe your majeste poore and weake of force that yow cannot comawnd them."

"I beseche your majeste to pardon my playnes; it is ment for your good as the Allmyghty knowes."

1 p. *Draft. Indorsed by Burghley*: "To my very loving frend Mr. Thomas Fowler."

April 17. 453. BURGHLEY TO THOMAS FOWLER.

I have safely received your letters sent to me from Sir John Selby, and have secretly acquainted her majesty with the honest wise declaration formed by you, and presented by our ambassador to that King.

I know not what I may judge of the event of this action. The noblemen opposed to our course are either to be reconciled to the King, or banished, or subdued. Some affirm that these noblemen were directed to enter this foreign course not without the privity of the King and Chancellor; but not so as to embrace it earnestly as it seems they have done.

"How now they may be withdrawin, and yet serve the Kyng and allow of our amyty, is very difficult. I am born in hand that they ar more moved with a particular dislyk of the Chancellor than with any comen cause."

Upon these reports I am doubtful, but hold for certain that if these men be not stayed before the Duke of Parma give them succour, the state of Scotland for our purpose will be dangerous.

"I do what I can to have some come thither with comfort, but the Master Graye is lyk to some first."

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1588.

Postscript.—Mr. Ashby sent me your letter written at Linlithgow the 11th instant, which her majesty hath seen, and was very sorry for the danger of the Master of Glamis. *Signed: W. Burghley.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

April 20. 454. WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS FOWLER.

By this bearer you shall understand how we proceed for the affairs of that country, and other causes public and private.

Her majesty likes well of your advertisements, which I pray you to address to the Lord Treasurer, who is well affected towards you.

I am not one that measureth my friends by ceremony. I know you love me, and pray you assure yourself that you shall find me ready to requite the same. Barn Elms. *Signed: Fra. Walsyngham.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 30. 455. [SIR HENRY WODDRYNGTON] TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 336.

On Friday last, the 26th instant, the King returned from Jedworth to Halidon, where he lodged that night. The next day he came down Tweed and came over the water into England, and came through Carrham town, and so returned over the water and passed along Tweed. Coming by Warke, on Scotland side, they gave him a volley of such ordnance as they had there. The King sent them for a reward 20 crowns. That night he came to Langton, distant 12 miles hence, and lodged with the Laird of Cowburne, and stayed there all Sunday next following. That day Captain Cary was sent to by Carmichael to move him [Woddryngton] for licence for the King's diet to come to Halidon Hill the next day, and after Captain Cary had informed him thereof, about 5 in the afternoon Carrington wrote to him, to Mr. Treasurer and Sir John Selby giving knowledge that the King's diet was to be at Halidon Hill the next day about 2 o'clock, and therefore he doubted not it would be admitted, for his majesty came towards the Borders for no other purpose but to do such offices as appertained to . . . ice and to visit the country.

Upon deliberate consideration had thereof, returned answer for the accomplishment of his majesty's desire, as was required. Directed Captain Cary, with some other of the captains, pensioners and gentlemen to the number of 60 horse to give his attendance at the bound road to conduct his majesty to the Hill.

The King kept his hour, accompanied by the Earl Bothwell, Lord Hume, and [Justice] Clerk, and other gentlemen to the number of 500 horse. His majesty abode there about an hour and a half. In that time caused him to have a volley of all the great ordnance, which he liked well, and at his departure sent the master gunner and his people 100 French crowns in reward.

Lord Hume and Mr. Alexander Lindsey, a young gentleman, brother to the Earl of Crawford, accompanied with a dozen, came into the town only to see it. Gave them the best entertainment he could for the time, they staying not more than half an hour, and passing that time nowhere abroad out of their house. Was

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1588. informed by Lord Hume that the young gentleman, Mr. Lindsey, was the King's only minion and conceit—as he termed it—one esteemed of the King most of any man in Scotland, and was his nightly bed-fellow.

The King required Captain Cary to send to him [Woddryngton] that Mr. Treasurer might repair to him. He accordingly rode to the Hill to the King and there had conference with him. Cary and he set the King on his way towards Douglas, 5 or 6 miles, where he was to lie the night with Lord Hume.

The conference between his majesty and Captain Cary is the cause that he now makes access to the Court. Leaves it to his own report, and Mr. Treasurer is likely to certify him of all the discourses the King had with him. Has likewise signified all this to the governor. Berwick.

Postscript.—Received the inclosed from De Courcelles, who required that it might be sent with the next; which he has done accordingly.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 5. 456. [JOHN SELBY] TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 328.

Sends the letters inclosed from the young Laird of Whittin[ghame] to his uncle . . . Douglas to him. Otherwise knows not how to convey them. Sent a letter to him from Roger A[ston], 25th April. Wishes it be come to his hands. Thought it his part to write to him of the verity of occurrences which a secret, credible friend of his has given him to understand.

The Secretary being come with the King to Jedburgh, his [wife] went to Lord Hamilton, being her kinsman. After some [speech] had with him she returned and sent presently to her husband to come to her forthwith, or she would come to him. At the King's coming out of Jedburgh he went home to his wife, who told him that she had . . . with Lord Hamilton that he should be welcome to . . . to the northern lords. So it is thought that . . . run their course and become theirs, and that this . . . will be fully determined among them at the King's going to Falkland, which will be shortly.

Lord Maxwell arrived at Dundee, and passed through the country with a plaid about him, like a wayfaring man. The King sent to summon him, but it is supposed that the . . . tons will do their best to stay and pacify him. Having nothing else where-with to trouble him, takes his leave. Berwick. *Signature decayed.*

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Margin destroyed. No address.*

May 8. 457. ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 329.

According to his last, of the 27th April, sent the packet of Mr. Archibald Douglas to his nephew Archibald immediately on receipt of the same. Having received two packets addressed severally to the ambassador for Scotland by his nephew Archibald Douglas and Monsieur Moulvyns, has sent the same inclosed to him, with his own letter to the ambassador, signifying his doings therein. At the King's return to Edinburgh the provost, burgesses

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and ministers there yielded very humble thanks for his pains taken for the peace of the Church and the realm, commending highly his action in the same, with testimony of their great comfort conceived thereby. The King, well pleased therewith, promised to give them greater cause to rejoice as well for the peace and benefit of the Church as also for the common quietness and profit of the whole realm, showing himself purposed to cleanse his own house and the realm from papists, and to prevent the practices of innovations and "attempts" tending to break the peace among them.

The King has shown himself constantly resolved to lend no eare to petitions of the northern lords, who come not forward to the Court as was looked for. Neither is there now such expectation of violent attempts to be enterprised as lately were thought should have been hastily put in execution. Lord John Hamilton has lately got great favour and good opinion with the Church and all well-affected in religion for his honourable and steadfast course taken for the preservation and advancement of religion, from which it is found that he cannot be drawn. Huntly is ready to yield to the King's disposition, and Crawford is said to be drawn so far by the persuasions of Lord Lindsey and his friends that he will not deal further in the matter intended. So the association is thought to be broken or so shaken that they will not hastily put in execution such things as were looked for at their hands.

The King is earnest to proceed against Maxwell, having levied 100 horsemen and 200 footmen for that journey; which companies he intends to commit to the charge of the Master of Glamis, captain of his [guard]. The sureties for Maxwell, bound for . . . beyond the seas for certain time prescribed, and now . . . by his return into the realm before the day expired, the aiders or assisters of him in any sort are straitly pursued and called for.

The bruit of the coming of the Spaniards into that realm is clean quenched with an opinion that the King of Spain is dead. So the Church and good men there are comforted and in good hope to live in rest and with good . . . with England. This conceit has wrought and still works very good effects in the realm.

Because the estate in Scotland and present occurrences are largely certified to the ambassador for Scotland by the letters accompanying these presents, and the same reported to him better than he can write, leaves them to the resolution to be made to him by the ambassador aforesaid. Berwick. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1½ pp. *No address or indorsement.*

May 26. **458.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 253.

. . . delivery of my . . . Walker and to such effect . . . signified to you, "Secundus" . . . himself and abide at Edinburgh . . . "Secundus" should come thither, purposing then to have been at Edinburgh within two or three days, but they came not thither before Wednesday last, the 22nd hereof.

At Walker's coming to "Secundus" in Edinburgh, he willed him to let me know that "B." was very glad to understand her majesty's resolution to take such a good course with the King for

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the preservation of the amity betwixt them, wherein he would be ready to give all the furtherance he could, and that for the great goodness that he had received at her majesty's hands in England he would remain always at her majesty's devotion, and be ready to do all thankful services in his power.

Albeit Walker sought to have returned with some letter to me for my better satisfaction in the delivery of my letters to "Secundus," and in all things concerning the same, yet "Secundus" told him that he could not then write with certainty, saying that, therefore, he would not retain him any longer nor write to me before he could do it with such certainty as was meet, and so in this sort dismissed Walker, who found the countenance of "Secundus" to be cast down in heaviness, and his mind greatly troubled.

In all things touching the doings and success of Mr. Robert Carey—presently employed and sent by her majesty to the King—I leave wholly to his report to you, marvelling greatly that his immediate repair and access to the King's presence has not been so readily and thankfully embraced as has been looked for and wished there by all favouring the amity with her majesty.

It is whispered and believed by sundry that on the 15th hereof the King rode on hunting to Calder, and there spoke secretly with Lord John Hamilton and Lord Maxwell; but such as were in the field and at Calder with the King deny the same.

Proclamation was made on Tuesday last that all Jesuits and mass priests should depart out of the realm upon the next fair wind, and by the same, power and warrant is given to all good and well-affected subjects not only to take and apprehend any such Jesuit and mass priest as shall disobey this commandment, but also, upon their resistance, to assault and kill them. Sundry captors, as they term them, are appointed to see execution done in this behalf, and prohibition given to noblemen and others to receive any such person. The ministers . . . Mr. John Hay and . . . and council at Edinburgh . . . serve and then to be sent out of the . . .

The greatest part of the lords and barons in the county are assembled to attend on the King in his journey to Dunf[ermline], into which he is purposed to enter this day, and to lodge this night at Biggar. But some think that for this time he may be easily drawn from Maxwell and that journey, and be turned ag[ainst] Claud Hamilton, for it is meant that Claud Hamilton and Maxwell shall be put out of the country, and after that the country shall be rid of them Huntly is like to be the next who shall be shot at, except by the King's old favour towards him he shall be relieved.

At this convention of the nobles and barons they exhibited a petition to the King requiring first that it would please him to reform his own house and put out of it all papists, and noting some to be but silly men, and other practisers, said that he had no practising papists in his house, and if any such were in his house they should be removed. Next, they prayed him to suffer no papist to have place in the seat of justice or in the sessions as also in all inferior courts. Thirdly, the papists might be expelled *ab agendo*,

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so as they might not be admitted to sue in any court. And lastly, that all former sta . . . made against papists might be put in execution, to which three last requests the King yielded, charging the noblemen with great oversight that they had so long delayed the performance of the same.

On Wednesday last, at the assembly of this convention, the King in his oration opened to them the great dangers hanging over religion and the estates of England and Scotland, all which he noted to . . . by the practises of papists and strangers, and chiefly at this time by the Spaniards, as he said he was informed, inte . . . the hurt of England, which he would not suffer, but resist with all his forces, alleging that it was not unknown to them the title he had to the crown of England, adding that he hoped . . . unto it, and if he wist that he should not so do, then he . . . that he had not been King of Scotland.

In this he prayed for their dutiful assistance and also their good advices, which were frankly promised, and in the end a band is devised to be made by the noblemen and barons, with the privity of the King, for defence of the religion and other common causes, which is already . . . by the most of them that were present, and shall be likewise done by others absent being well-affected in religion.

. . . against the Lord Claud . . . 20 days by the means . . . albeit that the Bishop of Dunblane . . . has protection and leave to remain . . . ten years at his own pleasure. It may please you to remember my former suit for leave to repair into Yorkshire for some short time for provision of the pay at midsummer. Berwick. *Signed: Robert Bowes.*

2½ pp. Addressed. Indorsed.

[May.] **459. INTELLIGENCE FROM SCOTLAND.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 280.

. . . the Earl of Angus, [Earl] Marshall, M . . . with certain lords with 200 barons . . . landed men assembled beside the King in the abbey "Hollyrude" . . . and concluded in one voice to resist the Spaniards in case they entered this isle, and also to maintain the religion professed presently in this realm with body and goods. Also to put all Jesuits and papists forth of this realm, and to that . . . has chosen certain commissioners in every shire to search . . . the same. Also the King and all the aforesaid have ord . . . to be in Bygger upon Saturday, at night, to pass against . . . the Lord Maxwell, and to the premises the King has . . . him to join with the aforesaid, and upon this Thursday afternoon the band to be subscribed in the abbey.

The Spaniards are in readiness at Lisbon, as our ships which are come into Leith and Dundee, *etc.*

½ p. Copy.

May. **460. INSTRUCTIONS FOR SIR RICHARD WIGMORE.**

Harl. MSS.
290, fol. 248.

Concerning Wigmore's voyage into Scotland there are these difficulties.

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1. The jealousy of the King, being doubtful of the English and their practices, "soe as he will undoubtedly suspect 72"* [Wigmore] to be sent in for some such purposes."

2. The malice which the enemies of England will bear him, if any course be taken contrary to that they seek to carry the King into, will be imputed to Wigmore, though he did nothing.

3. Want of recommendation to some in authority there to gain him access to the court and defend him if assailed.

"These difficulties maie be thus avoyded. Uppon your arryvall presently to addresse your selfe unto the Kinge simplye and plainelye, declaringe unto him your estate, the occasion of your cominge thither above all other places, your request onelye to enjoye the common ayre of the cuntrye, with proffer of service to runne his fortune, as a person followed with the worldes eyes in regarde of his rare virtues and princely perfeccions."

The espial which will be set over him will settle him in sufficient acquaintance; access to court and acceptance with the best may be effected by noting those who first address themselves to him, who will be spies appointed by the King, his Council "or summe nymble hed of the Papistes or Protestantes." He shall well consider their qualities, professions and speeches. "Of this number of spyes your hoast is likely to be one."

He may not dissemble his coming from England with discontentment, but must not seem entangled with any faction; "for which purpose your ordinarie pleasant behaviour will stande you in great steede." In religion he is to seem indifferent, so as to be taken for a moral, honest man by both parties, that both may hope to win him; and so to draw from them their plans for subverting religion.

If he can win favour with the best of that nation greater things may be effected.

"The principall good to be donne in somme is:"

"1. To discover howe the King is everie waie affected toward the Queen of Englande, what his proceedings, what his desseignes be."

"2. To worke him to be affected as wee desyre."

"1. We desire that he should directlye and sincerelye declare himselfe both of the religeon and for it."

"2. That he shold thincke his mother was both justelye and necessarelye putt to death, and not to be offended with the whole realme in general or with her majesty or anie particuler persons that were employed in that action."

"3. That he shold in all thinges wholie concurre with her majesty and the realme, as the surest proppe either of his present saffety or future hopes."

That King is thought to be a papist in heart, temporising till opportunity offer to declare himself. The grounds are: that Jesuits and seminary priests are suffered to live and preach in his realm, especially in the north: that Huntly, Fentry and other Papists are in favour, their insolencies unpunished, "but the ministers complayniuge thereof have bine answered with scoffes and scornes."

"Maxwell causinge masse to be publikely sayde at Dumfrise,

* Wigmore. Cipher is frequently used in this paper, but usually the decipherment given.

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was by a packe as it were dispensed with, and under coulour of bannishment sent into Spaine to treat unto the prejudice of religion. The King made shewe as though he meant to have surprised him, but gave advertisement thereof aforehand, as was declared by one then in Maxwells companie."

The King restored the bishops of Glasgow, Ross and Dunblane, appointed the first his ambassador to France, and the third coming to him with a legation from the Pope was well received, and permitted to practise in that realm.

He suffered sundry noble Protestants to be put to death, as the Earls Morton and Gowrie; and forced the ministers and reformed lords to fly the realm.

"Papistes have ever found favour, though their attempts were of like nature as Maxwell and the Maister of Graye to be bannished. The lordes of the late enterprise, which they are perswaded in Englande under coulour to remove the Chauncellour, did but rise to make way to the forren power attended for execution of those longe since discovered desseignes of the Catholicques within the realme; and though their facts were most odious and insolent, yet they have bine excused and admitted to favour."

Those that do not think the King a papist are afraid of his slipping into atheism, making religion but a stalking horse. Most think that he is quite fallen from his religion.

Secondly, contrary to our desire, it is said that the King is persuaded that his mother was wrongfully and unnecessarily put to death, and nourishes revenge against her majesty, the realm, and those who had to do therein. For he has shown himself dissatisfied with the declarations and proofs made to his ambassador; refused audience to Mr. Carey, "hath stode at staves ende, permitte sundrie insolencies of his people to be proffered unto his majesty in libells, *etc.*," has complained of her execution to foreign princes, namely, to the King of France by the bishop of Glasgow, to the King of Spain by Mendoza and Maxwell; dealt with the King of Denmark for assistance to revenge this indignity; and has uttered bitter speeches against the Queen and her Council, as discovered by Courcelle's papers containing copies of the King's letters.

Lastly, contrary to our desire, he places confidence and hope in the papistical factions of Spain and France, caring not in what terms he stands to England, as appears by his negotiations.

"The way to worke the King of Scottes to be affected as we desire is;"

1. To make it apparent to him that it is for his own welfare.
2. To lay down some course how he may obtain that at our hands which he seeketh.

For it is given out by "31" and others, that upon the death of his mother advantage was taken to dissolve the straight amity and league concluded with England by enemies of religion in Scotland, for that there came no gain to their purses thereby as formerly when France and England vied for their friendship: and that the King being naturally apprehensive and the accident itself offering great occasion of suspicion, he gave ear to plots propounded by them: and doubting the sequel thereof, "notwithstandinge that

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publicly by an acte in Councell all intelligences with England were broken of, and the liegers comission here from a daye appoynted for to sease," yet he would see what satisfaction might be obtained from the Queen, so gave his ambassador secret warrant to continue his former negotiations, which in spite of impediments may yet have good issue.

As to his mother's death the King must be made to understand that she was proved guilty by the confession of Babington, Ballard and others, wherein they persisted to the death, and by the copies of letters which passed between her and . . . *

"That the proceeding was honorable, the auncientest and best nobillitye of both relegeons, with all the Privie Councell and judges of the lande appoynted to examine the cause in the Queen of Scottes owne presence—all that could be alleadged beinge in truth but frivolous thoughte cautelous—her defence standinge onelye uppon teares, and insinuations to the Catholique partie of devotion to their cause, and sowinge of suspicion and deviseon betwene those that were employed; by theise she was founde guiltye and theire judgements approved by the whole parliament *ne uno quidem contradicente*. All things therein donne with great deliberacion, not huddled up in fewe dayes, soe as most free from scandall."

That it was necessary to proceed, lest the statute for the Queen's safety should seem to be made in vain, all laws for the like hereafter be brought into contempt and the terror of malefactors taken away.

The Queen and Council could do no less, upon the discovery of the Scottish Queen's attempt by Babington and Ballard's accusation, than proceed to examination.

That the fact appearing so foul, her majesty could not but yield to the desires of her own subjects before the entreaty of foreign princes.

Their entreaty savoured of terror, wherewith she was not to be moved, and she would have had no thanks of them, for it appeared by letters of the principal councillors in France that had she yielded they would have thought it was for her own weal.

"The Kinge of Scottes ministers likewise, Keyth, Master of Graye and Sir Robert Melvin by their minatorye and insolent manner of mediacion, rayther kyndled then quenched the Englishe humours, and everie swain in theire companie wold cast out such saweye speeches as made the intercession more odious."

The offers of provision for the Queen's safety, as hostages and obligations for the Scottish Queen's future behaviour, could not sink into the English subjects' heads, and were insufficient for the Queen's surety. For as Mary had published her desire that her partisans should follow their enterprises, whatever happened to her, nothing could restrain their conspiracies, and the Queen would have been in continual danger.

It had been dangerous for the Queen to deny this request to her subjects, who would either have thought all fraudulently done, or that she preferred Scottish and French requests before the desires of the English nation.

It might have bred indifference to the danger of the Queen's person and state, considering how odious Mary was for her religion,

* Cipher.

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practices with the Duke of Norfolk, held guilty of the death of so many who had died for treason in England, and even suspected to be the author of her own husband's death.

Considering how she had provoked the Queen, Council and realm, the King cannot be offended with them for providing for themselves. The nobility of Scotland proceeded with violence against their own King James III.: the Scottish Queen was a stranger.

They abuse him that said it was a plot laid for her ruin, affirming that first the association was made, then the statute, and lastly a bail cast for her. It is easy to sow suspicious conceits. The occasion of the association was the discovery of Parry's conspiracy, who with others had tried all ways for the alteration of the state and subversion of religion by her liberty; and failing, resolved to murder her majesty: which moved the whole realm to consider how the same might be prevented. "Manie thinges were propounded, as an *inter regnum* after the Queen's death by such mischaunce, and a sworne armie in readines afforehande."

The statute, looking not backward, could not but be most just, serving for a warning only. The issue shows what cause there was to make it.

"To saye a bayte was cast for her savoreth of toe much malice. Ballard, Babbington and the rest had bene madde fellowes yf they wold have bine hanged to serve our turnes; noe man can saye there was the least token of anie such thinge discovered by them in soe longe tyme of examination, judgement and execution. And yf all the dyvells in hell had conspired to worke her ruyne, what needed she to have consented? But she did more, approvinge and directing them, as by the letters doe appeare most odiouslye."

Walsingham has been slandered; his behaviour was most honourable. He cannot be corrupted, he is of Roman disposition, zealous for religion, his country and his Queen; not to be withdrawn from his service by . . . *unkindness.

Touching the proceedings against Davison, inferring a contradiction of her majesty to these things, the Queen condemns not the act as unlawful, but that circumstances were not observed according to her meaning; and so was the sentence pronounced at the Star Chamber.

"Some give out maliciouslye that the Queen had a cawtelous meaninge to divert the blame from her selfe to the Cownsell, by such doinge to strengthen her state the better, havinge brought the Cownsell into the same termes with the King of Scottes that they were with the Scottishe Quene, soe as they should still stand in feare of the losse of her." The Queen being loth either to deny justice to her subjects or to proceed against Mary, thought to take a middle course, so signed a warrant ready to be executed if need were, "yett supposed the Scottishe Quene to be out of danger, unlesse she farther deserved." Davison mistook her meaning, yet he could do no otherwise for his own discharge, no more than the rest of the Council who were sworne to the association, and saw more peril in delay than pity would suffer the Queen to see.

Therefore the King has no cause to be offended with the Council

* Cipher.

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The execution of Mary does not prejudice the King. "The poynt that concerneth him in the associacion is reformed by act of parliament, with a proviso that the same shall not stretch other then to such issue as shalbe privie to anie such attempte, which by the associacion was alwayes meant. Attaindor of treason in the case of Henry VII. was judged not to touche him when the crowne fell uppon him."

He is not bound in honour to revenge her death : the ignominy of it touches him no more than the faults of her life. "If his fortune were to have soe wicked a mother, which he could not remedye, it was Godes judgement she shoulde dye in that sorte, against the which he ought not to contende." These be furious conceits disguised as honour. The English say the Scots would have no one kill their kings but themselves. A king must bound his purposes with decency, justice and possibility.

"He hath noe cause to be sorrie for her deathe : her liefie intertayned factions. Yf she had lyved she had assuredlye sett up a regent in Scotlande, and given him for an hostage to the King of Spaine or the Pope, as her owen letters testefye. By her will she practised to disinherit him, because he was not Catholicque."

For religion and alliance, it is better for James to be a Protestant and depend on the amity of England rather than that of France or Spain, considering the invalid reasons brought to the contrary, which are ;

1. The small assurance he hath of the Protestants and them that bear sway in England, who practise his ruin.

2. That these courses will bring her majesty to enter into his desires, she being moved by fear.

3. "That he shalbe sure of the strongest parte when it commes to triall whoe shall carrye the garlande, havinge frendes at home and abroad whoe are all Papistes. And it were good to forestall the ametye of France and Spayne by summe good offices, though there were no nede, to be assured of them hereafter."

4. That temporising will stop the practices of Catholics in England and Scotland, holding them in suspense, where declaring himself for England and a Protestant they will make his life the butt for all popish practices in Europe.

5. "That he maie presentely by Fraunce and Spaine obtayne the possession of Englande, beinge at variaunce with her majestie."

E Contrario.

1. He cannot be assured of the Protestants in England because they cannot be assured of him ; if they were, good colour of title, show of might, and certainty of the Gospel's continuance concurring in one person would draw them entirely unto him. That his ruin is practised is most false, as shall presently appear.

2. They take the wrong end of the staff that think to bring the Queen to anything by fear without the aid of some of England in special credit, which may sweeten the taking of such bitter potions : they may be taken, but will be cast up again without such aid. "What one is forced to doe they will espie all advantages to start from, be it never soe expedient for themselves." He knows this,

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who has done the like in forced alterations of his state. This must breed malice which will find revenge : so were he in danger to lose rather than gain. “ *Manet alta mente repostum* that which turns to our disgrace. To be brought by feare, what more dishonorable? and yf it be possible otherwise what more fonde course?”

3. “ *Multa cadunt inter callicem supremaque labra* : little knoweth he aswell in religeon as state what maie happen in France or Spayne before havinge of Englande be called into question.” One has an old king, the other not likely to live long, and domestic divisions probable; the effects of their constellation likely to precede ours. How many reckonings has Mary’s death marred; so with all who build castles in the air. The King should lay hold upon the present help of England.

4. “ It is a notable sayinge for temporizours in Livie that *Via neutrallitatis neque amicos parat neque inimicos tollit*; and our Englishe proverbe, ‘ Between 2 stooles,’ *etc.*, is true. This pointe affordeth plentifull discours.”

5. That Spain or France are able or likely to set him in present possession of England, whoso puts that in his head it is for their private affections, being enemies to religion or to England, “ because they could drawe noe milke from soe fatt a cowe”; or they desire the fall of those about the King who favour England.

“ Indeede they of Scotlande have reason to seeke assistance yf they meane anie enterprise against Englande, knowinge theire weakenes in men, monney and all provisions for warre”; but if all the princes of Europe came against England she need not fear, considering the resoluteness of that nation, her provisions for war, the training in all shires, the riches which might buy any prince out of his camp or life if need were, the willing contributions of those subjects, *etc.* “ With handfulls of men they have kept the forces of the King of Spaine plaie in the Low Countries these manie yeares, havinge given notable proofe of theire vallour both by sea and lande.” France and Spain will never join in such a matter; the French King is jealous of the King of Spain’s proceedings, so are the chiefest of his council: the hopes of the Duke of Guise are grounded on a quicksand.

They may assure him of the facility of the enterprise, as they did before Mary’s death, but he saw then what delays and difficulties their weakness brought forth. And the Queen finding out those practices, quickly resolved to cut out so much work for the King of Spain in the Low Countries as has kept him occupied ever since.

If the Queen discover once plainly that there is no sincere meaning in this present treaty, the King of Spain will find his hands so full as he shall have small cause to vaunt when he is forced by such dissembling courses to seek to surprise England, whereby they confess her too strong to be overthrown, having warning; for the Queen will oppose the whole force of England against him.

“ The King of Spaynes estate is verie tickle by reason of the uncertentye of his succession, the danger of the losse and revolte of all the states he houldeth in Italy, the discontentment of the Moores in Spaine it selfe, the weake state of the Low Contries, the usurpacion uppon Don Antonio, who is alwayes a scaffold where-uppon to dresse anie enterprise against him.”

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It is thought he doubts Parma's greatness in the Low Countries, and that this enterprise against England is but to place him in "46"; and that there is no such meaning towards James as they give out, so all is but abuse that is founded upon that last argument.

It is best every way for the King to show himself a Protestant, for it is false that there is no faction for him in England but Papists; he may be assured of Protestants if he list, if they be assured of him, but the doubts conceived of him are "one of the chiefest causes whie the Queen and that state have not proceeded soe roundelye and apparantly in the causes of religeon in Fraunce and the Lowe Countries as otherwise they were lykelye to have donne."

"This indifferency of religion can not bould the Protestantes and will not winne the Papistes assuredly unto him." For the Protestants judge it a step to revolt, imputing it to fear that he declares not himself an enemy to their religion, as it is unlike a true Christian prince to suffer his people to be poisoned with false doctrine by Jesuits before his face: while the Papists never trust such a changeling without better proof than he can give by a dissembling course.

"They shall see he will never departe with the soveraignetye in ecclesiastic causes, they wilbe jelous of the shewes he must of force make to the great Protestantes of Englande for pollecye sake, unlesse he will discover himselfe."

"Howe manie contrarie oathes, promises, hand writinges, publicke and private protestacions will this temporising necessarily bringe forth."

Such temporising may serve for a time, but not so long as her majesty's life.

While Mary lived her servants had brought the Pope and King of Spain to believe he would be a Catholic, and so did wring some crowns from them and their assent to an enterprise. But in the end they thought themselves abused, and told Mary he must declare himself by some Catholic act; whereof despairing she resolved by will to bestow the crown upon the King of Spain. "What they demaunded on the one side, wee thincke wee have like reason to demaunde on the other."

"This playe of both handes will move both to consider of sune more assured staye of their religeon." The Papists already reckon on Parma's son, whom the Pope, the King of Spain, Italy and the English fugitives have assigned to be King of England. "Sum Papistes of Englande have already cast their eyes uppon Lord Strange, whoe is suspected to be reconciled to the Roman relligion, and by populer behaviour to winne the hartes of the one and the other religeon in his cuntrie. L., mightely allyed and loved in his cuntrye, maie be drawn into this reconninge."

The Protestants may do the like, having against him that he is a stranger, and otherwise odious or terrible as he may easily be made.

The Papists' faction in England is decayed, especially through Mary's death; many only adopted such courses out of malice against some now in favour, as the Earls of Northumberland, Arran, Lord Paget and Throgmorton, "or to coulour their ambitious deseignes thereby, which broughte the late Duke of

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Norffolke and all that crue into action." If a Turk had been likely to succeed, some of them would have been of that religion for those purposes. Northumberland was so void of all religion that he killed himself lest his son should lose his lands.

The devout Papists of England were divided in Mary's time, many inclining to a Protestant succession.

"Lastly, the Protestants are in possession of the state, so as that title shalbe the more acceptable; and beinge strongest it resteth onely to see whether it be not forstalled: which undoubtedlye is not."

Whatever strength the Earl of Leicester has sought by the Puritans has been for surety against papistical practices and Protestant enemies, not for any future enterprise. "*Hoc probabilius: si ultro progreditur insanire videtur.*"

Papistical enterprises shall do James no hurt being in amity with England, which will for her own good protect him.

As to practices against his life, through this temporising he may for all his cunning be despatched in favour of some Catholic competitor or ambitious Protestant.

"That the ametye of Englande is more desireable then that of France or Spaine for his present suertye, and future hopes, shall more particularly appeare yf wee examyne what his dangers be and what his hopes, and see howe these ametyes stande with or for them."

"All the dangers any prince can fall into are;"

"Losse of estate, losse of lyfe, at home";

"Losse of authorety, losse of reputacion, abroade."

"These dangers are to growe either from";

1. "Forren invasion."

2. "Conspiracie and faction of malicious, ambitious and insolent subjectes."

3. "The practise of those that maie have cause in Englande to feare or hate him."

4. "His owne cowardize or evill behaviour."

His hope is in England, amity wherewith will prevent these dangers.

1. Foreign invasion of Scotland can only be by England, unless for religion, and in that case it would begin in England, and Scotland being in amity with her need not fear "what the Pope, the King of Spaine and all the rest of that sect can doe."

He need not fear invasion from England, "forbearinge hostiliteye against us and dealinge with other nacions. Her majestie seketh no matter of conquest." Opportunities were refused during his childhood, English forces being in Scotland for his service.

2. What friendship more fit for the King, for repressing the open attempts of his subjects to the loss of his estate, than that of her majesty and England?

That England seeks his ruin is an imagination of those who, wanting honesty themselves, weigh all things by their own false weights.

It is false that the Queen desires to entertain his people in division. Amity with England would afford him succour for

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"The person that maie doe most harme by his ambition is a Papist, Claud Hamilton, whoe hath bine nourished with a hoape of a regencye and consequently putt in mynde of the possebilitey of obteyninge the kingdome by his authoretie, whoe thinckes he maie dispose kingedomes at his pleasure."

The Papists' insolency cannot be so dangerous to him while backed by England as the Protestants' would be if divided from her, as she might then support them.

"As for the conspiracies of anie private person which maie reache onelye to his liefte, the like is to be saide as touchinge temporizinge."

3. "Ametye with Englande will make him feared and hated of fewer then the ametye of Spaine or Fraunce. For in Englande it is everie mans case almost, even to the plowman. Yf he breake with Fraunce, Spaine or Italy it is but the princes cases yf he be estranged from them, and toucheth not them soe neare as it doth those of Englande. Soe as the danger is farre lesse yf anie thinge shall insue thereof: where otherwise yf he give such cause of feare or hatred to them of Englande as it sincke into theire hartes, it maie bringe forthe most perillous effectes to his ruin: which the power, countenance and pollecie of Spaine, Fraunce and Italie shall not be able to prevent."

4. As to loss of reputation, it is answered where it is spoken how far it concerns his honour to revenge his mother's death.

"This for his dangers: now for his hoapes, whereof the reasons are lyncked with his saeftey in some poyntes."

It is absurd for any prince to found his greatness upon them to whose designs such greatness may prove contrary. If he change not his religion he cannot depend on France or Spain, who yet will not be sure of him if he offer to change. They will not for religion keep within the bounds of honour and justice when it shall serve their turns to break. "Don Antonio a Catholicque Kinge putt from his righte by a Catholicque Kinge."

France has reason to be jealous of the uniting of England and Scotland in respect of the title pretended to the crown. France and Spain will be content that he be occupied by a war with England while they execute their designs; "or as it was propounded in the Councell of Fraunce duringe his mothers time, to transporte the warre into Englande under the coulour of her lybertie, and soe to have made Englande the stage of their tragicall actes."

Such malice may be prevented by England, but he would but serve a turn, like his ancestors, two of their Kings slain, two taken by England.

The French King will yield to nothing which may make for the greatness of the Guises, knowing them to aspire to the kingdom under colour of religion, and the King of Scotland their kinsman. "If Guize were employed whoe playeth the Rex soe now in Fraunce, he woulde be more then quarter master in Englande. He aspieth to his owne greatnes." Courcelle's letters showed that the French King gave James fair words but no help: the letters were drawn by a peevish, partial secretary, Brulard.

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The King of Spain's assistance is suspicious in respect of his ambition, power and colour of right. He is to receive this crown from the Pope in reward of his present enterprise, provided that he shall disseise himself of it to some other that shall marry his daughter. If the King be the man to whom she is promised, he himself knows; let him consider the servitude of receiving with such conditions a crown that may come more orderly to him through amity with England; if he get it the other way, it will be by loss of treasure and people, so as he should not recover the power of England in an age after.

"If the Kinge be not the man that must marrie the Kinge of Spaines daughter, then will it be highe time for him to ende this jarr betwene him and her majestie, and not suffer himselfe to be abused by them of Spaine under coulour of revenginge the injuries offered him in his mother."

"This helpe and comforte an ametrie with Spaine and Fraunce affordeth to his hoapes. Now see the consequence of a breach with Englande."

The dangers of war with such an enemy, if he escape killing, to be taken or driven to fly, disabled from succession in England and forced to fly to foreign courts, like the King of Portugal, who has found little assistance, notwithstanding the consequence of his dispossession, whereby all Spain, the East and West Indies are conjoined, to the terror of all other princes.

Few princes [were] ever restored in that manner to their right: let him take the way of least apparent danger. Pedro of Castile was restored by the Prince of Wales, son of Edward III., being chased by his base brother, who after by the aid of the French regained the crown, Pedro being odious to his subjects.

Edward IV. and Henry VI. "played levell coyle for the crowne," but their divisions enabled the dispossessed to reenter. James may find a more present competitor if disgraced by law. Henry VII. came into England by right and by goodwill of the people; his foreign forces were small. Henry d'Albret was chased from Navarre, having married the French King's sister. Christian King of Denmark, having married Charles V.'s sister, went succourless from them both being "expulsed" his kingdom. Kings will not always enter hazardous enterprises for glory.

A breach with her majesty will make James odious to the English nobility, who will then keep him from the succession.

The act against the Scottish Queen disables all who attempt anything against her majesty or England; a just act to assure the Queen; no man need offend it except himself list. The King has been taught to condemn such disablements and acts of parliament as those during the Wars of the Roses. But that quarrel stood between houses of our nation, having the commons' affections equally divided; neither brought strangers' help, and both had rights. In James' case he would be an enemy and a stranger, odious to the nobility and religion.

Wigmore is to discover "what the Kinges religeon is, what his affection and opineon of her majestie and the nation is, what he conceaveth of everie one about her, whome he hopes best of, and in what respectes, and most particularlye of my Lord Chauncellour,

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my Lord Treasurer, the Erle of Leicester, Mr. Secretary Walsingham and Mr. Davison." Also "in what termes the severall negociacions comenced with Spaine, Fraunce, the liguers of Guise, the Duke of Parma and Kinge of Denmarke doe stande, but especiallye whether it be true that he have his hande in this present enterprise with the Spaniarde, and everye waie what is reported thereof; and to advertise the progresse of the saide negociacions, as also of that which shalbe deseigned and donne in that courte and cuntrie from time to time."

"Lastly, what the drifte of his former negociacions with us here have bine," for the things which his ambassador lately treated with her majesty were underhand, by secret commission, contrary to an Act of Council in Scotland "since the deathe of the Kinges mother in what opineon and reputacion Archibald Douglas is with him." He shall "harken after the severall negociacions of marriage, mencioned in Corcelles his letters, with the Infant of Spaine and the Kinge of Denmarkes daughter. It was discovered here that a motion was made by one sent out of Spaine with her picture."

"It would be verie gratefull to knowe what the secret messages were that Andro Melvin broughte from the Scottishe Quene to the Kinge."

16 pp. Partly in cipher. Also 1 p. explanation of cipher. Indorsed.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 160.

Copy of the same.

June 7. **461. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO [WALSINGHAM].**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 312.

"Pleiss your honour, be suche letteris as I haif ressaved . . . northern faction, it doethe appeir that thay vill lye . . . for ane tyme, speciallye quhill some matter may come to thaym for the better furthering of thayr intent . . . sellis is derected away wyth speed to that realme, and the Erle of Hnntlye hathe send for his future spouse."

"It may be supposed that thayr hath beyn gud . . . betuixt thayr proseadingis and those in France. In . . . excepted in the justnes of tyme, whiche falt . . . to helpe in the saim form, as utheris did wh . . . fell Home the Ducke Lennox alias Monsieur de Auf[bigny]. This vill ressave some delay and gude may . . . in this mydde tyme if her majeste haif ony desposition . . . haif it done."

"The tuo gentill men of the King of France's gard . . ., called Hepburn and the uther Snynton, are recommendit to me be letteris from dyvers of my freyndis the . . . haif favorable passage throw this realme wythe . . . and horsis extending to the nombre of 8 as . . . pasport ressaved at Bernik may appeir. One of . . . called Snynton hathe beyn choising be some of . . . at hoim to gewe intelligens be vrytingis hither . . . to utheris at hoim. His dessire is that he m . . . secreit adresse gevin be your honour to your . . . fidente theyr for ressaving and doubling of his letteris. In the . . . what your honour thinkis meit to be done in . . . I must leave to

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1588. your awin consideration. And . . . that I may ressave your
 anssir. And so leaving to trowble your honour at this tyme I take
 my leave." [*Signature burnt away.*]

1 p. *Holograph.*

1588. **462. ADVERTISEMENTS FROM CARLISLE.**

June 13.

The English captains, gentlemen and soldiers that attended
 on the King with the cannons at the house of "Loughnabell"
 have all returned in safety, saving one soldier shot through the
 thigh. The King hath dealt very honourably with him and the
 rest; "taking yt most kindly that her majestie would send the
 canon unto him without pledge."

The King hath caused David Maxwell, with 6 others that kept
 the house against him, to be executed.

He purposeth to come to the frontier in person for pursuit of his
 rebels and disturbers of the peace, having required Lord Scroope
 "to hould a hand with him on England syde to th'end that none of
 them may escape."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Indorsed.*

June 15. **463. LORD COBHAM TO WALSINGHAM.**

Harl. MSS.
 292, fol. 65.

Your letter of the 8th of June I received by the post of
 Antwharppe the 12th of the same, with the report of the articles
 propounded by the Duke of Guyse to the French King and of the
 Armada of Spain, for the which I heartily thank you and for your
 mindfulness of me.

By your last you know that the President Richardotto went from
 us the 6th of this to see a brother of his languishing at "Brugyes"
 with promises to return within two or three days, but his return
 was not afore 12 of the same late a night. And yesterday, being
 the 12th, by reason the Marquys D'Guasto came hither and passed
 the town with 200 horses with whom the "Conte of Arenberge"
 went we did not assemble ourselves. Now, Sir, you may judge
 why the delay is, and how the denial of the cessation of arms hath
 profitted them much, for now are they in a readiness to embark
 upon two days warning if they had mariners.

By my last letters I wrote unto you of a boat that came from
 Spain. In a boat here came a Italian Captain called Marini, who
 was not long since sent into Spain by the Duke, to bring him word
 of the state of the army, who makes report that he came in
 company with the Armada four days and four nights and that they
 are 280 sails. The Duke dispatcheth a pinnace this night to the
 Armada.

It is here reported that Maxwell latterly come out of Spain has
 made a rebellion in the north parts of Scotland and have sent up
 mass, at the which they much rejoice, for there is their hope,
 either voluntarily or preforce. They look for mariners out of
 Scotland to the number of 1200, whereof presently 500 to 600 out of
 "Fryesland" and from "Haynborow." Every passenger that
 cometh out of England doth bring soldiers that go straight to the
 Duke's camp, which is to be looked unto. There came yesterday a

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boat out of Scotland that brought a packet out of that country which was presently sent to the Duke.

The 10th of this month at one of the clock in the after noon and on Tuesday the 11th at ten of the clock in the morning until three in the afternoon the Governor of Graving met with Gordine, where they had long communication, but these words were overheard that now that 4 is in trouble we doubt that they will have us by the ears which if she shall do we are not able to help ourselves.

I send you a report of the State King of Spain's fleet given Mr. . . . * There be divers of . . . that have offered to . . . but until I may hear from you . . . I pray forget not to let me know what I may do.

There be divers companies newly levied in "Arthoys" and "Henego" whereof the leaders be gentlemen of great living which some being men of account and of great years take it in evil part to have only a private charge as to be leaders of footmen. This messenger has as he informs me some money due unto him upon his wages serving at Dover, for that he is discharged of his fee. I heartily pray you that by your good favour he may have it paid him, and withal that he may be returned out of England with a packet to me. I send you here inclosed the last answer to the cessation of arms: the equality they do stand still upon, but they have augmented the days to six more, which is in all twelve. You shall also receive ours unto you, but this I do not as a scholar that would "petie theyr lives" to send them unto you, but having occasion to send this bearer with these other occurrences I am bold to send it unto you. I pray use it accordingly. This day we met, at which time Doctor Rogers hath very orderly and eloquently laid before them that part of the instructions that concerned the actions of the King of Spain's Ambassadors or Ministers, as also that which was in the particular memorials, to Her Majesty's great honour, to the which not one word was made, saving they said that the towns were holding from them, and that "parole ne femine" and prayed us to go to principal matter. This much am I bold to write unto you, by our general letter you shall know more particularly. "Binborow." *Signed: W. Cobham.*

2 pp. Addressed. Indorsed.

June 17. 464. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

I have received letters from Scotland showing that my lord ambassador is hardly dealt with by the Chancellor, "only to gett the hoall intelygence in his owin handllinge."

For this effect hath Sir William Keith written to me earnestly that I should press your honour with the dealing in this intelligence specially with the Chancellor, affirming that Mr. Archibald is not well trusted. He makes oath that he writes this not of evil will to either English or Scot, but to have such deal as may do good for the welfare of religion and the amity of this isle.

I have acquainted his majesty's ambassador with this matter, who can better inform you, and at my coming to London this week

* Cipher.

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I shall be ready, either by going or writing into Scotland, to make this matter more quiet amongst them, that good offices may be done as it shall please you to direct me.

Postscript. "He wryts that the King wold give warrand to this intelygence with the Chancelar upon my advertisment." *Signed*: J. Hudson.

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

June [20.] **465. SIR HENRY WODDRYNGTON TO [WALSINGHAM].**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 296.

Is credibly informed that, at a conference lately held in the north of Scotland amongst the northern lords, it was fully concluded that they are to receive the Spaniards looked for to come into Scotland by Lammas at the furthest. They have dealt with the King heretofore to condescend thereto. He has altogether denied them, but they hope in the end to persuade him. If not, notwithstanding they are to join with the strangers and have already cast who will take part with the King, and who join with them.

They think the borough and corporate towns and ministry will be on the King's side, but most of the gentlemen, householders and commons they count on their side, which will exceed the King's party by far. So the King must either crave assistance at her majesty's hands or else be no party to withstand their proceedings. The only practice and mark they shoot at is that her majesty would assist the King. Earl Bothwell and Lord Hume are both favourers of that faction.

Likewise, at this present they are practising to save Maxwell's life, and it is thought that very shortly there will be an alteration amongst them.

The King at this present is greatly offended with Huntly and Claud Hamilton, who make small account of the same.

Thought convenient to signify all this to him. Berwick. *Signed*: Henry Woddryngton.

1 p. *No flyleaf or address.*

June 22. **466. ROBERT CAREY TO MR. CARMICHAEL AND THE CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 320.

"Good Mr. Carmihel," I have received your letter, being glad of the news contained therein. I have written to my lord Chancellor the cause why you have not heard all this while: the stay has been in myself, and he will make it known to you.

The 2000*l.* shall be sent to Berwick to Mr. Bowes to be delivered to you when the King shall send you thither . . . Now that the Queen knows I am not able to go she means to send some other, and Mr. Bowes will see the delivery of the 2000*l.* to whom the King shall appoint. I am very sorry I cannot come myself. London. *Signed*: R. C.

"Ryght honerable my verrey good lord," After my coming to court it was determined by the Queen and Council that I should return to the King with 2000*l.* with other directions wherewith he would have been well satisfied. But the day before I should have

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1½ pp. *Copies. Indorsed*: "22 Junii 1588. Copy of Mr. Robt. Careis letters to the Chancellor of Scotland and to Carmyhel sent by Robt. Carvell."

June 28. **467. INTELLIGENCE FROM BERWICK.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 314.

"Captain Carie and the provise Marshall was envitted by the Countie of Bothell to din with her in Coldinggam on Sondag last, my lord being away. They war accompaned with Captain Walker, Georg Barratt, James Somer, and divers others. After ther dener the Scottis gentillmen said grace, prayed for ther King and for ther lord and his ladie, and prayed to God to send the King a reving for the death of his mother. One ansswared it was good for the King she was gon, for he was bot ane usurpe in the tym that she leved, and that wals all the ansswar was maid. The popell of this town murmered greattly that the gentellmen that was ther mad no further ansswar."

"The Lord Bothell being comed hom sent for Captain Carie and the rest to dein with him one Wydensday. They rod thether, and as som thought yf they hard the grace again they provided to mak further ansswar then they ded befor, for that they ded see all the popell of this towne was discontent that they said no further in it. When they cam to Coldinggam my lord Bothell mad them good cheer, and, as it semed, with an entencion to mak them dronke, and after they had dronke eneughe the Ladie Bothell found meanes to gett Mr. Carie from the table, seing he had eneughe and fitt for hir porposse and walked abroad with hym, and discoursed long together they tow alon, whairof non hard bot selves."

"Ther is som sayeth she was very enquesitive of hym for matters of statt. All the tym they war abroad my Lord Bothell satt at the table stell, and when they war redie to arise a gentellman stod up and sad grace. And after he had prayed for the King his lord and ladie, he prayed to God to send the King a reving for the death of his mother. It is said Captain Walker ansswared that it was ane uncherittable grace and that she was put down by a law. My Lord Bothell said that the King of Spain, the King of Fraunce and the King of Denmarke was all men mean eneugh to have gon one hir triell. He said yf his connsell had ben followed it should have ben revenged or this tym, and so they arose."

"Mr. Carie was told of it. Notwithstanding my lord and he talked together long and verie famellerly, and so parted with gret frendshipe. My lord Bothell's gentellmen gave most greatt and heighe commendacions of the Spainyardis, and what worthy men they war, of our Englishmen mad som small replie agein. Many theink moch that ther shouldbe so great famelaratie betwex my lord Bothell and Captain Carie, conssedreng how hardly he is disposed towardis England, and yf it war an other then he they would be very evell thought of. And conssidering he is non of the wisest

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“ My lord Bothelles brother and other his sarvaintis and frendis hathe siche recourse to this town by meanes of Captain Carie as the lick hath never ben sen, and of Captain Caryes followeres to my lord Bothell and som tym will tarie three or four dayes together in Scotland with hym, notwithstanding all this beforesaid.”

“ My lord Bothell is about to tak upe one thowsand men and, as they geive it out, to go against one Mackeline in the north of Scotland, bot as we ar informed hear it is upon the Spainyard arivell to sett upon use.”

“ Hear was a ship with malt and benes for the markett comeng to this town, and before the haven taken by a Scottes shipe, and caried away. The nex night they thrust hir upon a rock and so was lost ship and goodes. He that tok hir was a sarvaint of my lord Bothells.”

1½ pp. *Indorsed*: “ Adverticementis from Barwick, June 28, 1588.”

July 1. 468. [HUNTLY] TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 311.

“ . . . * I might . . . I never doubtett, quhiche is ze . . . loving mynd, bott ony my desert of your onlie courtes . . . sed you aluayes to beare touardis me, to the quhiche if . . . gud vill on my part I did not correspond, I might in . . . puted ingrat and unthankfull, vices detestable and to be est . . . quho are desyrous to be accountitt honest men. Veil Sir . . . farder protestations mak your accmpt that their is not one man in . . . quhome you may more command, or quho shalbe glader to . . . * fitt occasion to acquytt those courteseis and gratitudes quherby . . . me to remaine your debteur.”

“ I am sorie his majesteis . . . so hard termes, bott am glaid you and I do agre upon one ca . . . quhiche is the hatred betuixt my tuo oncles. Itt grou . . . quho shulde for t'advancement of his majesteis service lay . . . just occasion of hatred, and concurre in the gud vork shuld . . . Their is no open cause saving onlie a jalousie and suspicion . . . grounde, everie one crosse the otheris doings, and so hinder the . . . * aucht most to advance.”

“ I heve done quhat I culd, lyt . . . ponar for removing of this impediment, bott in vaine, . . . so far that he quho shuld esteme of me if nocht more . . . lie chalenges me as pairtie and gives me no guid counten . . . stayes my particular affaires.”

“ I protest to you as . . . and that in presence of Him quho can nocht be deceived I . . . [ma]litiouslie offenditt his lordship, and the vorst I mentt to hi . . . and my other oncle shulde be gud frendis. I follouned, indeede the oth . . . * he made in accmpt of me, and this is all the cause of his . . . bott yett I vishe for advancing of his majesteis service . . . ve are all bound in duetie, that yett att the lenthe the . . . might be, if not altogether removed, at least laid asyd.”

* Decayed.

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" Verelie my lord chancellor shuld trust you so that . . . in this cuntrye vith instructions from . . . Leycester and Sir Fraunces for that effect, and then . . . to his majeste quho retaines the gud opinion he in . . . * of you, culd nocht bot do greatt guid."

" I heve . . . pairt of this purpose in one other letter to my lo . . . he shall shaue you; the sonar this matter be handle . . . effect I think itt shall produce, for I sei delaye . . . cous cheiflie in this matter, quherin I am affrayed . . . cellar shall go so far forduart to the discrediting . . . their shalbe left no place of reconciliat[ion] . . . trer our generall neuies I vold heve . . . sorye of the discord fallen betuixt my lord and him I . . . vritten . . . sundrie others or frendis vere earnestlie for lak . . . therof . . . I knaue you vill do all the guid you can . . . lett me [hea]r from you, and beleve me I shall not be so . . ."

1 p. No signature, flyleaf or address.

July 8.

469. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 313.

" . . . * ted me . . . her majeste for . . . King my souverains meaning in matteris of inportante . . . ressonne that I persawed the derection to be pr . . . my unfreyndis, and that it vas farr diff . . . —as I imagined— from hir majesteis expectation a . . . of wtheris inployid. I haif hytherto stave . . . ring to hir hyenes and can be . . . as zit to forbear against my awin natur . . . com to her presence onto such tym as . . . Aschebye shall ressaue his answer, which . . . * luk for to be agreable ather to her majestes . . . or my soverayn his veifayr."

" These sewerall ressonis mowis me hereonto . . . be resson I haif no mynd to deale nor . . . uther menis doingis, least wythout cause I se . . . to deale contrarye to thayr proseadingis . . . The uther I haif vrytin to my maistar . . . please him to derect som uther to del . . . hyenes that which thay vold haif me to . . . zit if her majesty shalbe pleased to think it . . . * that for hir hyenes information I shuld re . . . presenis, I shalbe glayde to do it upon . . . advertisment from your honour to that effect . . ."

" The generall newis in that cuntry th . . . Huntelye is in court and in gud credit vyth . . . he is to be solemmtlye maryed upon the . . . instant. Theyr is convention of the . . . be appoyncet about the 20 of this."

" . . . ambassadour from Dannamark had audienc . . . of this instant. He is derected from . . . of that realm to declayr the King . . . his bettir will towards the mariage of . . . * and to knaw the King my soverains m . . . the Orchadis [Orkneys]. It is thocht he shall re . . . at this convention, whear also is c . . . what shall becom of the Lord . . . wertisment. Signed: A. Douglas.

1 p. Holograph.

* Decayed.

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470. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

July 9.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 268.

Your honourable courtesy and the charge now committed to me make me bolder to crave your honour's favour to give me credit with speed for 100*l.* to be addressed to Mr. Bowes. It shall be repaid within six months at furthest, for I have so much of mine own to receive in London in September next.

"I am at this present verie ill furnished with monye; I shall n[ot] carie into Scotland with me 30 pound, and if it [be] true, that thei tell me here in Barwicke, my lod[ging] there will stand me in 20*s.* a daie; but yet I hope by some of my frendes there to find an easier w[ay] if it be possible."

"Mr. Bowes on the 8 of this present mett with Mr. Carmichell, with whom he had long discourse of the principall pointes of my negociacion, as I perceived by the relacion he made to me, and in what sorte the King looketh to be satisfied. If your honour add anie thing more then by your good instruccions I have alreadie received I shalbe the better able to sat[isfy] the Lord Chauncelour or the King if occacion be so offred. [As] to what particularities thei grewe unto I refer your honour to Mr. Boweses letter." Berwick. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

1 p. *No flyleaf or address.*

July 9.

471. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHELEY AND WALSINGHAM.Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 255.

Yesterday I delivered . . . house at Huton . . . gold brought to me by Robert . . . letters to me to be paid to him. . . . and told me that the King would now . . . again in person on the 21st day of the next month to the West Borders, to put the same in full and good order for the common peace and quietness of both realms.

In our conference there he showed me that, by the means of the Duke of Guise, the French King had lately written to the King to accept Courcelles for his ambassador to him, and that Colonel Sempill, upon letters from the King of Spain, sought to the King his sovereign to be admitted to negotiate the King of Spain's desires and causes there. By those and other means he said that the King was greatly solicited and pressed to hearken to the large offers made to him by Spain and France, which by sundry in Scotland were esteemed to sound to the King's great benefit and advantage, so that no labour or means should be omitted that might draw the King to accept the offers aforesaid. Therefore he persuaded with great earnestness that the King's good mind and affection presently borne to her majesty might be timely embraced and bound fast to her majesty.

To these he added that her majesty had lately and sundry times sent to the King divers general matters for his satisfaction, which generalities he thought could not sufficiently content and assure the King in the particularities of his desires, and in such things as he trusted that her majesty would grant to him.

And for the best means as well for the accomplishment of the King's satisfaction, as also for the increase and preservation of the happy league and amity with her majesty, and to bind the King

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and all his loving and good subjects in his behalf to run her majesty's course wholly, with all thankfulness and without regard of any other nation, he earnestly wished that it might please her majesty to vouchsafe to enable the King with the pension of 5000*l.* by year, to bestow upon him the title and dignity of some dukedom in England, to honour him with the order of the Garter, and at some time to present him with some jewel or other acceptable token of favour, albeit of small value, to witness her majesty's loving affection towards him, alleging that when any like presents were sent to him by other Princes or persons, they were highly commended and esteemed by the favourites of the givers as also any present coming . . . For the timely execution of all these things he wished Mr. Robert Carey or some well experienced in the estate and affairs of that realm might be speedily employed, and so with acceptable and particular matters to work the effects desired so near the minds and "contentations" of her majesty and them as could be done. Then others of greater . . . might be likewise employed and sent by others of the sovereigns both to complete the residue of all things requisite to be accorded and granted betwixt her majesty and the King, and also to ratify and confirm all the accords to be concluded.

To these I answered that in many of the particularities . . . I had before this dealt with the King, opening to him her majesty's good will and readiness favourably to satisfy him in all convenient requests, and the danger threatened to fall to himself by seeking matters inconvenient either in their own nature or yet to himself, his honour or estate, wh . . . I had thought that he had been well satisfied.

By the King's good contentment in these and all other things, I let him know that her majesty had made choice and sent Mr. Ash[by] to the King, with such acceptable matters as I trusted should be right well received, and that the sufficiency and good will of this gentleman employed should do all good offices to . . . the effects desired. So leaving the travail of all these things to Mr. Ashby, I commended him to his favour and . . . in his service there, which he frankly promised to . . . to him with any service that he could do for her majesty.

The marriage of Huntly with the eldest daughter of Lennox, and the convention of the nobility and barons shall be at Edinburgh the 20th of this instant July. It has been doubted that by the great assembly to be gathered at H . . . something should be enterprised to alter the Court and . . . But the danger thereof is well foreseen and prevented, and all the nobility suspected to intend any alteration . . . Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Addressed.*

July 16. **472.** INSTRUCTIONS BY ELIZABETH TO MR. RICHARD WIGMORE
SENT TO JAMES VI.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 156.

Finding as well by the report of our servant Robert Carye made to us since his return, as by the King's own letters lately written to us, that he shows himself well disposed to embrace our

Elizabeth.

1588.

amity and friendship, we knowing how greatly it imports us both, in respect that for the profession of the true Christian religion there is a most dangerous combination made by the Pope, the King of Spain, and other Catholic Princes for the rooting out—as much as shall be in them—the known professors of the same religion, that we should take some speedy course for defence of both our realms and kingdoms, whereby we may be the better able, with the assistance of Almighty God, to withstand such attempts as shall be made by [the com]mon enemy: and to the end that you may make it appear to the King how both for the time present and the time future it may grow dangerous as well to himself as to us, if both a resolute and speedy course be not taken for the withstanding of the effects of the said combination, we have given order to our Secretary to give to you a particular memorial for that purpose, to be communicated by you to the King upon some apt occasion that may be offered to you for that purpose.

And for that we perceive by some speech that has passed between the said Carey and the Chancellor of that realm that the King his master looks to receive satisfaction in some points . . . * he can with his house—as the said Chancellor alleges—make open demonstration of the love and good will which he professes to bear towards us, we think it meet that you should yield some such answer to the said points to the Chancellor, for that he propounded the requests, or to the King himself in case he should deal with you therein, as may stand with our honour.

First, whereas it is desired that some public declaration touching our innocency of the death of the late Queen his mother should be made, to notify to the world how innocent we were in that behalf, you may tell the said Chancellor that we can yield no better satisfaction than is contained in the judgment given in the Star Chamber against Davison, our late Secretary; having besides by our letters written with our own [hand] testified our innocency in that behalf, the same being expressed with so earnest and great protestations as we could not have done to satisfy him or any Prince or creature in the world for all the kingdoms on the earth, unless we had found our conscience most clear and guiltless in that point.

Yet in case he shall not rest satisfied therewith—as in reason he ought—for that the said judgment is testified only by the subscription of the officer of the Court, you shall further offer to him that he shall have the same testified under the hands and seals of such as were appointed especially in commission to charge the said Davison with his offence, and afterwards to extend such severe punishment as might be laid upon him, agreeable with the laws of our realm. And in case he shall not rest satisfied with this offer of subscription, you shall then put him in hope that you will procure that the said judgment shall be exemplified under the Great Seal of our realm.

Secondly, touching the doubt conceived that the sentence given against the Queen his late mother should prejudice some kind of pretended title as he may make after our death as successor to this crown, and for his satisfaction in that behalf, we can be content

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588.

that, for clearing of that point, he shall receive some public instrument signed by all the judges of this our realm that such right as he may any way pretend can in no sort be weakened or prejudiced by the said sentence; which is as much as we can yield for his contentment touching that point.

Thirdly, touching some ancient [title] of dukedom or earldom which the said King seems to affect within this our realm, you may show to him that our servant Carey told you in speech with him that he had by conference with his father and others who greatly affect and desire good amity and friendship between us and the said King, that they utterly dissuaded him in any case from acquainting us with the same as a thing that at this time might breed an unnecessary jealousy between us, especially seeing that there could arise no great benefit to him thereby.

Lastly, concerning the ratification of the league, as we acknowledge it to be a thing most necessary for us both, having regard to the present time, so shall he find us ready to send some noblemen into that realm for that purpose, who now shall understand [his disposition to send some hither to us for the accomplishment thereof.*]

6 pp. *Copy.*

July 20. **473.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 289.

By my last I certified your honour of my stay at Berwick four or five days upon the receipt of the King's passport.

The 15th instant I arrived at Edinburgh. As yet I have seen no man but such as the King appointed to receive me, "which was Mr. Carrmichell left here of purpose to entertain me, and on of the Douglasses sent from the King out of Fiffe to the like effect."

The King means faithfully towards her majesty. Such is his zeal in religion as the church and all good men nothing doubt of him, whatever evil tongues may report.

"Corsales, the Frenchman, upon the apprehension of the Lord Maxwell, is slied from hense without his leavetaking of the King, feeling himself guilty in Maxwells practise."

"The King is expected here this daie: the Lord Chauncelour sendeth me wourd that I shall have audience the 22 at the furthest."

I received the last occurrences the 19th of July by Mr. Bowes, who tells me of your direction to him as to 100*l.* to serve my turn. I humbly thank your honour for your care.

"Sithence my comming hither there came to me one Mr. George Bruce, a marchant of good credit and dwelling in this citie. He haith offered a hundred pound at this present, desiring that it maie be ans[wered] to Mr. Castell and Mr. Fountein, principall ministers [of] the Frenche ch[urch]."

Herewith my turn is served without troubling Mr. Bowes; and hereafter [they] will be ready to deliver me such money as I shall need, to be repaid at Lon[don]. The ministers here of the church desire that your honour will see the French church answered of that

* Added in a modern hand.

Elizabeth.

1588.

100*l.* by the 14th of August, for this merchant Mr. R. Bruse (*sic*) is bound to see it answered [that] day.

Inclosed is the quittance, which the anc[ients] of the French church should sign upon receipt of the money; I pray you to return it to me with speed when they have signed it, when I shall receive the money at the merchants' hands.

Sir William Read, one that honoureth you, feasted me at his house, and at parting bestowed on me "a fine Gallawaie nag." This courtesy I received at his hands for your honour, being accounted a follower of yours, which brings me credit and profit. I have no way to requite it but to acquaint you therewith. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. Asheby.

2 pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

July 21. 474. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 275.

The 7th of July I sent to the Lord Chancellor to know the King's pleasure for my repair to court, from whom I received answer with the King's passport on the 10th, signifying his highness's going to Fife for five or six days, and leaving to my choice to go immediately to Edinburgh or not; I intend to be there a day or two before his return.

"In my instruccions this clause I find: 'And in case he [shall] not rest satisfied therewith, as in reason he ought, for that the said judgment by writing which shalbe delivered to you, is testified onelie by the subscripcion of the officer of the courte, *etc.*:' this testimonie here mencioned I assure your honour was never delivered to me, so as if it be requisite, it maie please your honour to remember it with the next packet."

"The 20 of this present the convencion is houlden at Eden-boroughe, at which tyme the Lord Maxwell is to be arraigned by his peres."

"The King is well liked for his earnest seale in religion, of late even in the presence of his lordes disputing with on Gorden, a father Jesuit, and confuted him [without] the heulp of anie minister, to the greate liking of the whole churche."

"He haith brought the Earle of Huntlye to be a conv[ert], confessing his error, and haith subscribed, submitting himselfe to the churche." Berwick. *Signed*: W. A[sheby].

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

July 25. 475. FRANCIS DACRE TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 272.

. . . . * and vexatious that I . . . my wife to his mercy to my great . . . that I think these extraordinary and . . . adversaries hath helped to shorten her days . . . eth me weary of my life; for even the morrow after she died, being the 24th instant, divers great outrages was committed, as you may perceive by the note inclosed, to the terror of her majesty's subjects and overthrow of my poor tenants and danger of their lives; who have fled to me this night and dare not go back to their houses.

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588.

They request me to make some means to my friends to assist them in their defence; which I dare not, considering my promise to her majesty and your honour for the preservation of the peace; which I will not break, but appeal to her majesty and to you for relief: which if it come not speedily all the tenants must be forced to turn from me for fear of life and living.

If her majesty would direct the justices of assize, sitting at Carlisle on the 8th of August, for condign punishment of Thomas Carlton, Lancelote Carlton, Richard Grahame *alias* Riche of the Langtoun and George Grahame *alias* Thomas Geordie, with other offenders, and give commandment to Lord Scrope to bring in the offenders to answer the laws, then there would be quietness. *Signed: Francys Dacre.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. No flyleaf or address.

July 25. 476. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 344.

Your letter of the 19th July I received the 24th, with the French occurrences.

That afternoon I had my first audience, with all favour at the King's hands. After the compliments I delivered the letter, whereat he showed all good contentation. He inquired of her majesty's health, and about the preparation against the league, and was glad to hear of her princely mind to resist so puissant an enemy.

He gives his word to join in all actions, "accompting her majesties foes his foes," grateful for favours received from his cradle, "finding this motherlie care which haith pleased her majestie to voucesaffe towards him still to continew."

He asked if I had anything to say in particular. I answered that I was to tell him how acceptable to her majesty was his well disposed mind, signified by Mr. Robert Carey, and also his letters preferring her amity before all other; and that "her majestie was readie to send some noblemen into this realme for the ratificacion of this league," when she shall know the time and persons that he will send into England about it.

He called the Chancellor, and after a few words in secret, said that the said Chancellor should confer with me, and that I should have access to his highness as often as I desired: and so I took my leave.

The opinion of the whole church is that his highness is zealous in religion, and in learning able to confute the papists. He hath of late disputed with Mr. James Gordon, a Jesuit, uncle to Earl Huntly . . . *

. . . where . . . driven upon the west coasts . . . King of Navarre to her majesty; he was with the . . . that I had audience, but no message from the King. This morning he came to me requesting letters to Berwick to have there a guide to conduct him to the court in England: he departs hence this afternoon.

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.
1588.

This day I am to confer with the Chancellor, and afterward to the King again. There is great hope of the King's faithful mind. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. Asheby.

Postscript. "As I was writing Mr. Carmichel came to me certif[ying] of a greate disorder committed by on of Sir Cutberd Collinworthes sones upon the Brunis in Tyvedale; it ge[veth] greate offence at this present especiallie."

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

July 26. 477. [MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS] TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 310.

"Be these letteris that I resawd from Mr. . . . * this xxvj day, berand date the xix of this . . . persawt that Mr. Aschebye had not than gottin audience . . . King was that nycht loked for at Edinburgh, an . . . morrow disposed to gewe him presenis, so th . . . he hathe spokin vyth the King upon the xx, her . . . no mention mayd thayrof in my letteris as be . . . befor that tyme."

"The contentis of these last letteris ar much lyk . . . mar I send to yow, wyth this addition, that h . . . cravis my opinion in some poynctis wherupon I c . . . * no solutione."

"I haif abstained so far as I can of layte f . . . to his majeste be ressonne that utheris that . . . haif bot small thankis for their panis; hath . . . larrit in his hyenes service vythowt varra . . . Now I persawe that for satisfiing his hyenes . . . I must be forced to entir in wryting to him . . . wold be glayde to vryt wyth advise and b . . . whearin I may do ony gude in this perrellus [tyme]. I culd be contented to onderstand how I may . . . harme to ony course intended be hir majeste in . . . if ony suche be."

"I may assure yow ill speachis hath beyn gevin o . . . thayr be suche as hath promised to perform . . . practisis ar lyke to be renewed from forin pri . . . moyr dayngeruslye lik to be dealt in to thay . . . they haif beyn."

"My maister vill luk for advertisemint from . . . accidentis fallin to this nawalle armye. I wold . . . to onderstand yowr honouris mynd what yow . . . shuld vryt thayr anent vyth ony uther mater . . . pliss your honour to derict."

"Some small vessellis of Scotland ar stayed he . . . of this generall restreynitt the awnaris call . . . that that thay may be released, and I must . . . to tell me what answer I shall gewe to they . . . Some greatar vessellis of that cuntry . . . what you wald that I shuld do in these premissis."

1 p. *No signature, flyleaf or address.*

July 30. 478. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 321.

I received your honour's letter of the 24th of July touching the appearing of the Spanish fleet upon the coast of the west country on the 29th, being Monday, at night. The next day I went to the

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588.

Chancellor, acquainting him with the news, who, glad of so good a beginning, wished her majesty a glorious victory over her enemies.

I told him I meant to go to the King the same day, passing the Firth to Falkland, to impart to him the approach of the Spanish fleet.

Presently the Chancellor, the Treasurer and Justice Clerk sent to my lodging Mr. Carmichael, an earnest favourer of the course of England, whom they would send to fetch the King back to Edinburgh to deliberate herein, assuring me that he will be ready to withstand all her majesty's enemies. Truly he is resolved to be at her devotion.

The convention began on the 19th of July, Friday, Saturday and Monday; whereat was ratified the bond for the defence of religion; the marriage of the King referred to himself, and some tax of Scottish pounds granted; the Lord . . . cause deferred till October.

Angus is come from the west of Scotland sick of the flux and burning ague.

Cavaglion, a Frenchman that came over with the Duke's sister, is commanded to depart on pain of death.

Monsieur Cleirmont, landing on the west coast, pretended he was driven thither by tempests: he moved nothing to the King touching a marriage with the King of Navarre's . . . , "but he haith made a solicitour here in courte for the enterntening of that matter." Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

Postscript. Touching the charge committed to me, my next shall inform you how the answers for the satisfaction of the King are allowed of.

This day Bothwell encountering Sir William Stewart in the street of Edinburgh, with his troop of followers, murdered him most cruelly. "Sir William had the keeping of the Lord Maxuell: nowe the citie haith the charge of him, and it [is] thought he shalbe caried to the castell presentlie."

2 pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.

July.

479. FRANCIS DACRE TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 286.

. . . * to my Lord Scrope this day . . . with a letter from your honour touching . . . daily spoils as are made and . . . upon my tenants by the servants of my adversaries.

Your honour wrote to his lordship only for the preservation of this year's crop of corn, as he taketh it; therefore the other party urges that you do not mean that the tenants shall enjoy the said crop themselves, but that his lordship may dispose the sequestration or preservation thereof; and also that everything appertaining to their tenements is left for them to make havoc upon, as before, except this year's crop.

I think you meant them to enjoy their tenements and all appurtenances until the law should decide otherwise, and beseech you so to explain it to his lordship, that they may enjoy the same as they have done for the last six years. Every particular is mis-

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588. construed; you may be informed that the meadows, *etc.*, claimed by the tenants lie in parks and forests; but the tenants in Gylsland and Graystocke and other places where great forests are, have always had such grounds as they claim.

As . . . used time out . . . then to want the . . . hope only of relief . . . thereof and of preservation of her majesty . . . to have agreed to a stay of things for a time . . . might have received advertisement from you, which otherwise might have been inconvenience to me and my tenants; but it will not be accepted by the other party. Carlisle, this . . . of July 1588.

Postscript. I crave pardon for inclosing Mr. Vice Chamberlain's letter; I knew not otherwise how to get it conveyed. *Signed:* Francys Dacre.

1½ pp. No flyleaf or address.

July. 480. [ATKINSON] TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 317.

I would thank your honour and my good lady for your kindness, and would do you any service here that I may, since I may not return, because the King has accepted me as his servant.

The King has returned from the Borders, leaving the Earl of Angus as his lieutenant, who means to ride shortly to burn and destroy their corn; which hath made them quiet and compelled Will of Kynmonth to come in upon assurance of his life.

Lord Maxwell is still in ward in Edinburgh, in the custody of Sir William Stewart. His majesty cannot be persuaded to pardon him.

A convention is to be held in Edinburgh on the 15th instant.

The marriage between the Earl of Huntly and the Duke of Lennox's sister is to be solemnized so soon as may be, "but not befor thay geive declaratioun of their faith, for his majesteis minister Mr. Craig refused to proclame thair bandis of matremony untill that tyme."

1 p. No signature, flyleaf or address.

Aug. 1. 481. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 316.

This bearer, Mr. Patrick Mauris, is unknown to your honour, and therefore bound to perform such service towards you as lies in him. I knew him in Germany when I was in the Emperor's court; I found him serviceable, and he is now ready to perform the like. The church here thinks him honest in religion and of good behaviour; he is an able man, having travelled, and speaking sundry languages.

The day before he returned to this city Mr. Carmichael requested me in his majesty's name to commend him to you; it was thought that Archibald Douglas had sent him to prison in London for some unkindness fallen betwixt them, as the party will declare; your honour shall do a good deed to send some gentleman to Douglas requiring him to be pacified towards this party.

Elizabeth.

1588.

“The particularities of the murder done by the Lord Bodewell upon Sir William Steward, and how it is taken here, I referr it to this bearer.” Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 1. **482. INTELLIGENCE FROM BERWICK.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 319.

Albeit the King apparently travaileth earnestly to suppress papists and papistry in his realm, yet the great papists still lie there safely and have great hope to get shortly their hearts' desire through the Spaniards.

“Brutes raysed in Scotland that the Spaniards weare come uppon the coast of England, and had done hurt to hir majestes navie.”

“Colonell Simpell, lurkyng on that part of Sc[ot]land neere unto Glascoo, is greatly comforted, lookyng dayly for the Spaniards there.”

Many good men in great fear by the small fruits of the last convention—ready to be dissolved—by the favour shown to Maxwell, the oversight given to papists presently looking to triumph, and the discovery that many are ready to embrace the Spaniards, who, they think, are at hand.

“On Tewsday last Bothwell killed Sir William Stew[art] on the cawsey in Edenburghe, and after brake open the gates locked uppon the tumult, and so retyred [him]selfe to his lodging.”

“In the tyme of this stirre Maxwell sought to have escaped, running neere to the portes, b[ut] the provost of that towne stayed and dothe detein him.”

$\frac{3}{4}$ p.

Aug. 1. **483. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 335.

“Madame and darrest sister. In tymes of straittis trewe freindes a[re] mest tryit, now merit is the thankes of yow and your countrey, who kythis him selff a freind to zour countrey and estate; and this tyme must move me to utter my zeale to the religioun how new a kinsman and nyghbour I find my selff to zow and zour countrey. For this effect then have I send zow this pres . . . heirby to offer unto zow my forces, my persoun and all that I may command to be imployit against zour straingers on quhats[umever] facon and by quhatsumever meane as may best serve for the defence of your countrey. Wherein I promeis to behave my self not as a strangear and foreyne prince, bot as zour natural sone and compatriot of your countrey in all respectis.”

“Now, madame, to conclude, as on the one part I must hartlie tha[nk] zow for your honorable begynning by zour ambassadour in offre . . . for my satisfioun, so on the other part I pray zow to send presentlie doun commissioneris for the perfyting of the same. Qu . . . I protest I desyre not for that I wald have the reward to preceid the desertis, bot onely that I with honour, and a[ll] my gud subjectis with a fervent gud will may imbrace th[is] zour godlie and honest cause, whairby your adversaries w[ill] have ado not with England but with the whole Ile of Britayne.”

Elizabeth.
1588.

“ Thus praying yow to dispeshe all your mate . . . with all possible speid, and wishing yow a successe con[ve]nient to those that ar invadit by Goddis professed ennemies, I commit, madame and darrest sister, your per[son], estate and countrey to the blissid protection of the Almighty. From Edinburgh the foust of August 1588. Your most loving and affect[ionate] brother and cousing, as ty[me] shall now trye.”

1 p. *Copy.*

Aug. 3. 484. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 303.

The last of July the King understanding from me of the Spanish fleet to be seen on the west coast of England, returned to Edinburgh in post from Fife, and came first to the Chancellor's house, and presently sent for me thither.

After I had declared to him the contents of your letter of the 24th, and showed how the Lord Admiral had proceeded, he was glad to hear of so prosperous a beginning, and wished a happy success. He said her majesty may be assured that he and his will always be at her devotion for her defence.

There is no doubt to be had of him either in religion or to receive Spaniards or strangers, neither will he stand upon conditions, as her majesty shall understand by his own letter, “ and I thinke a gentleman of credit to come with it, to offer that healp that lyeth in his heighnes.”

“ The best sorte here are well willers to . . . , but the Lord Chancelour strikes the strooke, [and] on that runnes the course of England above all men.” I wish there were some intercourse betwixt your honours. Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

Postscript. “ The Earle of Anguse lyeth within foure miles of Edenboroughe verie sicke and no hop of lyfe.”

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 3. 485. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 257.

. . . in generality . . . sort and great danger . . . part to stand in those terms . . . considering the approach of the enemy and the faction he hath in these parts, I thought it best to make these offers, as follows. First, I offer to his majesty a title of a dukedom and a reasonable revenue thereto. Second, a yearly pension of 5000*l*. Thirdly, to sustain a guard about the King's person of 50 gentlemen of Scotland and their commanders. Fourthly, 100 horsemen and footmen to be levied on her majesty's charges, to be employed upon his Borders. These offers to be performed during her majesty's life.

There is no doubt but that the King will hazard his life and crown against her majesty's enemies both for the advancement of religion and the safety of her person. The offers of the Spaniards are great—to give him pay for 20,000 footmen and 5000 horse, and what strangers he will admit at the Spaniards' charge.

The best sort are well affected and safe to run the course of England, and the Lord Chancellor above the rest is the man wholly addicted thereto.

Elizabeth.

1588.

I seeing his course bending so firmly this way, assured his honour that her majesty would always have an honourable consideration of his lordship for the faithful service he should perform herein. And so I most humbly take my leave, and pray to God to send her majesty a glorious victory against her enemies. Edinburgh. [*Signature burnt away.*]

1 p. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.

Aug. 6.

486. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 224b.

. . . * First, concerning her majesty's innocency touching the death of the late Queen his mother, he [the King of Scots] is thoroughly satisfied with her majesty's letter; yet in respect of the world it is desired that some public note of the judgment given in the Star Chamber touching that matter should be made, and sent hither, signed with the hand of the officer of that Court.

Secondly, a public instrument, signed by all the judges of the realm, that such right as the King may any way pretend hath not or cannot in any sort be weakened, impuned, or prejudiced by the said sentence. The Chancellor still continues in the thread touching the title of a dukedom or earldom. Besides, for that his ability is small, he requires a yearly pension of 5000*l.*, and the maintenance of a guard of fifty gentlemen of Scotland and their commander. And for that his outlaws and borderers cannot be kept in good order without damage to his own people, neighbours in England, he desires 100 horsemen and 100 footmen to be maintained at her majesty's charge.

For these demands I am to crave some instructions by your honour's means, in the meanwhile to feed them with fair promises to pacify the minds of many disco[r]dant persons in these parts.

Many things are demanded to get somewhat. I judge some honourable pension would quench all the rest.

He is most willing to enter into league, and affects her majesty's amity and good friendship before all other Princes, and . . . * the great offers made to him by other Princes, which he utterly refuses. It would be thought a most princely part of her majesty to entertain this young King with her gracious bounty in such sort that his subjects and people may think some way.

. . . * brought to . . . * seeing his . . . * able, I sent the offers I m . . . * pardon in passing th . . . * but the hazard and danger of . . . * revolt of this country upon the approach of th[e] Spaniards into the narrow seas made me the bold[er] to descend to these offers to satisfy the King; whereby the best sort will stand firm to him, and keep all Papists and discontented persons from taking arms in favour of the enemy.

Most sure account is to be made of this King being both zealous in religion, and of nature mild and void of all revenge.

His state is better known to your honour than I can exp[ress], so that his goodwill is not available without countenance and help from her majesty, whereby he will be enabled to rule his lords and subjects; which will all follow if they see her majesty make any account of his h . . . *

Elizabeth.
1588.

How dangerous the receiving of strangers at this p . . . * may be to the state of England, I refer to your wisdom to consider : which cannot be avoided, considering the discontented persons in Scotland at this instant, if her majesty have no strong regard, and that presently, to this King.

Touching the innocency of her majesty for the death of the late Queen, with the letter heretofore written his highness is satisfied thoroughly. First, to content the world, he desired that some public instrument may be made of the judgment given in the Star Chamber, signed by the hand of the officer, and to be sent hither.

Secondly, his highness requires to receive some public instrument, signed by all the judges of the realm, that such right as he may pretend has not, nor can in any sort be weakened, impaired or prejudiced by the sentence given against the said Queen his mother. His highness is ready upon answer from her majesty [to] these offers to send commissioners where and when [it] pleases her to appoint for the accomplishing of . . . * This . . . * and on that . . . * honour will inform . . . * the King of the nobility, and . . . * parts, and what offers are made to the . . . * both in public and private to draw him [into] the course of England. But he is most firmly bent that way, and therefore his highness is the better to be respected, and that with speed, as the time requires.

There are many well-willers, especially those [of] the religion, and chiefly the Lord Chancellor, who are most vigilant and careful to preserve the amity and union of these two Princes.

The Lord Hamilton acknowledges great favour received in England, and her majesty shall never find him ung[rateful].

The Master of Glamis is mindful of the favours u[nto him] of her majesty, and others, and accounts himself most bound to your honour.

I beseech your honour that I may with speed have such instructions as may in part answer the expectation of this Prince, or else her majesty's letter to the King in such sort as shall please her highness.

It should not be delayed, for great danger must, indeed, ensue in protracting time, considering he rules *jure Scotico*. Edinburgh. Signed: W. Asheby.

3 pp. Copy. In the hand of William Asheby.

Aug. 6. 487. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHELY.

I find the King "affecting" her majesty before all other princes, and ready to hazard his crown and life in her defence, but not able to perform that he desireth without her bounty to enable him in this honourable action and to content his nobility, who will run his course faithfully if they see her favour still continue, which will make him a strength to her majesty, and keep his subjects in awe, and take all hope from the enemy.

There is no suspicion to be had of him. He is zealous in religion, and so learned that he can confute their errors; I heard him dispute with a Jesuit to the admiration of the learned ministers

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588. that were present. "Neither is there any doubt that he will attempt any practise against her majestie, or the state of England, being of nature peaceable and voyde of all revenge."

The danger of revolt in this country by the approach of the Spaniards into the narrow seas caused me to make the following offers to the King, to satisfy him and his nobility while her majesty and the Council resolve what is to be done. I crave pardon for thus passing the bounds of my instructions.

"First, I offer to his majestie a duchie and a reasonable revenew thereto."

"Secondlie, a yerelie pension of five thowsand pound."

"Thirdlie, to sustein a gard about his majesties parson of 50 gentlemen of Scotland and there commaunders."

"Fourthlie, I offer on hundreth horsemen and a hundreth foote-men to be levied on her majesties charges to be employed on his border for the repressing of the insolencie of his outlawes."

"Theis offers to be performed during her majesties lyfe." Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 8. **488. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.**

I find my lord now content upon your honour's request to receive the bearer to his favour, so that any sent from you now may end the matter.

I send you a letter which I received from Mr. Richard Douglas touching the unkindness betwixt his uncles. "If her majestie will usse yat staett or peiple itt mycht be the better yat the quarrell wer removid and the Chancellor moar kyndly ussed, for I cane show your honner how he haeth had hard mesuer." London. *Signed: J. Hudson.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Aug. 8. **489. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 224.

. . . * these papists, and he not able to . . . * such help. I acquainted his highness with such advertisements [as your] honour willed me touching the intelligence that the north[ern] lords have had a long time with the Duke of Parma, and she[wed] by name those who were mentioned in your honour's letter.

The [Earl of] Huntley shall not stir from him; and over the rest he [will be] vigilant, and has given commandment through the rea . . . on pain of death that no favour or relief be showed them.

The Earl Bothwell, Lord Admiral of Scotland, is commanded to the sea.

If her majesty's fleet approach these parts they shall be re[ceived] with all favour that the country yields.

The Lord Maxwell carried to Blackness, in the custody of Ja[mes] Douglas, the Earl of Morton's son. Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Copy in William Asheby's hand.*

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.
1588.

490. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHELEY.

Aug. 10.

"Now that the Spannishe fleet, right honorable, is beaten from the narrowe seas, and passed the coast of England, it is thought thei will bend there course to some part of Scotland and joyne with the northern lordes, which are combined together, and have had intelligence a long tyme with the Prince of Parma, beyng solicited by Coronall Simple of this countrey, and the beshope of Dublin [Dunblane], sent of pourpose to see wether he could drawe the King to the bent of there bowe, in offring to him first to matche with the daughter of Spaigne, and suche a dowrey as should mayntein 20,000 fotemen and ten thowsand horse, to revenge the late Queens death and to set the crowne of England of his head."

But these offers cannot move the King against her majesty, affecting her amity before all other.

He is zealous in religion, and that *secundum scientiam*, endued with learning and virtue, and so void of passion that none shall be touched for the death of the late Queen, leaving revenge to God.

The entering into league with her majesty is thought by the best affected to be dangerous to the King before his people shall see an honourable satisfaction made to him, and so perceive her care for him.

The King having so many malcontents and papists in his realm, and the stranger now ready to countenance them, will be in great peril without relief in money from England to keep about him 1000 horse and foot of this country. Every pound her majesty sendeth hither now will save twenty later, and many a life.

"I have hard that the late Lord Keaper did oft give warning to have an eie to the back dore, meaning this part of the yle of Britaine, as your lordship knoweth well."

There cannot be found a better porter for this purpose than this present, and so devoted to her majesty as no prince more; let not this good opportunity be delayed; *mora trahit periculum*.

Many things are demanded here, but I guess these two points would content him and his:

1. A pension of 20,000 French crowns yearly; and so her majesty shall be at no charge in feeing any subject of his.

2. The land descended to the King by his grandmother, Lady Margaret.

These two performed would assure the King to her majesty, and save their subjects 100,000 crowns yearly.

They are greatly discontented at these delays, especially those of the religion, fearing some peril to the King now that he declareth himself so zealous in religion and so affected to her majesty, against most of his subjects stirring him to revenge.

"He must nedes be a strenght to her majestie at this present, for the stranger haith no hop to enter but by theise partes": if he be not considered, they will be received against his will, for he will not be able to make head against them. Edinburgh. Signed: W. Asheby.

Postscript:—"I beseche your honour to further some good resolucion for the quiet and strength of both thiese princes and there states; and that with sped, for the delay is dangerous."

3 pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.

Elizabeth.

1588.

491. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Aug. 10.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 239.

. . . thinks it . . . the King to enter into league before her majesty has some way honourably showed to the world what account her highness makes of him, and so satisfy the King in some of those requests set down by the Chancellor. The revenue of this crown is so small that the King cannot keep an ordinary guard about him, nor give pensions to his nobility and men of virtue, which cause him to be less followed and worse obeyed by his subjects.

Many things are demanded for his satisfaction, but guesses these two points resolved would content him and his. (1) A pension of 20,000 French crowns yearly paid to him. So her majesty shall be at no charge in feeing any subject he has. (2) The land descended to him by his grandmother, the Lady Margaret. These two granted would save her majesty and her subjects a hundred thousand yearly, for *concordia parve res crescunt magna dilabuntur*.

The best sort here are greatly discontented to see these delays used, especially in these dangerous times, and the Protestant more than the other sort, for that they fear some peril to the King now that he declares himself so jealous in religion, and that *secundum scientiam*, and so affected to her majesty before all Princes, and that against the minds of the most of his subjects and discontented persons, who stir him to revenge, whereof he is most void.

He must needs . . . present for the . . . by these parts and . . . they will be received here against . . . of himself he is not able to make head or [tail] of them. His nobility is strong and "facious," and . . . by other Princes. If the Lord Maxwell had been now at liberty he would have had ere the day 20,000 in arms to have received the stra . . ., but by the diligence of the King he was prevented and taken. After that his keeper was taken by the lord Bod . . . he was sent to Blackness, thence in the custody of Mr. James Morton to be kept till the convention of October.

Upon the news of the Spanish fleet coming to these parts northward, the King being in Fife, he returned to Edinburgh and is here putting his . . . and his subjects in readiness to withstand the entrance of the stranger to the uttermost of his power. The 8th August arrived here a "pinishe" of . . . and sent to the shore the master, the pilot, . . . two or three others out of the ship left at . . . Leith (Lythe) and Enchiffe about a mile from the . . . the parties having conference immediately upon the . . . landing with Captain Symple, were apprehended and brought to the Council. No great matters are learned from them. They say they parted from Dunkirk the 1st August, and are sent by the Duke of Parma to seek the Spanish fleet. . . . parties are committed, but their "pinise" hoisted up sail and so escaped from the ships of Leith.

. . . these men's arrival Colonel Simple is co . . . to custody and will only be kept and . . . hand of his majesty sent to . . . men-of-war from Newcastle . . . and lay in the Firth, and upon these coasts . . . such as resort either from the Duke of Parma or the Spanish fleet.

Elizabeth.
1588.

Of the Queen's arrival or the Spanish fleet nothing is heard but such news as came from him.

On Friday the 9th, late, a rumour was in Edinburgh that a great number of ships were seen on the north of Scotland, but whether they were English or Spanish none could tell. The King leaves nothing undone that lies in his highness to perform that her majesty may make most assured account of faithful dealing.

Received two letters from him on the 9th August by Edward Johnson, a Scottish man, who shall return with the next packet.

Beseeches that some resolute and good "conculsion" may be sent to content the mind of this King, and those chiefly of the religion, for they are most assured that the King will deal most sincerely. Is assured by the Lord Chancellor that if it please him [Walsingham] by writing or trusty messenger to have conference with him, he will take all doubts out of his mind touching anything that may be objected.

Joys in this good success of her majesty, and wishes a most prosperous victory over her enemies. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. Ashebie.

Postscript. Beseeches him to remember the remittance of the French church to be returned for the discharge of Mr. . . .

3 pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Aug. 11. 492. SIR HENRY WOODRYNGTON TO [HUNSDON?]

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 276.

. . . * ay last in the mor . . . the Spanish fleet to the Fryth . . . there cast anchor and launched out . . . cockboat with 12 or 14 men in her, all Spaniards, directed to Colonel Simple, who . . . conveyed to him safely to Edinburgh. After conference with him, the town understanding that they were Spaniards committed them to ward; who confessed that in that ship there is about 100 soldiers with victual and munition.

"Upon thapprehension of those that came ashoare, Collonell Simple road in great haste to therle Bothwell to his howse of Creighton, viij myles from Edenbrowghe. And Carmighell understand[ing] therof made ready and pursewed him with all speed and brought him back to Edenbroughe."

"Therle of Huntley being in Edenbroughe and infor[med] that Carmighell had apprehended Collonell Sim[ple], sent for Carmighell: and in the mean tyme that he was in table with him in thabbey of Holyroodho[use], he caused his men to set away Collonell Simple from that place where Carmighell had commyt him, and threatned to kyll Carmighell for this fac[t]."

The same day the King came to Edinburgh over the water, and hearing thereof sent for Huntly and examined the matter; and hath committed Simple to the place where Earl Maxwell was in the custody of Sir William Stewart, and committed Maxwell to the Black Ness.

On Saturday last in the afternoon intelligence was brought to the King how the Spanish fleet is landed in the Firth of Moray, in the Earl of Murray's country, 100 miles from Edinburgh. The earl is son to the Lord of Down, always suspected as a papist, and is now in his own country.

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.
1588.

The King hath . . . into the c . . . there lives
tha . . . arrive in any part ther . . . them with all
their necessaries, and . . . them with all favour. But if any
of the [Spanish] fleet come anywhere, they shall, upon pain of
their lives, resist with all their force.

Edinburgh takes up, at their own charges, 500 foot to guard the
town.

The King hath writ to the Earl of Huntingdon for enough money
to levy 1000 horse and 1000 foot of his own people. He is devoted
to her majesty, and forward against the Spaniards. Nothing shall
be omitted for the defence of this town. Berwick. *Signed:*
Henry Woddryngton.

2 pp. *No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 12. **493. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 330.

I received the 11th of August two letters written with your
honour's own hand touching my great oversight in the offering to
the King, it being done without commission. I yield myself to the
Queen's mercy; the circumstances being weighed I hope she shall
see the zeal I had to her service, which "forced me to hazard my
life before her heighnes sho[uld be] touched in honour or credit."

Her majesty shall find the King most faithful; he runs great
danger within his own doors for the zeal he beareth to religion, her
majesty's safety, and her amity. He acknowledgeth her care, and
is ready to hazard his crown and life for her friendship.

"What danger and utter ruine must nedes follow if the myndes
of theise tow princes be not firmelie knit together, all the wourld
doth foresee"; their union must needs be the safety of their
crowns, persons and states; the weal of their subjects and daunting
of their enemies.

These considerations, and the danger of the time by the
approach of the enemy, made me pass the bounds of my commis-
sion, but so as I draw her majesty to no inconveniencies further
than she is pleased to allow. So I crave pardon and commend my
life to her majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1½ pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 14. **494. ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 345.

"Now may appere, my deare brother, how malyce jo[ynded to]
might stryves to make a shamfull end to a vyl[e] begynninge; for
by Goddes singuler favour having . . . fleete well beaten in
our narrow seas and pre . . . with all vyolence to atcheeve
somme watering pl[ace to] contynew theyr pretended invasion,
the windes have caryed them to your costes, where I doubt not they
shall receave small succor and lesse welcome [from] those lordes
that so trayternslyke would busye th . . . owne prince, and
promys an other King releef . . . naine be suffered to lyve at
lybertye to dishonour [and im]peryll youe, and advance somme
other which (which God [forbid] youe suffer them lyve to do).
Therefore I send y[ou]e this gentleman, a rare yongue man and a

Elizabeth.

1588.

w . . . declare unto yowe my full opynion in this g . . . cawse as one that never wyll abuse youre, [or] serve my own turn, nor wyll yone do ought [that] my self would not performe if I were [in your] place."

"Youe may assure your self that [for my] part I doubt no whit but that all this . . . call prouwd and brainsycke attempt wyllbe [the] begynninge, thoughe not the end of the ruyn [of that] King, that most unkingly even in the midst [of] treating peace begynnes this wrongfull wa[rre]. He hath procured my greatest glory that [sought] my sorist wrack; and hathe so dimm[inished] [the] light of his [sonneship] . . . that which other . . . wyll to obtayn shame, let them keepe h . . . forces company. But for all thos for[ces] . . . best of . . . let not the [freindes of Spain?] . . . suffer us to yeld to their force. For although . . . not in the end the sequell, yet if by . . . them unhelped youe may increase the Eng[lishes] hartes unto youe, youe shall not do the worse deede for your behalf. For if ought should be d . . . your excuse wyll play the boyteux. If youe make not sure worke with the lykely men . . . Looke well unto it I beseache youe. The nece[ssity] of this matter makes my scribing the more spe[dy]. Hoping youe wyll measure my good affection w[ith] the right ballance of my actions, which to youe shalbe ever such as I have professed, not dou[btyng] of the recyprogue of your behalf; according as my last messenger unto youe hathe at larde sygnyfied. For the which I render youe a myllion of gratefull thanckes togyther for the last gener[all] prohybytion to your subjectes not to foster or ayd . . . ovr generall foe. Of which I doubt not the observation if the ringleaders be safe in your handes."

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Minute.*

Aug. 15. **495.** ELIZABETH TO [].

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 338.

"Right trusty, *etc.* We have swndrye wayes vnderstood lately by owre s . . . Ashby, whom we sent not longe sythens to the king your M . . . ready and forward you have shewed your selfe in advance[ing] such matters as ten[d] to the maintenance of the common amity of the two Crownes, also how carefvll you are to employ that credit you have with the sayd Sonueraign to nourish him aswell in the zeale [and] affection which he hath made demonstration to beare to the cause of religion, as also in all necess[ary] and frendly concurr[ences] with us for the withstanding of the enterprises of S[pain] against bothe our estates."

"Of which sound and upright dispos[ition] of youre, as you cannot but reape both with the king your master, and all good and well affected subiects of your realme, such credit and reputation as so profytable and provydent a Councillor deserves, so for our part we praye you to assure yo[urself] by these our letters that for your good affection towards us [you] shall finde us a . . . lykewise a thankefull memory."

1 p. *Draft, much corrected.*

Elizabeth.

1588.

496. WALSINGHAM TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND.

Aug. 17.

Addl MSS.

23,241, fol. 15.

“ Understanding aswell from Mr. Ashebye as by the reporte of Mr. Hudson and otherwyes, howe desyrous youe are to entertayne mutuall good intelligence with me, for the better service of both our soveraignes, I cannot but make yt knowen to your lordship that the stay which I have used therein hath not proceedid of any doubt conceavid by me, ether of the King your master's sound disposicion to continue in good frendship and amitye with her majesty, or of your owne forwardnes and carefull endeavours to do good offices betwin them to that purpose—wherein you neede not therfore to use any perswasions for my satisfaction—but of some pryvat respectes onlye that concerne me self, as you shall more particularly understand by Mr. Hudson: prayinge your lordship in the meane while to beleve that, as I nothings doubt of your good and sound meaninge to nourishe good amitye and intelligence betwin the two princes, so for myne owne parte I will not fayle to concurre with you therein with my best travell and indevours: for otherwyes I should both wronge the Kinge your master that seemeth so kindlye and honorablye to embrace the professid amitye betwin her majesty and him, and forget my dutey towards her majesty, who is so willingly disposid to aunswer him with the lyke.” At St. James'.
Signed: Fra. Walsyngham.

 $\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Addressed.*

Aug. 18.

497. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 307.

Your honour's letter of the 13th of August I received the 17th very late. The next day I certified the King of the care her majesty hath of him, and of her sending Sir Robert Sydney. Also that her majesty would send about 3000*l.*, which his highness accepts most thankfully.

The copy of the King's letter I here send: “ his majestie urgeth no offer no farther then it pleaseth her gracious heighnes, nether was moved anie other waie but to prevent the danger of the tyme.”

“ The Earle of Huntingdon haith writ to me to knowe where this mony should be delivered: the Lord Chancelour desireth that [it] maye be sent to Berwicke to Mr. Bowes, and so I have advertised my lord.” Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

Postscript. The King is firmly bent to follow her majesty, and the preachers here do great good to that course: the boroughs contribute most willingly what lyeth in them.

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 22.

498. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 326.

I have received your two several letters, the one of the 12th of this present, accompanied with certain reasons set down by the Lord Chancellor of that realm to move you, as it should seem—in respect of the danger likely to ensue—to make those offers you did, though unwarranted, as you know; the other of the 15th . . . by the which you seem to be in some . . . that her majesty rests satisfied by my mediation touching your late dealing without any direction, either by instruction or otherwise.

Elizabeth.
1588.

In answer thereof, you shall understand that I am very sorry that you cannot so far forth prevail as to have the said offers suppressed, seeing the standing upon them may work your undoing, without any profit to the King, for that her majesty having given you no charge to make the said offers will . . . she shall be made acquainted with the matter dis . . . you as she may both in honour and truth, as you know well enough. And therefore I am very well assured that Robert Sydney—when her majesty shall be made acquainted with that strange and inconsiderate manner of dealing by the making of the said offers—shall receive sure direction to disavow that doing, and then will there be no way to justify her majesty but to try some p . . . upon you for transgressing of your commission. . . . I shall be most sorry as well for the particular love I bear you, as also that this kind of inconsiderate manner of dealing of yours—though otherwise growing out of a good zeal—may breed a breach between her majesty and the said King even now, when a most perfect amity were to be desired betwixt them.

Surely, sir, if a man may give his censure without being thought curious . . . *in aliena republica*, I see no reason why the King should stand upon the same offers, for that he may well think that if her majesty had given any direction unto you to have made any such offers—the time falling out such as it is—she would never—besides the regard had of her own honour—have revoked the same. Now then, if the offers have grown from yourself, as indeed they did, without her majesty's liking or privity, some of them being such as no persuasion can draw her to assent unto the same, I do not see, if the King carry an honourable and princely meaning to maintain good friendship with her majesty, why he should take occasion to "dislike" with her majesty for a fault growing out of an error and oversight committed by you.

Some of the offers by you made were never heard of before, as that to the title of a dukedom there should be any revenue annexed; that there should be entertained at her majesty's charges 50 gentlemen about the King's person; and, lastly, that there should be maintained 100 horse upon the Borders. So that it appears that these offers having been neither propounded heretofore there nor thought of here, have proceeded out of the advice given you by some there who thought the necessity of the time might have drawn her majesty to have yielded anything, which I can assure you will not be brought to pass by any reason that can be set down by any Councillor there or here.

And yet for some other points heretofore propounded, as the delivery of the tithe, clearing of the King's title, and the pension of the 5000*l.*, I do not see but her majesty is well bent to assent thereto, so as she shall find the King, as he has often given her just cause so to conceive, inclined to concur with her in the defence of the country and in the embracing of the amity.

3 pp. Draft, partly in Walsingham's hand.

Aug. 22. 499. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 305.

Your honour's letter of the 14th of August I received on the 19th, whereby I understand her majesty's gracious consideration of my

Elizabeth.

1588. late error. I most humbly thank her highness, and am more bound to your honour than I can express.

Sir Robert Sydney is here expected; "the onlie restorative for the consumpeion that raigneth in theise partes."

The Spanish fleet was seen between Orkney and Shetland about the 10th of August. "There thei refreshed themselves with water and fishe, and tooke some pilotes and marriners of the fishermen thei found there, some Scottes, some Hollanders; it is thought thei bend there course for Spaigne."

They are not like to find favour at the King's hands, who is bent to hazard crown and life in her majesty's quarrel.

The 20th instant here mustered divers lords and their horsemen, to the number of 10 or 12 thousand, from Lothian, the East and Middle Marches, Edinburgh and Stirling. Their chief leaders were the Lord Bothwell, the Earl of Mar, the Laird of Cesford, . . . The King strengthens himself to bridle the attempts of papists and malcontents, who devise how to apprehend his person. Both Spain and France will seek to cut him off, seeing him zealous in religion and affected to her majesty's amity.

"Your honour is as well thought of here as anie lo[rd] in England; and if anie unkindnes haith ben sa[id] it is desired to be forgotten."

It would be acceptable to the King and pacify the malcontents to see some favour from her majesty to him, such as the bestowing of the Order of the Garter, and would qualify the desire for the title of an earldom or suchlike. He is a prince that feareth God, which must needs bring all virtues with it. This favour would win time, and keep him in good hope of her generous dealing towards him. *Signed*:—W. Asheby.

Postscript. "Mr Carvell was readie to have gone towards the northe of Scotland, but it is thought here that the Spaignishe fleet is gone whomewardest."

"This bearer I have retorned (as your honour willed by your letters which he brought to me) with this packet."

2½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed.*

Aug. 26. 500. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 304.

The last packet I sent your honour this bearer Mr. Edward Johnston should have brought, but his business staying him two or three days I was forced to send it by the ordinary post.

I refer you to the report of this bearer touching the state of this country.

"The Earle of Angusse was caried to his buriall to the Fyffe the 23 of August"; his death is specially grievous at this time.

"This daie I sent Sir Robert Sydneys passe for his entrance into Scotland. There could not have bene a gentleman sent hither more acceptable to the King," especially for the affection he bare to Sir Philip.

Of the practices against the Chancellor and other particularities this bearer will inform your honour. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. As[heby].

Postscript. "As yet we heare that the Spannishe fleet is bent for Spaigne."

"Coronell Simple escaped from his keepers."

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Elizabeth.

1588.

501. COMMISSION OF JAMES VI. CONCERNING THE BORDERS.

Aug. 26.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 340.

"James be the grace of God King of Scottis, to all and sondrie our lieutenantis, wardains, sereffis, stewartis, and thair deputis, provestis, baillies and aldermen of our borrowes and all utheris our officiaris, liages and subjectis what . . . to whome thir presentis salbe shawin, greeting. Whair as Sir Robert Sydney . . . is directed to us from our dearest suster and cousine the Quene of England, w . . . commissioun to treate in materis tending to our honour, the weill of our estate, and conservatioun of peax and quietnes betuix the realmes, we thairfore will that he be weill and freindlie usit, have tane lyke as be the tennour he . . . we take the said Sir Robert and his treyne in our speciall protectioun, main . . ., defence and sauvegard; to be unhurte, unharnit, untroublid or injured in any sorte in thair cumminge, remayninge, or retyringe from us."

"Willing thairfore and commaundinge yow and everie ane of yow our leiges and subjectis foresaidis, that beinge requyrit ye lovinglie resave, favorabley use and interteny the said Sir Robert and his foresaidis, and cause thaime be anshrit of all necessaires upoun thair reasonable expenssis, within your bound and jurisdictionis, undoinge and unsufferinge to be done to thame or any of thame any harne or uther injurie what sumever tendinge to the violation of this our specyall pasport and protectioun in any sorte as ye and every ane of yow will ansher to us upoun your obedience at your uttermaist charge and perr[il] and under all hiest pane, cryme and offence ye can commit and inryn against our majestie in that behalff." Edinburgh. 25 August 1588. *Signed*: [J.] R.

1 p. *Decayed at edge.*

Aug. 27.

502. SIR ROBERT SIDNEY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 261.

The 24th instant I came to this town, and this morning received the King's safe-conduct, the copy of which I inclose.

To-morrow morning I will go toward Edinburgh, "where, by reason of these things I have understood heer, I beleve I shall find matters in some tickle terms."

"On Fryday last there was a plott layde by the Earls of Huntley and Crayford and Colonel Steward for the killing of the Chancelor; which shauld have bin executed by Stewards owne hands as the Chancelor should goe in the night from the Kings chamber to his owne."

"It was discovered to him by a gentleman whoe gave him warning to looke well to him self that night and till the Monday after, other wise hee should surely bee killed. Wheruppon hee sent for Carmighel, and being reasonably accompanied, went up to King; which the earls perceiving, and thincking their purpose could not bee executed without greate stirr, determined to putt it over to some other time."

Mar and Glamis were then gone to the burial of Angus, but are now returned to court. This matter perplexes the Chancellor and Carmichael, for Carmichael's death was likewise intended.

There is great [expectation] of what I bring with me, and much assuring of those addicted to her majesty and the religion.

Elizabeth.
1588.

I will keep within the bounds of my instructions: "but if by reason of the violent proceedings of the Papists her majesty thinck good to pass any fa . . . I beseeche your honor that therafter I may have my instructions enlarged."

Other things be advertised, of which I am not yet an eye-witness, such as that Colonel Stewart should go into Denmark, suspected to go to the Duke of Parma: that Bo[thwell] hath shipping in readiness, under pretence to conquer one of the west isles called Lewis, and pays his men with Spanish money.

"I understand the Lorde Claud Hamilton hath professed him self a Protestant; so as—if I find it so—I will leave the prosecuting of any matter against h[im]."

I desire greatly to have the contents of the letter Mr. Ashton carried, because I must make it the principal cause of the sending of me. Berwick. *Signed*: R. Sydney.

2½ pp. *Holograph. Scaled, addressed and indorsed.*

Aug. 28. 503. SIR ROBERT SIDNEY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 250.

At my coming this evening unto this town I found here Mr. Asheby, by whom I understand that the King looks for the 3000l. directly which Mr. Asheby told him I should bring. He tells me Carmichael hath already been earnest with him for it, asking if there were no means to take it up in Edinburgh, because the King cannot pay the 300 soldiers he took up for his guard only upon hope of the said 3000l.

It seems the King doth greatly need it, for neither he nor the Chancellor are in safety without his guard; and the King hath already by Mr. Ashby given her majesty thanks for the money.

"I ame the hastier to write this, becaus it hath bin told the King that I should now bring it him, and becaus it is expresly sett down in . . . * I ame countermaunded by a let[ter] . . . from your honor. So as exept I . . . self otherwise commanded, I will not ta[ke] knowledg of any such matter. I hope th[at] her majesty in her own letter hath n[ot] any way specified it." Haddington. *Signed*: R. Syd[ney].

Postscript. "There is a brute heer in Scotland and likewise at Barwick that the Spanish fleet should be returnd to Orckney. How certen it is I know not."

1½ pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 30. 504. ARTHUR THROGMORTON TO WALSINGHAM.

The place I am in and the person with whom I came are sufficient to move me to write to your honour. And being bound to you in sundry other ways, especially by the late assurance of your love towards me "in impawninge your highe credit for mine honeste and dutifull behaviour here in Scotland to hir majestie, not by lines but by life I wishe I were able to shew my self thanckfull."

"My lord ambassadour here maketh good chere and payethe deer." Edinburgh. *Signed*: A. Throkemerten.

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.

1588. 505. SIR ROBERT SIDNEY TO WALSINGHAM.

Aug. 30.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 259.

"I came . . . * unto this towne, and was fetched by Sir James Hume, Sir Robert Melvin, Carnichel, and many of the gentlemen of the court."

I shall have audience on Sunday, which I have not pressed for sooner, in case in the mean time I should receive farther order from you touching the 3000*l.*, "which the King hath already in conceit received, and as Mr. Ashby told mee hath given the Queene thancks for, by him."

The King hath so reposed himself upon the assurance of the said money that, if he fall from hope of it, it must nearly touch him. He and his Council expect with me not only that money but also answer to his other demands. I will take knowledge of nothing, and make promise of nothing. They shall not through my speeches have occasion to hope less than hitherto they have done.

"The ministers are heer greatly perplexed, and as one of them told mee, they feare some greate trouble in the church. They see outrages so freely committed, and the Papists so apparently to manifest them selves. Huntley will not subscribe to the points of religion. The King had made a reconciliation between him and the Chancelor, but I have bin advertised from those that dealt for the perfaiting of the same, th[at] Hunt[ley] . . . self at . . . to have ga . . . especially in respect of . . . the Duke's daughter."

"The reco[n]ciliation between the Chancelor and Bodwell [is] thought to bee harty, for Bodwell is [said] to bee no dissembler; but becaus of his un[cer]tenes it is not sure how long it will last. It is sayde now he runs the Kings cour[se], and, as I ame credibly made to beleve, [may] easely be wunn, and onely looks to bee so[ught] unto."

"I ame promised that if I will [he] shall come unto mee. I ame likewise a[ssu]red that the men hee taketh up bee for the conquest of Lewis, and that [they] are not payde in Spanish money as it [was] reported. Hee goeth not him self, bnt sendeth Captain Hakerston. In mine opin[ion] if hee might bee wun it were not ami[ss], for the King favores him, hee is valia[nt] and very much followed."

The King remains well affected to her majesty and religion, and only wishes his people to be contented. Sir Robert Melvin, in bringing me to the town, used speeches to the same purpose. Whatsoever I do, I hope to leave things here in as good state as I find them. Edinburgh. Postscript: "I besech your honor that after I have delivered what I have in mine instructions, it will please you to procure my coming home, for I ame heer very ill provided to make any long stay." Signed: R. Sydney.

2 pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.

Aug. 30. 506. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 282.

I have received two letters from your honour, the first dated August 13, the second the 14th, both mentioning her majesty's

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588. liberality to the King of 3000*l*. "to leavie a strength about him in this dangerous tyme."

"In the latter eand of the first letter you willed me in her majesties name to let the King understand her good and gracious care towards him, even in theise wourdes; to assure the King that for his owne sake, as in respect of her saftie, she will not faile to assist him with the meanes she maye against the attemptes of the Spanniard."

I acquainted his highness with all this, which was acceptably taken.

"Beside I named Sir Robert Sidney, my lord embassadour, now here arrived, the which did mervouslie content the King, for th'affection he beareth to that name, and that he imagined that this favour proceeded from the Earle of Leister, and from your honour, whereof assu[reth] you he will not be ungratefull."

Upon this promised bounty, some strength was levied for his safety, which must be disbanded, to his great hazard, if m[ore] come not presently; "as your honour wisheth well to religion, to the saftie and honor of her majestie, to the . . . * the States and especiallie of England. . . . for there is no doubt but the King wilbe most faithfull." Edinburgh.

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Aug.

507. INSTRUCTIONS FOR SIR ROBERT SIDNEY.

Cott. Calig.,
B. VIII.,
fol. 190.

"You shall first lett the King understand, after our letters delyvered to hym, with such kind and curteouse speeches as the matter requireth and as may best serve to expresse our good meaning, howe thanckfully we doe accept of the great assurance given by him to our servaunt Ashbie—whome lately we sent unto him—to continue and embrace all sound frendship and intelligence with us, as also of his most earnest and constant profession so publicly made to the estates of his realme, and of his particular assurance to concurr with us for the common defence of the ghospell, ether in our realm or in his own, ageynst all such foraine potentates as shall goe about the overthrowe of the same by force and tyranny."

"Secondly, that perceaving very late by advertisementes from thence that the Spanish fleet, which hath bene forced to flee owt and from all the costes of England, France and Flanders, hath been seen upon the coast of that realm about the north parts towards his ilandes, and doubting that throughe the favour and assistance of some persons in that realm, not so well affected as were requisite neyther to the cause of religion nor to the ametic of the two crownes, somewhat may be attempted that without timely prevention may prove daungerous to both realmes; we have therefore, for the better enabling of him to gather such strength about him as shalbe needfull against the forraine enemye, given order that there shalbe presently sent unto him the somme of 3000 pounds sterlyng in gold. And that we have also given direction to the Earl of Huntingdon our lieutenant-generall of the north parts to assist him with both horsemen and footemen, in case uppon the

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588. descent of the Spaniards in his realm he shall stand in need of anie such succour to expell them."

"After the deliverie of this much unto him concerning our care of his safetie and weldoing, you shall find some fitt oportunitie in discourse to praye hym to kepe in mynd such advertisments as our said servant Ashbie had charge to impart unto him touching the King of Spaines intention to impatronise himself of this crowne and whole ile, with the membres therof, whereof [we] doe dayly receive confirmation divers waies, even since the dispatch of our said servaunt Ashby: and partly of late by the confession of certeine men of good qualletie of the Spanish fleet taken of late by our navie, who doe certainly confess, being examined upon that point, that, if the King of Spaine their master should have that successe that he looked for in his attempt against this realm, his meaning is playn and resolut to conquer the same for anie mans use but for his owne: and that therof the pope hath gyven his allowance."

"And for the better effectuating of their said intent for the possession of this crowne there is a meaning, as the said persons do confess, to proceed against the said King in like sort as hath been done against the King of Navarre, by way of excommunication, thereby as well to disable him as unfitt to continue the present possession of the crowne of Scotland which he now enjoyeth, as also to make him uncapable of anie right or claime he may in time to come pretend to this crowne to the prejudice of the Kinges conquest so pretended."

"That* her majestye hathe ben also informed that the bushop of Dumblane doth verie earnestly sollicit this matter of the excommunication towards the Pope's nuntio in Paris, assisted by Mendoza the Spanish ambassador; and that the said bushop hath also dealt with the Duke of Parma for some part of the forces now assembled by the said Duke to be sent into Scotland to assist such in the north parts of that realm as he saith will receive them."

"You may also lett the King understand that we have been advertised certainly by such as have hard the same that the Spanish ambassador hath spoken openly in Paris that the said King had beguyled his masters expectation, but that he would be revenged of him within a few moneths, and that he would not be abused by him thoughe he should make shewe of change in religion; for he doubted not yf need should require that for his advantage he would dissemble as the King of Navarre did to gett his libertie: and that both the said ambassador and the nuntio doe not stick to give oute publicquely that they assure them selves of a great partie within that realm of Scotland, and doe not stick to name both the Erle Huntley and the Lord Claud Hamilton with ther followars, whome we would be loth to chardg as by waye of accusation, or to be an instrument to drawe him to take anie evill impression of subjects of their qualletie, as one that would not be thought a curious inter-medler in another prince's state, were we not moved therunto in respect of the love we beare him and the care we have of his safetie."

"But, seing howe greatly the late maner of proceeding of the

* *Marginal note by Burghley: "I dowl of this,"*

Elizabeth.

1588.

Erle Huntley wherof we have hard against Carmighell—who apprehended Corronell Simple—doth confirme the speeches given out by the said bushop and ambassador, we cannot but both wish and advise him to have due consideration, and not to use delay in applying seasonable remedie in a matter of so great weight, that being suffered to runne on with a kind of connivence may growe uncurable, to the inevitable daunger of his person and state.”

“ And therfore yt will behove him to take some princely and resolute course in restrayning such as doe anie waie appeare to be favorers and assistants of those that doe manifestly shewe them selves to seeke the overthrowe and destruction both of the religion within his realm and of his person also, howsoever they may for the tyme abuse hym by such dissimulation as the papistes do commonly use.”

“ And for as much as the chancellour of that realm hath showed great forwardnes, both towards the preservation of the ametic between the King his master and us, as also toward the maintenance of the comon cause of religion, you shall, at some convenient tyme takyng commodite to speak with hym apart, lett him understand howe kindly we doe take the same, and that he shall not fynd us unthanckfull.”

“ You shall also lett Carmichell understand howe good an instrument we have learned he hath been in withstanding of such practises as have tended to breed an interruption of the good intelligence between the King his master and us, wherof you may assure him we will not be unthanckfull.”

6 pp. *Draft, corrected by Burghley. Indorsed.*

[Sept. 1.] 508. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 341.

Your letter of the 22nd of August I received the 27th, acquainting my lord ambassador with the contents thereof, so as I hope by his good mediation my . . . shall be covered.

Touching the Order of the Garter mentioned in your letter of the 27th, it shall be kept in silence.

I received the last of August, in your letter of the 27th, the quittance for the 100*l.* paid to the Fr[ench] church; “ to answere this monie to your honour ag[ain] your good favour doth most further me to save my credit herein.”

I understand the care you have of me in my absence, showing favour to Dracote that “ he maie the better paie suche monie [as] is due to me from him.”

I beseech you that some of yours may have warrant to receive out of the exchequer such money as is due to me for postage and other things, and also for my [maintenance], “ which is thirtie shillings a daie in the beggerlist dearest countrie in Europe for a stranger, to l[ive], as your honour and all suche as have proved it can [certify].” I received but 60*l.* in prestat at my coming, beginning the 20th of June. Edinburgh. [*Signature wanting.*]

Postscript. My lord ambassador had his audience the last of August in the house where you were lodged.

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Elizabeth.

1588.

509. SIR ROBERT SIDNEY TO WALSINGHAM.

Sept. 1.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 263.

. . . * anding I . . . till this day . . . after I
had deli[vered] . . . [acc]ording to mine instructi[ons]
. . . and how kindly she took . . . and offers.

"The King began to fair . . . [pro]ceedings towards her
majesty, and sayd tha[t if] hee would have harekned to the offers
of Spaine . . . might have had, which bare very greate shew;
but hee had not caried him self as a neutral, or a . . . maker,
but as an open ennemy to the Spaniards, . . . commanded all
assitance should bee given unto her majesties fleete, and forbidden
the same unto the enimies."

"I told him the Queene tooke knowledg [of] it, and that if the
Spaniards landed in Sco[tland] hee should have fownd her
majesties care of [his] estate as greate as of her owne."

"Whereunto hee [replied] that he made no dout in the world of
it."

"After some speeches to this purpos, I told him her ma[jesty]
desired him to keepe in mind the advertisments gi[ven] him by Mr.
Ashby, which I told him were confirmed by prisners that were
taken."

"The King tooke . . . of them, and seemed to thinck that
as towching [Eng]land they had already proceeded in the
excommunica[tion]; but for Scotland he had not til then hard."

"Hee knew likewise before my coming of the Spanishe
[ambas]sadors words of him, which hee scorned, and sayd that the
Kinge of Spains favors towards him would [have] bin like
Poliphemusis to Uliesses, that hee showld [be] the last man hee
would eate."

"The rest of the [time] I spent with him was in open discourses
of the [two] fleets, wherin hee made greate demonstration of [his]
affection towards our party."

After leaving the King, I went to the Chancellor and delivered
him her majesty's letter. He asked me whether Mr. Ashton [*sic*:
Ashby] had delivered a letter before my coming, or no; wishing to
sound me touching Mr. Ash[by's] offers. I answered that he had
. . . with her majesty when I took my leave, but that
instructions were delivered me after he had . . . and that
. . . thanck the . . .

Then began he to . . . certain offers were made . . .
the Queen took knowledge . . . that I could not tell him any
thing . . . knowing of them, but that I never heard of them
till at Haddington Mr. Ash[by] told me "hee had of his own
autorite made certen offers beyond his commission, and that hee
was much troubled withall."

"Hee seemed a little to thinck th[at] Mr. Ashby was com-
manded to deny hee had made [them] by commission, and reckned
unto mee the offers and the maner how they were made."

"I dema[nded] of him if the King would take hold of the sayde
offers or no. Hee answered mee that certainly hee would, eccep
hee might receive some other thing that were equivalent and
equipolent—for those were his words—unto them."

Elizabeth.

1588.

"I then, protesting that what I shoul[d] say was not as her majesties [am]bassador, but as a privat man that wished we[ll] to the cawse, for in that matter I did not k[now] any thing of her majesties intent, told him that I thowght it unfitt for the King to stand up[on] them, for it might seeme hee tooke the opportunity of this time to force her majesty to [do] that which shee had no liking; and I knew her vertu and greatenes of mind to bee such as no t[hing] would make her agree to any thing shee thowght not fitt: and that the offers Mr. Ashby of h[im] self had made could not bee any title of cla[im] unto the King."

"And being desirus to know of [him] what the King would stand upon, I began [to] use some reasons why it would bee disprofitable for the King to demand such things; and I fo[wnd] him very resolut towching the point of the duke[dom], and the lands which were the Kings grandfat[hers]."

"[I] still desired him as from my self, in respect t[hat] Mr. Ashby was my frend, and that his error g . . . began . . . doe some go[od] . . . [sa]yd that the fau[lt] . . . if all went not as it . . . I demanded who should de . . . faulty: for sooner I thowght the [King] would offend in demanding to much then her [majesty] in giving to little: and hee answered, 'Commi[ssioners] appointed on both sydes.'"

He knows not that I advertise this. He protests he [wishes] to do all good offices, and no doubt he will: he is the only man that carries the King in matters of state, and lodgeth in his house.

But the King must be some way pleased, or he will have to change his course, for the factions continue against him, and he stands only by the [King's] favour.

Bothewell may be won with money; some say he hath borrowed of the King of Spain. "I have bin heer so little a while as I cannot [ad]vertis yowr honor any thing of it for certen."

One told me that he spake with a gentleman who saw a letter written to Huntly that the Spaniards were upon one of the north isles; but the King and Chancellor assure me it is not so.

The ministers continue to exhort the King—all particular offences set aside—to join with her majesty against the Papists, and persuade very effectually, especially one whom I heard this day, named Pat[rick] Galway.

Touching the 3000*l.*, I have not yet heard anything. If I be [pressed] for it I will answer as your honour directs in your letter of the 27th; if it please [not] her majesty to perform the said sum, the King will be exceedingly galled, and the . . . ing . . . greate . . . that the King . . . [Carm]ichel looks hereafter . . . remembrance hee haid of . . . principal points of my command . . . shall be quietly revoked, and I humbly [pray] your honour to be a good mean for it. Edinburgh.
Signed: R. Sydne[y].

3 $\frac{1}{3}$ pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.

Sept. 2. 510. SIR ROBERT SIDNEY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 265.

I wrote your honour the sum of the speech I had on Saturday with the King and the Chancellor.

This morning Carmichael came to me and had long discourse

Elizabeth.

1588.

touching the offers made by Mr. Asheby, saying "that howsoever they were performed there was never a wise man in Scotland that would bee perswaded that an imbassador authorised by a prince would or durst make any such offers without having commission for them."

"I delt with him as I did with the Chancellor, assuring him I knew not of them til I was entred into Scotland, and that Mr. Ashby him self told mee hee had of his own autorite made the same offers. But I find they take this answer for very small payment, thogh I judg that by their alleaging of reasons why the matters conteined in the offers should bee profitable for the King, that out of dout the first beginning of them came from them selvs."

"At afternoon Carmichel came to mee again and tolde mee that since hee had spoken with mee hee had bin with the Chancellor, and was to deliver thus much from him unto mee."

"That if in case the offers might bee performed the King should make any assurance to her majesty shee would desyre, that hether-unto hee is free from any alliance of forrein princes."

"Secondly, that—the same condition performed—hee would bind him self to follow any such course as her majesty should appoint him."

"Then proceeded hee particularly to the offers in this sort; that what the King desired was not so much to profit him self, but to stop the mouths of his subjects, among whome all the Papists and many Protestants cry out that the King should show what cause hee hath to imbrace the alliance of England; a [course] that these . . . * eyther make them . . . cost some of the best of them . . . so hee might but make show to them [that hee] had a dukedome in England, hee did not [care] if hee had no renew at all with it."

"As for the garde about him, if her majesty would have the King at her devotion shee must take care to make him master of him self, and not to bee ruled as his greate men would."

"And for the 100 horse and 100 foot upon the Borders, that it is more profitable for Eng[land] then for them to restrain the theeves, which els wil make continual spoils."

I desired that I might think of these things—in order to get time and to advertise you—and talk again tomorrow with the Chancellor and him. I asked him what would become of this country if these things were not accorded. He answered "[that] the Kinge would bee forced to doe things [in] spite of his teeth, and that it would [not] bee without the death of him and [of] far greater persons"; by which I think he meant the Chancellor.

"Then did hee tell mee that there was money looked for which was promised. I answered I had nothing [in] my commission towching it, and hee press[ing] mee not, I sayd no more of it."

His protestations be great of his affection to her majesty, and I think may be believed. He hold me he had received great favours in . . . , but he never had had groat yet from . . .

The man is poor, and some help were well bestowed upon him.

My lord Claud is a professed Protestant, but inwardly a papist and a practiser.

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.
1588.

" Co[lonel] Steward is going into Denmark. A comm . . . ame . . . service of . . . the pension . . . confirmed unto him . . . Grey's return his graunte . . . by the Chanceler. For were the Master heer hee would recover the abbey of Dunfermling, which is the onely stay the Earle of Huntley hath in this part of the contrey."

" There came in fishermen, as Carmichel told mee, into the west part of Scotland, that browght word that the Spanishe fleet was about ten days agoe in a rode upon the Fayr Iland, and that hee gessed them to bee 100 sayle and upwards." Edinburgh.
Signed: R. Sydne[y].

2½ pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Sept. 4. **511. AGREEMENT FOR MAKING SALT.**

Licence by James VI. to Eustachius Roghe, Fleming, to build salt pans at Newhaven on the west side of Leith.

2 pp. Copy. Indorsed: " Par se que je say que les miniers du roiaulme d'Engleterre sans ou donner en asidation ou apartenant au proprietaire de leritage la clause den bas depuis l'enterlignne ne povet estre permise en Engleterre, par quoy je ne la desire, mais je demande que quelque aultre chosse me soict garant en lieue de sela."

Abstract printed in " Register of the Privy Council," Vol. IV., page 319.

Sept. 7. **512. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO ELIZABETH.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1., fol. 241.

. . . * gracious lady, it may please . . . understand in what sort I have proceeded [in] the charge committed to me by your highness. I find the King affecting your amity before all other princes, and ready to hazard his crown and life in your defence; but not able to perform it, he desireth your bountiful consideration to enable him in this honourable action, and to content his nobility, which will better run his course towards your majesty if they shall see your favour to him continue; so shall he be a strength to your majesty. This is the way to keep his papists and malcontents in awe, and to take all hope from the common enemy of finding favour in these parts.

There is no suspicion to be had of this King, either in religion, wherein he is zealous, and so learned as he can refute their errors, nor as to any practice against your majesty, for he is void of all revenge.

The necessity of the time, and danger of a revolt in this country through the Spaniards approaching into the narrow seas, " caused me at that instant to m[ake] suche offers, as your majestie is acquainted withall, to satisfie his beighnes for the present, to qualifie the myndes of his nobilitie to keap all in quiet in these partes till your majestie with your honorable counsell doe resolve what is to be done herein; beseeching most humblelie your majestie graciously to interpret my errour, considering the circumst[ances]

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588.

both here and in England forced me at that present t[o] passe the boundes of my instruccions, whereof I most humblye crave pardon."

The entering into league . . . here very dangerous to the King before . . . commons shall see some way an honourable . . . from your majesty, that the world may perceive your gracious care of him from his cradle still to continue; for the King having many malcontents in his realm, some papists, some atheists, and the stranger now ready to back them, draweth into great peril without help from your majesty to keep a guard about him. You have hitherto protected him, which he acknowledges, and is ready to hazard his life to show himself grateful, rejecting the offers of other princes for your amity.

Amongst all your wise actions for the advancement of religion, none can more profit the church of God than your care of this prince, who being brought up "in the religion that your majestie haith esta[blished] in your kingdome and in the whole ysle, must nedes imitate your stepes, being a faithfull nourse in [the] church," whereof the honour shall redound to you as a careful mother of Israel; and the like will be seen in time in France and Flanders, which God will with your aid deliver from their tyrants. This amity between your majesty and this King will tend to the honour of God and preservation of your persons and states. . . . affirm that his highness will refer . . . to your majesty's wisdom, to consider the means convenient for both your safeties; "he will alwaies depend of your majestie as a sone most obedient to his mother."

What danger to these two crowns and to the church in Europe must follow if your minds be not knit in amity, all the world doth see. Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Sept. 7. **513.** WALSINGHAM TO SIR ROBERT SYDNEY.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 333.

"Her majesty hath not yet been made acquainted [with] your late proceedings with the King there, [by] reason that she will not suffer any bodie to h[ave] accesse unto her, being verie much greived with the death of the Lord Steward. Such of my lords as have been made acquainted therewith do [verie] well allowe of the manner of your dealing, esp[ecially] with the Chauncellour. Yet we hoped here that upon the delivery of the 2000*l.*, wherof yt seemeth they have more neede [than] of titles, they will not stande so peremtore[ly] upon Mr. Ashebyes offeres, which will never bee effected, unto what soever shew they make [of] runing forraine courses."

"Yf her majestie may [be] drawn to yeald that the King may be ho[noured] with the Garter he ought to rest satisf[ied]. Hee is ill counsayled yf any cause drawe [him] out with England, for yf hee should lose the possibility that hee pretendeth to have to this crowne after her majesties decease by serving Spaine or Fraunce his tourne by growing to [a] pike with us, there is neither of them both that either can or will bestowe the like kingdom u[pon] him."

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I suppose this letter shall find you in your way hitherward. "Yt is not yet known what order the Lord Steward hath taken touchinge the disposing of . . . * He died suddenly, contrary [to] the expectation of the phisitions or those that were about him, and therefore tooke no order for his disposing of his goodes." Such conveyances as he made of his land before going to the Low Countries were to lead to uses. It is thought he hath bestowed the rest of his land upon young D[udley] and my lady his wife.

2½ pp. Draft. Indorsed.

Sept. 8. 514. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 292.

Of the Spanish fleet, since the 10th of August, being then seen betwixt the Isle of Fair and Scotland, there hath come no news. If they had remained in the north or west seas we should have heard of them by fishermen weekly; we judge they are either arrived in Spain or swallowed up of the seas. They chose certain fishermen as pilots to carry them for the coast of Ireland and so to Spain.

What order the King means to take with Huntly and other papists you shall understand by my lord ambassador's letters, who hath dealt with the King particularly. What else I can find out I will from time to time impart to you. The care it pleaseth her majesty to vouchsafe to this prince will bind him to her: he is bent to run that course which her wisdom shall set down. "Th'offers made I hop will bread no unconveniences . . . * honorable good knight now present will enforme. . . . What thorough me ignorance, and not [being] acquainted in this countrey is omitted, I w[ill] w[ith] labour what lyeth in me amend." The inclosed to her majesty I refer to your honour to censure, to add and take away as shall seem best to your wisdom. Edinburgh. Signed: W. Asheby.

1½ pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.

Sept. 10. 515. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 243.

. . . * the first and . . . where by the first it . . . by my last letter to your . . . hovereth about the north islands . . . ynge me thereon to employ and send [some] honest Scotchman to the place to learn their strength and purpose. It may therefore please you to examine my letter aforesaid, which imports no otherwise than, by your own postscript in your said letter, you have well gathered.

It was generally given out, as Mr. Asheby certified, "that this fleyt passed betwixt Orkney and Shetland to the Fayre Island, and compassynge Ireland have taken there course for Spayne." The King hath been informed by Mackkye and Mackdolland, lately come from Orkney and the west isles, that the Spanish fleet is not seen or heard of thereabouts. I cannot learn what became of them after they passed the Fair Island.

By my said letter I showed that some of Huntly's servants and Mr. James Gordon thought that the Spaniards dare not return to Spain before the execution of their enterprise against England:

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

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that they will join the Duke of Parma, and will know their friends in Scotland. Sundry papists, seditious persons and borderers are hereby so fed with hope that they seek alteration in the state and great trouble on the borders. That some certain information of the Spanish fleet may be given you, according to her majesty's pleasure, I perceive that Sir Robert . . . the north . . . have taken . . . on the east and . . . Orkney, Shetland and the . . . Skye and the west isles towards Ire[land] . . . set forwards, in case this service shall so req[ui]re, with the] best means and expedition I can.

According to my Lord Treasurer's direction, I have received of the Earl of Huntingdon 3000*l.* in gold, to be delivered as the King of Scots should inform me by Lord Carmichael. I have given knowledge thereof to Sir Robert Sidney and Mr. Ashby, and have advertised Carmichael by letter that I was ready to pay it as the King should appoint. This letter, addressed to Carmichael, I sent open to Sir Robert Sidney and Mr. Asheby, that they might deliver or stay it as should be best for her majesty's service. They have thought meet to deliver it, and Carmichael by letter let me know that he would meet me at Cawmylles on the 9th instant, "prayinge me to b[ring] with me that which should serve for his dispathe." And at our meeting yesterday he let me know that it was the King's pleasure I should deliver this money to him. Therefore I have paid the whole sum to him for the King's use, as appears by the copy of his acquittance sent to my Lord Treasurer; the original whereof I keep; and as will be confirmed by the King's letter of thanks to her majesty. A good part of this relief shall be employed for the preservation of the King and the well affected about him, and speedy suppression of the troubles on the borders. . . . and him, . . . endangered since . . . that they must still arm them . . . practices of their enemies, who they . . . only give over the attempt of their pla[ns] . . . against them. It is much feared that the person of the King in any ruffle against them may be in peril; but by this help there is hope to prevent these evils, and in time to pacify matters.

Colonel Stewart has lately boldly assayed to persnade the King to take a course with the King of Spain; "assuryinge hym that the same should be to his honour, great profit, and for the revenge of the wronges done hym by his mothers deathe." But the King did roundly answer him, little to his contentment.

On Sunday last, the 8th instant, at Boyshan in Angus, Lord Ogilvie's house, Sir John Seton married a daughter of Lord Forbes; where many of the northern lords and their friends were assembled. Their resolutions taken yesterday shall shortly be put in practice, bringing trouble to the state and to particular persons. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Sept. 11. **516.** SIR ROBERT SYDNEY TO WALSINGHAM.

Upon the receipt of your letter of the death of my lord, and having despatched every point of my instructions, and the money being delivered to Carmichael for the King, I got leave of the King

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1588. and came hither this morning. I will make the best haste I may to the court, and beseech you to direct me by letter where I shall wait upon you, "for I would bee glad not to come openly into the court so suddenly after my lordes departure." Berwick.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Sept. 12. 517. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 298.

"Your honour understandeth err this by Sir Robert Sydney how acceptable the last legion of angels were to theise partes, at this present especiallie." Sir Robert Sydney was most welcome, and hath left an honourable report of himself among the best sort: "the King mervelouse sorie he had suche occasion so suddenlie to depart, meaning to have killed all his buckes in Fauckland if he had taried."

Touching the ratification of the treaty, her majesty shall find the King most willing, as you shall see by the Chancellor's letters shortly, who desires you to excuse him for a day or two till the King goes to Stirling the 14th of September for 10 or 12 days, then to return to Edinburgh.

Mr. Carmichael is appointed to the West Borders to suppress disorders; he is wholly addicted to the course of England. You should do a good deed to procure him some bounty from her majesty, for he hath well deserved: he is in want, and liveth in danger for his faithful mind to her majesty.

"In the northe at the Lord Ogelbyes house Sir John S[eaton] married the Lord Forbesses daughter the 8 of September. Thither assembled the Earl Huntley, Mountrose, the Lord Cla[ud] Hamelton, the Lord Seaton, Baron Fentrie and su[ch] like papistes and discontented parsons: it is thought under this coullour thei there myte to resolve . . . for the course thei pretend to rume. The King . . . and by her majesties late bountie well encouraged, and meaneth presentlie to sever them." *Signed: W. Asheby.*

We hear nothing of the Spanish fleet.

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 13. 518. JAMES VI. TO WALSINGHAM

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 285.

"Richt trustie and weilbelovit we greit zow harte . . . weill. This bearis great distresse, querin wa[nt] of redres of his havie spoyle recommendit to zow be our former letters, and his expensive and fruit[les] attending thairupoun has now devolvit him, moves ws to recomende anewe his havie cace to zour compassioun and credite, and to requyre zow v[er]ie affectueuslie that for justice saik and our recommendatioun ze will hald hand according to the place ze occupy to sie his ship and uther guidis zit extant restorit and him refundit of qubatsumever skaith and dampnage sustenit by that meane, according to equitie and . . . and our ferme expectatioun of zow. S . . . a trusting at this tyme ze will cut of his further travell in that earand, we commit zow richt trustie and weilbelovit to the protectioun of the almyghty." *Edinburgh. Signed: James R.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p.

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519. EARL OF BOTHWELL TO THE EARL OF ANGUS.

Sept. 19.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 301.

" My lord and loving father, seing I vrait to zow befoire in favours of the berer Jhon Durye in Leith, quha vas pilleyit be ane bark of Eduard Cottouns in Southamton, and the said Eduard being adjudgit and hes nocht as zit maid redress, notvithstanding the said Jhons long and fruitles attendens; and now laitlie in the moneth of Juin my lord admiral hes stayit his schip, being laidnit with Frenche mennis guddis, be the quhilk he vilbe utterlie vraikit; heirfor prayis zour lordschip to stand his gud frend heirin, and se him redrest at the said Cottouns handis."

" In quhilk doing vill obleiss me gretumlie, quhilk I salbe redie to aquyt vith quhatsumever may ly in my pouer." Leith.
Signed: Bothuell.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 19.

520. [SIR JOHN MAITLAND TO WALSHINGHAM.]Add. MSS.
23,241, fol. 17.

" As the intermissioun of intelligence betuene us did not breid from me, so being interpellid I may keip silence no longer, which the parrell threattned to both our sovereynes and the places we do hold about thame will not permit. Although my procedeur of late have bene misconstrued, and I traduced as one affecting foreyne coursis, wherbye, I have hard, the Quene your sovereyne and uthers in that realme have deemed uther wayes of me than I deserved, yet have I resolved to use no other apologye then to carye my self in such sorte as the malice of my calumniateurs may be convinced; and to utter effectuallye be my actions how I have allwayes bene and do continew devoted to a perfect amitye and sincere intelligence betuene these two crownes. Which how necessarye it is, cheiflye in these dangerous dayes, I wiss we rather apprehend by advysed consideratioun then learne be hazard of trew religioun and both the states."

" What be the cruell desseingues and godles intentionns of foreynes nather do they thame selfs much dissimull, nather dois any man that will not obstinatlye misknowe. The most seur and allmost onlye mean to obviat thereunto is a straicte amitye betuene those tuo princes and a seur conjunction of the whole yle; as I rest fullye assured you will do your best endeavour on the one part, so shall I not omit any of the sniall offices I can do on the other, that so requisite a good work may now at last be effectuat, which hes bene often well begoone and unhappely interrupted. Let tyme be gayned, I besech yow, and let not good occasioun be pretermitted, for small delay may breid much parrell. Let it now be happelye accomplissed in the owne tyme [which] may establish religioun, schone so great dangere, and produce so great a blessing and seurtye to both our cuntreis; without the which we shalbe by all lyklyheed of all natiouns most miserabill and unhappye. That so necessarye a work may proceed without scrupull or jealousie on ather part, I pray yow let such honorabill consideratioun be had of this prince as he may rest fullye satisfyed, and it may appeir to the world he hes gayned more be his moderat behaviour and kyndlye bearing him toward the Quene your sovereyne and that realme then quhatsoever foreyne powar joyned with his owne culd have movet her to yeald

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onto: so that he with honour, and his hole subjectes with sincere affection, may participat that cours with her whereonto ass vell by zeall as naturallie he is so much enclined. Assure yow, sir, yf he shall find correspondence according to his dispositioun, that which all good men do wish will have a good and speedy end, and he will utter him self—ware it to the hasard of his croune and lyf—as kyndlye a devoted kinsman and [fre]nd toward the Quene your sovereyne and that state as yow can have or wish in the world, and one whom yow in particular may accompt your best affected freind efter your sovereyne, housoever it hes bene urtherwayes geaven out. Beleve me he never had that hard consait of yow that hes bene reported, and that impressioun that did aryss upon some surmysed speeches is now upon knowledge of the treuth fullye removed: so that he both luffis yow entirlye and estemis of yow as your vertues merites, and dois rest assured he hes no better affected freind in that state.” Lethington.

2 pp. Draft.

Sept. 19. 521. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 245.

Your honour should have received a letter from the Chancellor touching the King's mind concerning the ratification of the treaty, but his majesty's going to Sterling the 14th instant, and the Chancellor to his house at Liddington, hath caused delay; but he hath promised me that 2 or 3 days after the receipt of this you shall hear from him.

There hath been, as I certified in my last, a convention of northern lords at Montrose, Huntly and Lord Claud Hamilton being chief leaders; they draw many malcontents; their plot is not yet discovered.

Here is Robert Scott, a merchant of Edinburgh, well known to you. Sir R. Sydney employed him about the discovery of the Spanish fleet. He hath sent a trusty man to the isles to learn what he can of the Spaniards. He willed me to write to you that he can discover great matters touching these northern lords and their dealings with the Prince of Parma: the Spanish fleet and their plots, and how to prevent them: with this condition, that your honour will see him recompensed as he shall deserve . . . to have his losses repaired which he hath suffered by piracy, as he saith you know, and at his last being with you was promised. Upon your answer to this all shall be discovered.

Colonel Stewart . . . Denmark the 17th instant . . . is for his pension given . . . late King of Denmark. It is suspected he will pass thence to the Prince of Parma, “as a practiser betwixt the nor[thern] lordes and the Prince towching the Spannishe faction.”

With the next packet I will send Mr. Robert Carvell, who hath remained with me ever since I came, one careful in her majesty's service. In what state this country now is he will inform you. Edinburgh. Signed: W. Asheby.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.

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522. STATE OF THE BORDERS.

Sept. 20.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 247.

. . . * the bishop . . . Northumberland . . .
Westmoreland. . . a part of our commonwealth is and must
be . . . general world's mutability and other imperfections,
so as a stedfast mark is rather to be wished than hoped for. Never-
theless, being resembled to the body of a man whose health is ever
inclining and declining, the method shall be considered in these
heads.

1. The general grounds of every commonwealth's welfare.

2. The particular instances thereof in the several countries
aforesaid.

3. And herein the means of preservation for the good.

4. The remedies for the evil.

The general grounds may be considered in 1. Religion. 2. Law.
3. Strength.

The particular instances touching religion; 1. In the minister's
delivery. 2. In the people's receiving. "Infected with popish
religion, by prevayling of seminarie, seducing the wives, and they
training up children and servants in mallice to the state; an
essentiaill point of that religion."

The particular inst[ances touching law]; 1. The . . . 2.
The order set down . . . 3. The wardens' commission con-
taining . . . of the land, "executorie by the commission of
peace."

Herein, 1. The good. All extant and in force. 2. The evil.
The treaty of the princes in Latin not understood.

The particular instances touching strength; 1. Love. 2.
Wealth. 3. Discipline. 4. Furniture. Many alienated to
popery. Feuds among themselves.

2½ pp. *Indorsed.*

Sept. 21. **523. SIR JOHN MAITLAND TO BURGHLEY.**

Having heard by Mr. Asheby that a residue remains of the
straight friendship that sometime was, to the good of both the realms.
between your lordship and my brother, that the less defect may
seem to rest by his death, I am moved to offer you one in his place,
not so worthy of your amity, but as grateful and sincere. As the
goodwill between you grew upon zeal for the true religion and
amity between the two crowns, so the same being happily begun by
you, and since by incidents unhappily interrupted, I am assured
doth kindle in you a more hot desire for so good a work. So I shall
do my best to advance it, and if you, the first author thereof, will
deal earnestly, I will boldly concur therein. Time will produce
what prudence could not compass, and the peril threatened to true
religion and both these realms has taught us more than we could
foresee. Let time be gained, and good occasions taken. You shall
find the King zealous in religion, a devoted kinsman to the Queen,
and affecting the weal of that state no less than of his own: and if
consideration be had of him he will spare no hazard of crown or life.
"I doubt not your lordship will use your credit to see him respected

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1588. as his kyndlye dispositioun deserves." Lethington. *Signed:*
Jo. Maitland.

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 23. **524.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 297.

" Theise letters from the King I receaved the 22 in the afternoon, having sent the Lord Chancellours letter to your honour the same daie in the morning." Edinburgh.

Postscript. " As I had writt this letter Sir William Kith sent me wourd that Mack Cleiden an Irishe lord [of] the isles wrot to the King that on Fridaie the 13 of September there arrived a greate ship of Spaigne of 1400 tune, having 800 souldiours and there commaunders, at an iland called Ila on the west part of Scotland, thether driven by wether. Thei thinke that thei [*sic*] rest of the fleet is driven on the north part of Ireland."

" I will make further inquire and presentlie certifie your honour with sped. Thei reporte this ship to be founished with 80 brasse peces; she beaten with shote and wether." *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 25. **525.** EUSTACE ROGGE TO GEOFFREY LE BROMAN.

I cannot sufficiently marvel, seeing that opportunity daily presents itself whereby you can write to me of your news or of some new practice; but I think that you do not write to me because I think that you have found the stone where all have failed: for I hear that Dr. Joseph Michell has found it, and consequently I make no doubt that you have found it as well as he. For the rest, as to myself, I cannot aspire to so high a thing, but I have contented myself with finding metals, all procured good or ill, whereof, thank God, I have obtained fine values, to wit, of [symbol]. For the rest, I have been amusing myself with another experiment, which is to examine the water of the sea, and I have succeeded so well, by the help of my good God, that I have found the means of making coarse salt in such great abundance that no man living could believe it, so that in time the salt of France will be of no price at all in this country. I have appropriated it to the revenues of the King, except that his majesty should give me the tenth to myself and my heirs for ever, with titles of honour corresponding to my service, in order that the memory thereof may remain to my posterity; with privilege that the said tenth and all other good acquired by me may not be liable to confiscation for any cause or crimes whatsoever, with ten pans surplus whereof I am not obliged, either myself or my heirs, to render account to any one. And because I know that you will be no less joyful at my prosperity than you ought to be about one of your friends, I assure you that I am only writing you the truth, and the King himself came to my house to see the experiment, for the which thing, and another wherewith his majesty was pleased, he loves me and shows me great favour.

My lord the last ambassador, to wit, Sir Robert Sidney, now I believe Earl of Leicester, having heard thereof, treated with me to be able to negotiate for the same privilege with her majesty of

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England, but his sudden departure hindered it: but he has commanded me to write to him about it. Wherefore I pray you, if you have any acquaintance with his excellence, to be good enough to recall it to his memory, or at the least to Master Stiven his secretary, who is a native of Geneva; for if you are willing to employ yourself therein and use diligence, you will have such good from it that you will have occasion to content yourself therewith. I send you the copy of my patent, in order that if the said lord wishes to know about it, I desire the same privilege there. The expenses are very small in comparison to the profits. You will make my excuses to his excellence and likewise to Mr. Steven for my not having written to them about it. If you think good to communicate it to my good lord Walzingam I leave it to your discretion, but I pray you to use diligence in sending me a reply. I send you a sample of one of the kind of the goodness of the salt. The said lord ambassador has seen some of it like unto the salt of the salt-marsh. It might also be pointed out to the said Mr. Steven that the said privilege being guaranteed to me I will make the experiment at my expense: I do not ask a farthing of any one, except that when I shall have fulfilled and accomplished my promise at my own costs and charges, that which shall be granted me under patent be done for me. By this means the Queen may be mistress of all the salt-works of her realm, and by this means obtain great treasure, and by the same means give a great blow to the King of France upon the profit of his salt. Yet another thing I send you; some "Dalouel" flax, so-called in Scotch: you will tell Master Martin about it. Lilborek. [Edinburgh] 25 September 1588. *Signed*: E. Rogghe.

Postscript. I have contrived for myself more leisure than I thought, wherefore I have written to Mr. Estinne: therefore I pray you to deliver it to him with the copy of my contract; but you will use your discretion about speaking thereof to the secretary Walzingam or not.

3pp. *French. Addressed.*

Sept. 26. **526.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.
D. I.,
fol. 324.

I sent your honour the 22nd instant the Lord Chancellor's letter, who sheweth zeal to bring to pass a perfect amity between the two crowns. He desires that you would set down some particularities whereunto her majesty might be drawn to condescend: you shall find the King very tractable, through his zeal for religion and affection to her majesty and our nation; the Chancellor willing to perform any good office he can.

"The Lord of Weimes hath shewed himselfe a most faithfull gentleman, and careful to perswade the King to continew in this course now begonne":—which I doubt not by your wisdom will be brought to good effect.

Of the Spanish ship driven on the west of Scotland this bearer Monsieur Lysle will inform you, who was with the King when the messenger from Mackelein came to Stirling. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. Asheby.

1 p. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

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1588. 527. ROBERT BOWES' ACCOUNT.

[Sept.]

" Money receyved by me Robert Bowes, delyvered over to the handes of the larde of Carmyghell for the King of Scottes, acording to severell letters addressed to me in that behalfe by the Lord Threasurer of Inglande and Sir Francis Walsingham."

" Recyved at the handes of Robert Carvell, in July 1588, 2000*li.* in gold, which was delyvered to the larde of Carmyghell for the King of Scottes, att Huton Hall in Scotlande, viij July *predicto*, as by the acquittance of Carmyghell beyng in my handes will appeare."

" Recyved also of the Erle of Huntingdon in September 1588, 3000*li.* which was delyvered to the said Carmyghell for the King of Scottes att Cawmylles ix September *predicto*, as by his acquittance for that summe, and which remayneth in my handes, will lykewise appeare."

" The copenes of these 2 acquittances of Carmyghell were before sentt in my letters to the Lord Threasurer and Sir Francis Walsingham."

" It will appeare also be the letters of the King of Scottes, of Sir Robert Sydynay, and Mr. Ashbye, that those summes mencioned were delyvered by me to Carmyghell for the King as befor is declared." *Signed: Robert Bowes. Marginal note by Burghley:*
" Sir Robert Sydney cam hom the xvj of Septembre,"

1 p. *Indorsed by Burghley.*

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 159.

[1588.] 528. INTELLIGENCE FROM SCOTLAND.

[Sept.]

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 287.

. . . * to my duty . . . and I thought it . . . how I find this present estate. First, before I came to the King, I went to the Chancellor and delivered him your honour's letter, with another from the Treasurer. I was desirous to know his opinion how to carry myself at my coming to court. First, he desired me to let the King understand what great credit he hath gotten in England by his behaviour against the Spaniards, and towards those that fear God at home and abroad, "and that hir majestie wo[uld] be the more willing to doe for him, yf such as we[re] papists and enemies to hir estate weare removed f[rom] him." This course I followed, and the King seemed to like it, as appeared by his behaviour towards me, for I was never better entertained. I delivered her majesty's letter, which was taken in good part, and thereafter he discoursed long with me. He is minded to run the course of England, chiefly to keep him in good liking of the world. There have been many plots to alter that course: chiefly by taking away the Chancellor, and they rest not to accomplish that wicked turn. The King is constant to him, and his greatest enemies are not so great as they were, chiefly the Earl of Huntly and Sir John Seton. Huntly is commanded not to come to court till he is sent for: Sir John hath given up his office and retired from court. They will not rest till they have cut off the Chancellor.

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.
[1588.]

"There hath been a practise of late, and that ab[out] the leading of [sic] between the Erle of Cra[ft] and the Master of Glamis, by which meanes th[ey are] thought to have drawen their whole forces [to]gether, and so to have accomplished theire . . . ether in keeping the King on the other syde of . . . this . . . the avoyding of . . . [com]manded to retyre . . . appointed, and the King sent some of h . . . the [sic] for them bothe. This matter . . . for this present. Nowe they have lead a . . . and that is this." They have called in Alexander Lindsey, brother of the Earl of Crawford, and the King's my . . . , expecting that his credit shall obtain his p[etition], which is to be captain of the guard, which the Master of Glamis will not willingly give up. This will breed great contention. Justice Clerke is the chief deviser. He is altered towards the Chancellor, "and he seemethe to keepe fayre weather to him." This is only done for the Chancellor's overthrow. All things continue till his coming, which will be within two days.

I find the Chancellor, the Master of Glamis, the captain of the castle and Sir William Keith for England: the rest cold. They will send some to her majesty; probably the captain of the castle. If matters take effect between her majesty and this King they will all hazard their lives in this course, and will carry it out in spite of opposition.

An ambassador is to come here from Spain. The marriage of the princess of Navarre is resolved on in the King's own mind. The papists will try to stay it: the Chancellor is chief doer of it.

Earl Bothwell would faine be employed to England. Huntly . . . tely, which a . . . ng a-working. God p . . . devices, and send her majesty [and] this King to take such a course as may be [for] the maintenance of the religion and both their standings. If these men succeed they will trouble her by all the means they can.

The King enquired how the Chancellor was liked in England; I told him very well, and so would be if he would maintain good amity between her majesty and him, wherein he was thought there to be a faithful counsellor. " [He] sayd he knewe not twoe men in the world that w[ere] lyker other in humour than your honour and this Chancellour. 'For,' he sayd, 'they care for no man's . . . fed to doe their princesse service.'" Edinburgh.

Postscript. I perceive the King hath liked well of Mr. Archibald's last letter, for he told me he never saw him write so wisely. He hath done me all the hurt he could, but I would not requite him with the like.

Archibald Douglas writes that the King's affairs in England were overthrown by . . . guiding here. He could not impute that to the Chancellour, because he thought him wise, "and not so farre over see him selfe. The King takethe [it] for a skorne to the Chancellour," . . . written it to that end.

. . . the Earl of . . . Sir John Seton, he . . . and brought him letters in his last packet . . . will prefer his particular to the over[throw of] a good cause.

"Take good men awaye, and see th . . . say no more.

Elizabeth.

[1588.] Keepe your promise to mee in not [let]tyng my lettres bee seene, nor take no knowledge . . . write. Otherwise I can do no service. When I [can] not write my selfe I shall impart to Mr. As[hye] what I knowe."

3¼ pp. No signature, flyleaf or address.

1588.

529. JOHN SELBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Oct. 6.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 277.

The disordered people of Liddisdale and Eskdale ["Ensdall"] "meane to be very busye this wynter, and to ryde in hosting sort, as indeed they have already begoone, coming about iij score in company upon Teusday last att night to a towne of myne upon the border, where thew brake open the houses and spoyled them, took away fyvety head of nowte and x horses and twoo of my servauntes into Eskdale, where they retayne them as prysoners." They are bent on mischief, and if they be not stayed will leave no town on the border unspoiled, being pricked forward by great personages in Scotland.

Sundry letters have passed between the Lord Chancellor and Captain James Stewart, late Earl of Arran; the Chancellor would bring him again to court, which Huntly suspecting, labours with the King—being in Falkland—to have it done by his means, thinking thereby to win him to be assured unto him. The Chancellor, hearing of this, purposeth to ride to the King on Thursday next to prevent him thereof.

"Bothwell and Huntley receaved somme sommes of gold from the Jesuytes in Huntleys house, wherwith Bothwell hath payd his souldiars which he lately took up, and expecteth that more should come shortly." Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Salby.

1 p. No flyleaf or address.

Oct. 9.

530. JOHN SELBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 323.

Having occasion to write to Lord Hunsdon I trouble your honour with these few lines. Last night there came to West Newton within this East March 120 persons, who have burned the town and all corn, cattle and goods, and 3 or 4 men, and carried 5 away with them. The town is Mr. Strowthers's, who was in the appeal with my son. The Chancellor's friends have advised him not to ride to the King to Falkland for fear of Huntly, Crawford and their friends. He [the Chancellor] hath left off dealing with Captain James Stewart and written to the Master of Gray to come home. Huntly therefore labours for the said Stewart, for if Gray come home Huntly should lose Dunfermline; but I do not hear that he has prevailed with the King. I write not hereof to my Lord Chamberlain. I would some noble personage from her majesty might come hither, for the presence of such an one will be needful. Berwick. *Signed*: Jhon Salby.

2/3 p. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.

Elizabeth.

1588. 531. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Oct. 13.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 226.

. . . * in Ireland to the Spaniards . . . certified since your honour's letters . . . to me from Captain Carlisle and very thankfully taken at the King's hands. Since there are escaped out of Ireland and landed in Scotland 50 Spaniards and Italians, poor and miserable, passing through this country towards England who [were] wrecked the 6th September in a ship in the north of Ireland called *La Ballanzara* of 1200 tons, wh . . . were 500 soldiers and 79 mariners left at their landing; the captains and master taken, divers other put to the sword, saving those which es[caped] into Scotland. The 10th October there came to Edinburgh 20 Spaniards and 16 Italians; the rest are sick.

Letters came to Mr. David Lindsay from "Byron" in Norway that divers ships are cast away . . . an island called Faroë lying on the back of Norway. God hath shewed his mercy and power at this instant to us as he [did] to the children of Israel, whereof these two crowns have great cause to be thankful. This news doth marvellously appal the papists, which many of them would not believe before the . . . * "these wretched creatures passe through . . . the Spanniardes had strengthe . . . The K[ing] . . . retyred to S . . . leaving all his comp[anions] . . . yong duk and those gentlemen of . . . hither came to him the Earl Huntley and . . . Claude Hamelton hoping to have made some . . . in courte," as they term it. But secretly Lord Claud was willed by his majesty to retire to his [house] and to carry himself in religion as he had promised and be a quiet subject; all that is . . . * should be forgotten.

Huntly stayed a few days, but was willed by the King to go into the north, and, as he regarded his favour, so to conform him[self] both in religion, and to the course the King . . . to run in governing the state. He was snitor to the King that the time of James Gordon might be prorogued, for he is to depart secretly out of Scotland; and that Fentrie might not be forbidden his coming to . . . but the King would yield neither of his requests. Besides, he was earnestly in hand that Sir James Stewart might have access to his majesty, wherefore he came within two miles of St. Joh[nstone], thinking to have met the King hunting; but his majesty commanded him to depart and to think it no small [favour] to suffer him with quietness to live at his . . .

"The King sheweth himselfe most jealous in re . . . * and willing to rune that course that sha . . . [pl]ease your . . . to his majestie in comen . . . [re]ligion and his willing mynd . . . majesties amitie, it would be most . . . ceptable taken and hasten this accion now in . . . * hand and without doubt bring forth good effectes." I cannot now exactly set down the noblemen with their abilities and factions, but ere many days you shall receive all particulars.

The greatest strength of Scotland consisteth in the gentlemen which they here call Lairds, and the boroughs which are almost all well affected in religion; therefore the King with these may easily

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588.

bridle the earls. The chief of the papists and discontented persons are Huntly, Montrose, Lord Claud Hamilton, Glencairn, Ogilvie, Gray, Fentrie, Sir John Seaton and the Prior of Pluscarden, Seaton's [brother]. But all these seeing the King so affected and strengthened with the gentry and boroughs are afraid to offend him.

Bothwell, Crawford and Hume are not trusted of the papists nor beloved of the protestants, "for that thai are licencious and uncon . . . * The . . . affected in . . . and obedient to . . . greatlie his brothers dealinges. The erle Marshall, the erle of Marr . . . Arroll, the erle of Argyle, who althoughe he . . . * yet well brought up and his countrie well af . . . in religion; theise are of the chefest earles and v[erie] well geven in religion." You shall receive in this packet a letter from Mr. David Lindsay: "The King is yet at Faulkland, but looked for at Edinburgh the 17 of this present." Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

3 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. Indorsed.*

Oct. 28. **532. PASS FOR SPANIARDS.**

"To all and sindrie quhome it efferis, to quhais knowledge thir present lettres sall cum, we the provest and baillies of the burgh of Edinburgh in Scotland wisseth perpetuall Felicite. Forswamekill as thair come laitle unto this our citie to the number of fourty sex personis, strayngeris, naiket and bair and in ane maist miseribill estaitt quhome we understand to be of the Spayngzie navie, and to haif maid schipwrak upoun the coist of Ireland; we war movet to pittie thair estaitt and of Christiane cheritie, quhilk commands ws to be beneficiall unto our everray enemeis, in that respect nocht onelie to cleith thair naiketnes, and ane certane spaice to susteyne and feyde thair hungrie bellies, bot als be occasioun of certane Scottis schips passing in thair merchandice toward the parts of France, to sparill and disperse yame amangs the saide schips to be transportet to the ports quhair it sall be fund maist expedient to sett thame on land, that thai may saillie pas to thair native cuntreis; and upoun all thair behaffis hes gevin perpetuall lettres patents to the maister and skipper of the ship callit *Marygrace* or *Grace of God*, to kepe witnessing unto the trewth. Desyring thairfore zour honoures to esteine no uther wayes of thir strayngeris, and of the schips quhairin thai ar inbarket be us nor is above rehersitt, and to suffer thame pas frelie throw zour dominionis untrublitt or molestid be zow in ony sort. Quhairin ze sall do ws greitt plesure and haif ws det bund to requyte zow with the lyke benefite at all occasiouns. In witnessing of the quhilk thing to thir present lettres subscrivit be ws and be our commoun clerk the seill of caus of the said burgh is affixit."

"At Edinburgh the xxviij day of October the zeir of God i^mv^c fourescore aucht zeiris." *Signed: Johnne Arnote, Provost. William Fairlie, baillie.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.

1588.

533. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Oct. 29.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 279.

. . . * States of the U . . . as to my lords here, in a matter . . . great inconvenience, if timely . . . as you shall perceive by the inclosed copies. Her majesty's pleasure is that you commend the cause of the States to the King, telling him how greatly the hard course entered into at the suit of Sir William Stewart, "as may apeare by the copie of the instructions delivered unto the herauld," may prejudice the common cause, which without private dissensions is in danger by common enemies, who are more bent to overthrow religion than its professors are ready to defend it. Therefore her majesty's pleasure is that you show the King "that were the pretension of the gentleman never so right," yet the inconvenience of so great a cause would not be overbalanced with the detriment of one private person. Yet the States mean not that his travail in their service should be unrewarded: there is but patience demanded for a season, and recovery to be had when quiet is restored. Also you shall acquaint him that her majesty is solicited by some of her subjects of quality, for more important causes than that gentleman's, "to licence the freedom of this last and extreme . . . of justice, as to be relieved by letter of mart could . . . [induced] to yt, carrying alwaies . . . and good estate of those countries . . . and christianlike to aid calamite . . . con . . . will embrace . . . Christian prince . . . Moreover, the inconvenience that might ensue . . . lected, for a course of hostilitie being entred into . . . his subjects, would barr them not only of their trade into th[e Low Coun]tries, but also elsewhere; considering the great stoare of shi[ps] and seamen that those contries have, to inable them to take . . . yf anie violence should bee offred them in respect of this ca[use]"; a matter which deserves to be substantially weighed.

Thirdly, he is to be put in mind that they are her majesty's friends and allies, with whom she presumeth he would [not] enter into breach—what show soever hath been made—without her privity and liking, protesting as he doth to be so much at her devotion. You shall use all earnest persuasions in this cause, concerning which her majesty hath herself written.

But before you deal with the King therein, you shall, in my opinion, acquaint the Chancellor and other well-affected persons with her majesty's desires, that they may second your mediation. "And for that it is given forth that there are a certain no[mber] of shippes prepared for the seas, whether for this execu[tion] or what other intent, you shall doe well to enforme your[self] as particularly as you can, what numbers they are [and] of what sort the preparacions are." From the court at Greenwich. *Signature decayed.*

2 pp. No flyleaf or address.

Oct. 29.

534. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHELEY.

Since the long time of the happy government your lordship hath borne in that realm, divers persons have forsaken their

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588. country; some papists, some practisers of unlawful matters: yet such is the Queen's mercy, "as tyll theyre offences were too aparant, no extremyte hathe byn shewed to theyre goodes or lyvinges." Myself, being a Protestant and dutiful subject, am occasioned to leave the country for a time, not with goodwill, but having lost my chiefest friend, my lord and master, having divers suits that are matters of conscience as well as of law, having great enemies and few friends, and having some discontentment besides, I have thought best to live in this poor country of Scotland, where I have some old acquaintance, and may understand and give direction in my business till I see what end it will take. I have therefore thought it my duty to acquaint your lordship with my estate and intent thus far, craving your favour and vowing myself to your service. "At the house of a Hume in the marshe in Scotland." *Signed: T. Foulter.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

[Oct. 31.] **535. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 290.

After finishing my other letter Mr. . . . made me acquainted with some dislike the King there hath taken against the States for detaining of a ship belonging to the Earl of Orkney; which may be objected when you move that King to stay forcible proceedings against the inhabitants of the United Provinces. Therefore, that you may be acquainted with that cause, and what reason they had to do as they did, I send you herewith . . . , that you may be able to reply if any such objection be made. "They offer notwithstanding to ye[ld to] the King's majesty satisfaction, so as the former frendship and . . . * and those countries may bee contin[ued]. And further the said States do offer that [if the] King shall not bee content to make staie of [his] letter of marte, resting not satisfied with s[uch] reasons as you are directed to lay before h[im], that then yf yt shall please him to send some [person] instructed to pursue that cause here, th[at] her majestie as a common frende to them both may be an umpire, they w[ill] depute some comissioners of theirs to [be] there at such time as the said King shall . . . , to heare and [deter]myne the pretended accomptes depending between the said . . . , together with s . . . as her majestie shall appointe . . . the said examinacion. . . . mention if there may be a staie made otherwise, for that there may rise many difficulties in the hearing and en . . . of the sayd accomptes."

"Yt is hopped here [that] the King . . . his owne wisdom in respect of the relygyon [and the] care he sheweth to have of the common cause, wi[ll] make staie of the said letter of marte, w[hich] otherwise no dowbt of yt is lyke to worke verie daungerous effectes as thinges now stande."

"Touching the aunswering of the Chauncelours letter which he hath longe expected and . . . with reason bee agreived, for that the same . . . so longe delayed, I do assure you . . . carefull to sollicite her majestie . . . cannot drawe any

* Decayed.

Elizabeth.

1588. resolution . . . in such sorte as . . . is no defaulte in me, who do gre . . . him for his wisdom and piety."

3¼ pp. *Draft.*

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 322.

Another copy of the same.

Cott. Julius,
F. VI., fol. 91.

Another copy.

[1588.] **536.** [JAMES HUDSON] TO WALSINGHAM.

[Oct.]

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 295.

The Chancellor of Scotland rests in great danger, for they daily practise against him. " Huntlie is commandid to keip home til he be callid for. Sir Jhon Seatton remanith at hoam and haith givin over his office. The gatheringe of Craford and that faxsyon [was] only to have allterid the estaett under [the] pretence of a privatt matter for a ty . . . * with Glamis; but the King preventi[ng i]t and ma[king] his owin gaerd to lead it, fo . . . paerteis and commandid every [man] home. His majestie contenewith his good mynd st[ill] to the Chancellor. Alexander Lindsaye m[aketh] suett for to be cappitayn of the Kings gaerd, whiche place Glamis haeth and wilbe loa[th] to fore goe itt."

" It is a greatt poynt for ther purposse if they speid the Just[ice C]lerk his falling from the Chanceler a[n]d tho[se] of the other faxsyon. The King, Mar, Glamis, Chanceler and Coldonknowes be in substance them that love the amety hear. If theas be over-throwin and the other evil efactid have the plaeece, if the King contenew constant in it, they plaenly [as]sist the generall enemie [of] this yll when ther tyme servith. Theas . . . above namid will all waet this wint[er that cometh] and mean to intreat his majeste to . . . to hir majeste, whiche is the [way] to . . . of Coldonknowes."

" Ther is ane imbassador loek[ed for] from Spaene shortly, and there . . . a greatt ship of Spaen lyeth up[on] Makelen his coast. Shei landith never under iijf in warrlyk mann[er], and ther service is in plaet and other thing as aperteynith to no[ble]men. The King haeth derectid both . . . against hir."

" The generall of . . . boath in the cuntrei and tow[ns] . . . [pr]aers of thanks giving for the greatt delyveraunce that God haeth w[rought] for the whoall yll. The King haeth promessid the churchie that none shall [be] of his howsholld that will noct comme [in]."

1½ pp. *Holograph, signature struck out. No flyleaf or address.*

1588. **537.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Nov. 6.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 230.

. . . * of October I received the . . . Roger Aston, wherein your honour mentions that they here rest not satisfied, but insist upon unreasonable demands and boasting speeches. Whoever so informed you was seeking rather occasion of jars than that these two princes should be united.

Upon her majesty's last letter the King willed me to certify that he desires nothing but that which shall be meetest to her majesty

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for her honour and security to grant, and of that he will make her the judge, and those she may appoint. "His scope is chiefly the advance[ment] of religion, and for the defence of the whole ile, wherein he wilbe readie to rune that course against all strangers that her heighnes shall thinke most sure and convenient. Without all doubt her majestie hai[th] this yong prince as muche devoted to her as can be wished, which in tyme will appeare, and whosoever geveth out otherwaies abusit greatlie both theise princes, and offend God and man." This . . . mind towards . . . by the Lord Chancellor . . . to run the course of England . . . he doth oppose himself to his great . . . against all the malcontents of this realm.

The Master of Glamis is faithful, and these two carry the King in the action most faithfully. Lord John Hamilton and the Earl Ma . . . , the Earls of Mar and Erroll "are the best bent of all the nobilitie," and draw with them the strongest part of Scotland. "The King meaneth shortlie to send to her majestie ether Sir James Hume, captein of the castle of Edenboroughe, or Sir W. Keth."

Here arrived about the 12th of October 52 Spaniards and Italians who escaped out of Ireland and came naked to this country: the town of Edinburgh gave them food and apparel and sent them into Germany, France and the Low Countries. . . . this six weeks on the . . . Scotland a great ship of Spain about the isle of Mull in Maclane's country, and cannot go thence. Those Irish people relieve them with victual, but are not able to possess her, for she is well furnished with shot and men. "If there be anie shipes of warre in Ireland thei might have a great prairie of this ship, for she is thought to be verie riche."

Huntly has written a letter to the King of submission, promising obedience in religion and otherwise, craving pardon, and offering submission to the church.

The papists are out of hope to prevail by force now the army of Spain is broken, and show better conformity than before this victory. "The King haith sent the Earle of Huntlie to his house in the north, and thare as he shall reforme himself in religion, so he shall find his favour towards him."

Touching my . . . wisdom, as on . . . favour; in truth I would most . . . but at this present seeing there is great . . . good success in this action now in hand, and . . . the King urgeth nothing that I have offered, well accepting of my being here, I crave that I may stay till this good effect be brought to pass: wherein the King shall refer himself to her majesty, who shall understand his mind shortly by his ambassador that is to go hence. Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

3 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Nov. 8. 538. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 232.

. . . * understand . . . court where you w . . .
with these few lines . . . written at length of the 3rd of

* Deceased.

Elizabeth.

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. . . directed the same in a packet to Mr. . . . which I hope you have received ere now. Further than I wrote in my last I cannot . . . All is well here; the King content; the Chancellor guides all. Since my last letters Huntly has written to his majesty, craving pardon, and offering himself in religion and all other things at the King's pleasure, "and thatt he will withowtt epocrise satesf[ye] the kerke. Alwayis" he remains at home, and so they hope he shall do still.

Sir John Seton is "clere descowrted." The papists are not so forward as they were; I hope they shall be less and less. "The King is resol[ved] to sobmett him selef to her majesty and counsell to do with him as the ples."

This day word is come that the great ship that lay in the west isles is blown in the air by order of John Smallett; most part of the men are slain. The manner is this. Macclen entertaining great friendship with them desired the borrowing of two cannons and 100 "hagbotteres" to besiege a house of Angus Maccauhales, and delivered [to] a sister's son of his master a pledge for the safe delivering of them again. In this mean time John [S]malett, a man that has great trust among the [Spaniards] entered the ship and cast in the powder upon a piece of lint and so departed. Within a [sh]ortt tyme after the lint took fire and . . . this word is come this . . . "avertest" . . . have done . . . commend me to all . . . till I hear from you there . . . ships I left behind me. I wrote . . . sundry things in my last letter.

My lord . . . has desired me to send for 14 yards of . . . velvet, black, to line him a gown, and also . . . of black velvet; which, if you could get saf[ely], I would have sent. Davy Morre your old frie[nd] . . . some hurt by the men of Atermotty, and in [danger] of his life. The letters that came last from [Mr.] Secretary concerning the matters of the Low Countries . . . be answered to her majesty's contentment. All . . . here are well and would be glad to see you. Sir William Keith is not yet returned. The Master [of] Glamis has come to court: the King has promised . . . not take the guard from him but by his own cons[ent]. Edinburgh. *Signed: Roger Aston.*

1 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Nov. 9. **539. ACT FOR FURTHERING OF JUSTICE IN CRIMINAL CAUSES.**

Cott. Calig.,
B. VIII.,
fol. 38.

"At Halyruidhous the last day of November, the zeir of God ane thousand fyve hundreth four scoir aucht zeiris, the Kingis majestie and his estaitis presentlie assembled, having hard and consyderit the act and directioun laittlie maid be his hienes, with avise of his privie counsell, for the furthering of justice in criminall causes, hes ratified, approved and allowed the samin. Of the quhilk the tenour followis."

"At Halyruidhous the nynt day of November, the zeir of God M.D. lxxxvij zeiris. Forsamekle as the Kingis majestie, being movit with the frequent slauchteris, and utheris odious crymes committit within his realme, and of the wilfull resset and supplie of his rebellis denuncit to the horne for the samin crymes, having

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craved and hard the opinion of the officeris of estait, and utheris his counsellouris maist commounlie resident and attending upon his majestie, hes be thair advise thoct convenient, resolvit and concludit, that with all gudlie diligence travell be takin to understand the trew estait of the realme, asweill of the saidis crymes, as committaris thair of, be the buikis of adjournale and utherwyse. And be reasoun it wilbe difficill to his hienes Thesaurare and his depute to overtake all thing necessarily to be inquirit, done and directit in this behalf with that celeritie quhilk it cravis, his hienes hes devydit his hail realme—beside Orkney—in four quarteris, appointand for everie quarter thrie of his consale and utheris heir-effer specified, to supplie his hienes Thesaurare and Justice, quhill the fyftene day of Marche nixt to cum : that then his majestie upon experience of the succes of thair travellis may understand everie mannis diligence, and may tak deliberatioun quhat is further to be followit out heir anent, for his hienes honour and service, and quieting of the countrie. Quhilk twelf persones sall concur togidder, and every ane for him self, in maner as efter followis, that is to say :

“ For the south quarter, comprehending the schyrefdomes of Striveling, Linlithgow, Edinburgh principall, and within the constabularie of Hadingtoun, Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peblis, Thomas Maister of Glammis his hienes Thesaurare, Syr James Hume of Coldenknowis, knycht, capitane of the castell of Edinburgh, and Maister David Mackgill of Nisbet his majesties Advocat.”

“ For the west quarter, comprehending the schyrefdomes of Lanerk, Renfrew and Air, Dumbertane, Ergyle or Tarbert, and Bute, Wigtoun, Dumfreis, stewartries of Kirkudbright and Annerdaill, and bailleries of Kylie, Carrik, and Cuninghame, Syr Johne Maitland of Thirlestane, knycht, his hienes Chancellare and Secretair, Syr Patrik Vaus of Barnebarraugh, knycht, and Maister Peter Zoung of Seytoun, Maister Elimosinare.”

“ For the middle or east quarter, comprehending the schyrefdomes of Clakmannane, Kinros, Fyfe, Perth, Forfare and Kincardin, and stewartreis of Stratherne and Menteith, Syr Lewes Bellenden of Auchnoule, knycht, Clerk of Justiciarie, Valter commendator of Blantyre, L. Keipar of the privie seill, and Johne Arnot, provost of Edinburgh.”

“ For the north quarter, comprehending the schyrefdomes of Abirdene, Banf, Elgin and Foresse, Narne, Innernes and Cromartie, Syr Robert Melvile of Murdocairny, knycht, thesaurare depute, Maister David Carnegie of Culluthie, and Alexander Hay of Eister Kennet, Clerk of the Register.”

“ And for the mair speciall direction quhairunto every ane of the saidis xij personis his hienes officeris and counsellouris sall attend, his majestie hes willit and commandit every quarter of the realme to be devydit in thrie partis, appointand to every ane of them ane severall part thair of, and ane justice court to be haldin within the Tolbuith of Edinburgh for every ane of the saidis partis in the monethis of December, Januar, Februar and Marche nixtocum, and for every ane of the saidis courtis the space of ane oulk, beynnand the first court upon Monunday the xvj day of December nixtocum

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for the schyrefdomes of Striveling, Linlithgow and Edinburgh principall, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Laird of Coldenknowis, capitane of the castell of Edinburgh; the secund court upon Monunday the xxij day of December, for the schyrefdomes of Edinburgh within the constabularie of Hadingtoun and Berwick, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Thomas, Maister of Glammis, Thesaurare; the thrid court upon Monunday the penult day of December, for the schyrefdomes of Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peblis, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Lord Advocat; the ferd court upon Monunday the sext day of Januar, for the schyrefdomes of Lanerk, Renfrew and Air, and baillieris of Kyle, Carrik and Cuninghame committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Lord Chancellair; the fyft court upon Monunday the xij day of Januar for the schyrefdomes of Dumbertane, Ergyle or Tarbert and Bute, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of ye said Maister Elemosinare; the sext court upon Monunday the xx day of Januar for the schyrefdomes of Wigtoun, Dumfreis, and stewartreis of Kirkudbright and Annerdaill, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Syr Patrik Vaus of Barnebarrauch, knycht; the sevint court upon Monunday the xxvij of Januar for the schyrefdomes of Clakmannane, Kinrosse and Fyfe, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said provest of Edinburgh; the aicht court upon Monunday the thrid day of Februar for the schyrefdomes of Perth and stewartreis of Stratherne and Menteith, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Justice Clerk; the nynt court upon Monunday the x day of Februar for the schyrefdomes of Forfar and Kincardin, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Keipar of the privie seill; the tent court upon Monunday the xvij day of Februar for the schyrefdomes of Abirdene, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Syr Robert Melville thair depute; the elevint court upon Monunday the xxiiij day of Februar for the schyrefdomes of Banffe, Elgin, Forresse and Narne, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Maister David Carnegie of Colluthie; the twelt court upon Monunday the thrid day of Merche for the schyrefdomes of Innernes and Cromartie, committit to the speciall cair and diligence of the said Clerk Register: all with continuatioun of dayis, and that his majesties Chancellair convene the saidis xij personis daylie, or sa oft as the occasioun sall offer, to consult upon the further particularities of this service. And his majesties self will inquire and tak compt of thair diligence everie oulk twyis or thryis, specialie on the Wednisday and Fryday in the morningis, and will ressave the complaintis of all compleneris, and direct the same to every ane of the saidis xij personis within quhais boundis the complaint is. And his majestie will privelie heir everie ane of the saidis xij personis quhen they sall have any necessary purpois to communicate to him tending to the furtherance of this service."

"And further his hienes is deliberate and promisis that quhill the said xv day of Marche nixt to cum his majestie will na wayis grant or subscribe ony maner of respect, remissioun, command for continuatioun or defeiving of any justice court, giftis or dischargis of unlawis, escheitis, or quhatsumever penalteis or casualities falling

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be meanis of the saidis justice courtis, or quhilk may hinder the trew effect thairof, without the advise of the saidis xij personis, at leist sevin of them being togidder, and subseriving before his majestie."

"The saidis xij personis at his majesties command hes takin upon them the inquisition of the crymes, raising of the letteris, and causing execute the samin and summoning the assyses, and sall mak the first expensis thairon, quhill the samin may be recompensit be the first casualities falling be thir courtis and escheitis thairof, within the boundis committit to them. In the componing quhairof my Lord Thesaurare or his depute sall use the advise of him that is appointed for that part of the countrie and sik utheris of the officeris and counsall as sall be present."

"The saidis xij personis, officeris of estate and counsellouris hes promisit to attend upon his majestie at Edinburgh, and not to depart thairfra without his hienes knowlege and leif, and that they have appointed ane uther of the same xij personis to supplie thair absence in this service unto thair returning, quhill the xv day of Marche nixt to cum."

"In the saidis courtis of justiciarie the Justice or his deputis sall proceed to the tryall or punishment of slauchteris committit thir last thrie zeiris, sen ye first day of November 1585, upon the names ressavit from the Justice Clerk and his depute and sik utheris as can be inquiryt of without prejudice to parties to persew for uther slauchteris at thir same dyettis gif they will."

"Nixt, upon the ressetteris and supplearis of the speciall personis at the horne, and upon all Jesuitis, seminarie preistis and excommunicat papistis; all incestuous personis and notorious obstinate adulteris; all common sorners, vagaboundis, and the pernicious thevis and abuseris calling them selfis Egyptianis; all deforceris of the Kingis officeris. And that all officeris of armes—the ordinar heraldis, maseris and pursevantis exceptit—be personallie present in the saidis courtis, to answer to the complantis of speciall falsettis, extorsionis and oppressiounis committit be them under colour of execution of thair offices."

"For the committaris of the said slauchteris, gif they have bene called and remanis at the horne unrelaxit, that letteris be direct for uptaking of thair escheitis, and to the schyreffis, barounis and townes to assist the officeris gif neid be, as alsua charging the schyreffis and utheris ordinar judges, and generallie all men, to seik, searche, tak and apprehend the rebellis, and being apprehendit to keip them in firmanee and captivitie quhill justice be execute upon them for the saidis crymes. As alsua to charge the rebellis to enter thair awin personis in waird, and to rander thair stanehouses and fortalices, gif they ony have, under the paine of treason. And gif the rebellis be sik personis as ar schyreffis them selfis, or that the schyreffis may not or dar not execute the charge, that the matter be communicate to his hienes self, that he being informed may use force in proper persone or utherwyse direct it to be usit as he sall think guid."

"Gif the rebellis have bene zeir and day at the horne, and na dispositioun maid of thair lyferentis, to intromet and bring in thair livingis to his hienes use. Gif they be relaxit, that letteris be direct charging thair sourties to enter them to the courtis, that parties

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offendit may ressave suirtie for satisfacioun and assyithment. And quhair the offendouris hes not zit bene complenit on, that thai be now called to the saidis courtis."

"Quhair personis callit to underly the law hes obtenit and usis respectis and remissiounis, thai sall be compellit to find guid suirties to satisfie the parties complenand, and his majestie will caus the assyithment to be modefyit with als greit speid as is possible: and will hald hand that the decreitis to be gevin thairupon sall be execut without delay or subterfuge; and that for all offensis quhair the lyfe of the offendour is spairit guid suirtie be fund to abstene in tyme cumming under greit painis. And that nane of the nobilitie or officeris of estait, or counsellouris, or of his hienes familiar servandis, nor nane utheris that ar difficill to be convenit be ressavit souirteis for assyithment of parties complenand, or that personis callit sall compeir to underly the law, or to abstene in tyme cumming, or for ony uther occasioun. For getting knowledge of the personis culpable of the particulare crymes above writtin, that letteris be direct to the schyreffis and thair deputis, commanding to summond a dozane, xv or xxj at thair discrecion of the maist famous and honest barounis, landit gentlemen or utheris within the shyre, burgh or land, to a certane day with als greit speid as may be, and be thair greit aithis to delait and returne the namis of all personis suspect of the crymes above writtin that ar appointit to be followit at this tyme, beside sik uther privie intelligence as may be had be moyen, and to warne all parties that hes to do, persew, or defend in the saidis justice courtis, to give in thair complaintis in tyme, and to await at the saidis courtis as thai will be servit. That ane hundreth personis of the best and worthiest landit men to burgh or land, and utheris that may beir thair awin chargis within every ane of the xij partis, be summonit to passe upon the assyse of the personis delaitit and to be accusit, quhilkis sall be haldin to compeir the first day of the oulk that thai ar summonit, under the painis contenit in the actis of Parliament, notwithstanding ony exemptiounis or excuses, except only sik as sall be provin—be the aith of thair minister compeirand—to be seik and unable for travell."

"Upon the first day of the court and oulk, asweill the personis summonit to compeir that day as the hail personis of the assyse to be callit and the absentis and thair suirties to be unlawit."

"At the end of every oulk the extract of the court and oulk immediatly preceding to be gevin out to the persoun havand the cair of that part, that diligence may be maid without further delay for uptaking of the painis and unlawis, and compt to be craved of the same diligence how sone the same conveniently may be done."

"Sik personis as compeiris the first day and hes or will use respect or remissionn to be callit and put to point the first day appointit for thair compeirance, gif it be possible: utherways upon the nixt dayis of the oulk thairefter: and that it be considderit the same first day how mony of the comparentis will offer them selfis to ane assyse. And that ane assyse be wailed maist propre for them appointand sum day of that oulk thairfoir, how sone it can be overtakin: and to let out the comparentis the said first day upon greit souirteis, and command the assyssouris to remane that hail oulk at leist quhill ye court appointit for that part be endit under

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double painis : that the thrie appointit for every quarter accompanie and be assessouris to the Justice deputis during the hail space of the thrie oulks appointed for that quarter, and every one of them in particulair promisis to take the cair and burding of the dispathe of letteris and utheris thingis requisite for preparation agane the court, and executioun of thingis necessary, asweill before the courtis as thaireftar, quhill the xv day of Marche. They sall caus execut letteris upon all landis lordis and chiftainis of clannis in the hielandis and borderis to find souirteis or enter pledgis for gud rewle, conforme to the new act of Parliament."

" All sik thingis as can not possible be overtaken in thir courtis to be continued to the nixt justice courtis to be haldin in the tyme of the somer sessioun, quhillk will lykewyse lest the space of xij oulkis, fra the xv day of May to the xv day of August, seing in the tyme of the twa vacances of sawing and sheiring it will be difficill to await upon the justice courtis in Edinburgh."

" They sall gar proclaine the letteris certifying all complenaris upon thevis in the hielandis and borderis how they sall persew and seik for redresse of thair skaithis."

" They sall inquire for the namis of sum speciall thevis and lymmaris in every shyre, and assist the Justice Clerk that thai may be gevin furth in valentynis to thair maisteris, and sall give advise how the maisteris and landis lordis or chiftainis faillieing to present them sall be called to be tryit upon thair diligence; and that letteris be direct for publicatioun of this present act and ordinance be oppin proclamation at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, and uther mercat croces and placis neidfull, that nane pretend ignorance of the samin; and that the samin be imprinted alsua, quhairthrow it may cum the mair spedelie to the knowlege of all his hienes lieges, quhairunto the copie heiroy subscrivit be the Clerk of Register sall serve for sufficient priviledge and warrand. Subscrivit be his majestie and the saidis xij personis in takin of thair acceptatioun. At Edinburgh the 9 day of November. 1588. James R. Im prentit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris. *Cum privilegio regali.*

8 pp. *Print.*

Nov. 13. 540. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

Cott. Calig.,
D. L.,
fol. 267.

. . . * that as matteres . . . you before of the grett . . . that was like to ensewe be the altering of the gard: wich being led before his majesty be the Chansler, was contentt to alter all thatt matter, and nowe has gevin a new gefit to the Master of Glames of thatt plase during his lyffe."

" Order is taking that no papes shall be in the Kings houes. All men well affected in religion are to be sentt for, and order to be taken with Papes throwe all the cowntre."

" The Yerle of Hontle shal remane att home, and ether conforme him selef to the religion or eles [pas?] of the cowntre. I wroth yesterdaye and sentt it to the ambass[ador]: it aperes you have forgotten me thatt never wold writt all this tyme." Edinburgl.
Signed: Roger Aston.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph.* No flyleaf or address.

* Decayed.

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541. [] TO [] (INTELLIGENCE FROM
SCOTLAND.)

Nov. 13.

Cott. Calig.,

D. 1.,

fol. 274.

* “ Scotland, having . . . I have beyn secretly
estate—cheyfly the northern . . . greatly estranged
and fallen frome the ” . . . —and good affection towards her
majesty, and this realm; wishing and looking to have power to
execute the malice of their minds inwardly and closely carried
against her majesty. And before they be furnished and able to go
forward with their desires they will covertly further their intentions
with fair words and deeds “ to serve the tyme.”

I am told that a gentleman is prepared and made ready—or rather
despatched—for the Low Countries, to persuade the Scottish
colonels and captains there to deliver to the Duke of Parma such
towns and “ peces ” as they have in charge, or can get in
possession, and to resort with their companies to the Duke of
Parma to be by him recommended to the service of the Duke of
Guise.

Further, that the King of Scots before this hath solicited the King
of Denmark to trouble the seas and traffic of England, with sundry
other evil offices towards her majesty, which the King of Denmark
refused to do to the great discontent of the King of Scots.

1 p. *Copy.*

Nov. 13. 542. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [BURGHLEY.]

I delivered to the King the 9th of November her majesty's
letter concerning the state cause of the United Provinces. “ His
heighnes is verie willing to stay the letter of mart, not meaning to
deale anie wai against her frendes and allies without her majesties
privitie. Before theise letters came, the King was certified that
there was an embassadour coming from the Lowe Countries, who is
dailie here expected; whereupon the King deferreth the full
answere to her majesties letter till the arrivall in theise partes of
there embassadour.”

The Spanish ship I mentioned, which was driven on the isle of
Mull in Maclane's country, is burnt by treachery of the Irish, and
almost all the men consumed by fire. “ It is thought to be on of
the principalles shippes, and some on of great accompt within, for
he was alwaies, as thei saie, served in sylver.” In the north
another great ship wrecked upon Fair Island; 500 men gained the
island, but it is thought they will be famished, it is so little and
barren.

“ Here is feared some waltering in court, as thei terme it in
breading.” The King means to take the captainship of the guard
from the Master of Glamis, and to give it to Alexander Lindsey, his
chief favourite, brother to the Earl of Crawford; who although he
be a Protestant, yet that house being in feud with the Master of
Glamis, he will favour the contrary faction against the Chancellor
and the Master of Glamis. This plot is wrought by Justice Clarke,
“ who is suspected to shrink from the Chancellour: there envie

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The preparation to sea made by Bothwell was for the isles of Lewes on the west: there were 4 or 5 ships and 600 soldiers. "Now all is qualied": his mariners unwilling, and the borough towns ready to withstand him, fearing he intended piracy against the Low Countries, being set on by Colonel Stewart before his going into Denmark. Bothwell is of French humour, doing that to-day which he repents to-morrow. "His cariage is suche, and haith so embrued himself with bloode, as he is hated almost of evirie on."

The Chancellor is assured that you will omit no opportunity of uniting these two princes, hoping you conceive the same opinion of him.

Here arrived the 8th of November Mr. Thomas Fowler, who came to me to acquaint your honour of his coming: he hath written craving your favour and offering service. The King hath used him with great courtesy, "making the more accompt of him, for that he served his grandfather, and brought his father into this countrey; he is verie well acquainted, and well thought of with the best sorte." You shall find him willing and faithful. Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

Postscript. As I had ended Mr. Fowler came to me, showing that Justice Clerk had been with him, and declared that the fear of alteration in court was past; the King hath confirmed the charge of the guard to the Master of Glamis for life.

The Chancellor and Justice Clerk are reconciled; all Papists shall be sent from court to their houses, and the Protestant lords sent for: so as there is great hope of this prince proceeding sincerely in religion.

There is a resolution to send an ambassador hence to her majesty; probably either Sir Alexander Hume, captain of the castle, or Justice Clerk.

3 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. Indorsed.*

Nov. 19. **543.** STEPHEN ELLIS TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 315.

I received your letter the 12th instant, with a letter inclosed for Mr. Richard Lowther's coming up to you. He maketh his journey in haste, with instructions from his brother, Jarratt Lowther. If there is any matter in which Mr. Richard cannot satisfy you, Mr. Jarratt will willingly repair to you. All the knowledge comes by him, both now and in Lord Leicester's time. I did not set down the way to entitle her majesty to it, because there was a promise of a benefit which should come unto them; which promise they do yet look to have; that which was promised by Lord Leicester in the other covenant. These matters can only be ended by making Mr. Richard Lowther sheriff of Cumberland this year; otherwise he cannot get a jury, but will favour the Howards or the Dacres or themselves. The gentleman had disgrace by the fall of the late Duke of Norfolk: "when the master getts a fawle the fre[nds] and sarvants coms by som perell." Yet the gentleman quit himself very worshipfully of that action. The ancestors of the man were

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knights these 200 years. If the Queen would bestow that favour on him it would make him ready to further her actions, and win him and his, which is a great alliance: he is a man of 1000*li.* a year at least. There is no man in all the west marches so sufficient for border causes; as appeared when he was Lord Scrope's deputy warden at Carlisle.

"Her is a offes [*sic*] of Bewcastell, which with the el . . . of Thomas Musgrav well all be undon as thay [are] all redy for as it is reported when Ledgesdayll . . . com and wreck thaym Sir Symond and he do . . . charg thaym with som felony, and so tacks all [their] goods." It were well for these borders that some other man had the government. Lord Scrope is grown suspicious of me by reason I did not acquaint him with your letter as I was wont to do. I pray you satisfy him that there was one sent of purpose to make Mr. Lowther come up. Carlisle. *Signed*: Stevene Elys.

Postscript. I pray you give order to some of your chamber that he may have access to you when needful.

2 pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Nov. 23. **544. RICHARD WIGMORE TO WALSINGHAM.**

"I being forced to leave my country by reason of certeyn hard cowrces intended agaynst me at the appetyte of the Lady Leyghton, and hearing of the good correspondency between her majesty and this King, I did chuse this country wherin to remayn, as a place of smallest charge, and as I trust of least offence." I have signified this to your honour as to him whose good opinion I have always coveted. If anything be misconceived of my departure at the suggestion of my ill-willers, may it please you to assure her majesty of my loyalty, whereof I hope even here to give testimony. Wherein it shall please you to command me "I will as reddely obaye as in all humble thanckfullnes I doe acknowledge your honorable goodnes extended to my poer brother in his laate afflictions." Edinburgh. *Signed*: R. Wygmore.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 26. **545. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 228.

. . . * here think of her majesty's . . . honourable, doth greatly discontent all sorts, and wounds the hearts of the best deeply, seeing—as they allege—their King so little esteemed, considering his devoted mind towards her highness, in respect of religion affecting her amity before all princes', and making it manifest to the world.

I find the King to conceive some unkindness, and fear, if regard be not had in time, all sorts in his state will urge their prince to a course dangerous to both crowns.

The Chancellor, who hath endangered himself among the nobility and malcontents, groweth weary of the course he hath held, finding so cold correspondence from England, and his King so lightly regarded. This opinion of theirs is increased by the stay here

* Decayed.

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reported of an ambassador coming to Scotland from the States, which is taken very unkindly, they thinking that the Queen would not vouchsafe him to have an ambassador from thence, but will seem to rule their King and yet do nothing for him: this they account no small indignity to their prince and country. This latter end of November a convention of the nobility is held at Edinburgh; what is concluded by the next you shall . . . The King . . . may be wholly at . . . course he shall set down. He hath so wrought Earl Huntly as he [hath] reconciled and submitted himself to the Church, and revealed to the King the plot to take away the Chancellor; so a full reconciliation will be presently made.

Earl Crawford and the Master of Glamis newly reconciled again, and all quarrels to be forgotten. Here arrived lately from the Duke of Parma Colonel Boyd and Thomas Terie, bringing letters from the Duke to the King containing only compliments, committing the message to the bearers. The Spaniards now see their error that they made not sure Scotland for a [place] of retreat, which had been this summer past safeguard of their navy if they had retired [to] the havens of Scotland: which they durst not attempt, understanding the King to arm against them.

Colonel Stewart is returned from Denmark; there hath been some motion [for the] marriage of the second daughter; great sums of money will be offered if it shall please the King to hearken that way; but many think the King should match with the [Princess] of Navarre. . . . Spaniards, whose ship wrecked . . . Orkney, are coming to this city. On 24th arrived 18 Spaniards saved from the ship burnt in the Isle of Mull; "the particularities thereof I thinke your honour understandes by the partie that laid the traine, whome we here saie to be comed into England; the man known to your honour and called Smallet." Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

Postscript. Word has been brought me from the court that the King has bestowed the captainship of the guard to Mr. Alexander Lindsay, although not twenty days past he confirmed it to the Master of Glamis; this alteration, especially at this time of the Convention, "makes us feare here some waltering in courte to se this strange dealing." Hard dealing is used against Mr. Fowler in his absence, as though he had committed some treason; it troubles the gentleman not a little. I beseech your honour vouchsafe such favour as equity will require.

3 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 28. **546.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO WALSINGHAM.

Harl. MSS.
292, fol. 67.

My duty unto your lordship remembered. As it has pleased you ever to give me leave to write unto your honour either of my own griefs or of such as concern my friends being injuriously or hardly dealt withal, so am I now both to let your honour understand of two matters, the one that concerneth many of her majesty's good subjects, the other one person only, my near and dear friend though not in all points, as I would he were, yet so must I dare say if of a papist I may so write. But before I discover their names I foresee what danger may ensue unto my self, and in opening

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The one matter concerning Mr. John Cobham appoynted to be a captain as other were of divers selected soldiers within Kent—what benefit he got in the choice of his men, taking up and leaving out as many as for money he liked I speak not of—but for that which is complained unto me of by my neighbours of Milton and most of them her majesty's tenants is, that their captain having received pay of her majesty for a time for such soldiers as served under him that he retaineth their whole wages in his hands and payeth them nothing to whom it is due, your honour considereth whether this be to be to be borne with or not, though I fear it be too common with other captains that use the like.

The other matter is [one] that toucheth myself near—and yet very loth to deal far in it—that a gentleman called Mr. Norton Grene dwelling within the hundred of Milton, indeed a papist, and yet if there be any of that sort better than other I dare affirm that he is of that kind one of the best. He is of late as I am informed by your honour's letter willed to yield his body unto the custody of any such as Mr. Harrie Brooke would appoint. He is now in the hands and custody of one, Mr. Antonie Sampson, servant to my Lord Cobham—sorry I am to utter so much as I write—and friend to Mr. Brooke and supposed to be contriver of the whole matter against the said Mr. Grene. There are demanded of him two thousand marks for his liberty and to live fitly where he likes, and that to be confirmed unto him by letters from her majesty's Council, which, though I believe in this case will hardly be obtained, yet is their honours' name used to save their turn, and occasion given to other to judge very hardly of these kinds of dealing, specially I am sorry—with pardon let it be spoken—that your honour in this matter is only named, and your only letter to be the cause of his apprehension and trouble. He was once indeed by Mr. Yonge committed to the clink. There never yet appeared other offence in him than that he went not to the church. I was then a suitor unto your honour for his liberty which then was granted. I know that there is no new offence to charge him with, though this new manner of dealing be far other than I have heard of, that before a man be either indicted or convicted, to be given into his enemies hands to his utter spoil and undoing. Your honour seeth how far I have hazarded myself both against the son and brother of a noble man to whom I am bound, as also towards your honour, to write as I have done how far soever this offence towards your honour may be drawn, I crave pardon, and this far of your honour crave that if there be any doubt of disloyalty to her majesty or mistrust of any

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treachery against this realm—more than plain disobedience that he cometh not to the church—that I say the bonds of his brethren in law, Mr. Brente that married his own sister and Mr. Levin that married his wife's sister, may be taken, both honest gentlemen of Kent and very religious, will offer to be bound for him to appear whensoever your honour shall call for him. For my own part I humbly beseech you that I neither be named, nor thought to be party herein, as before I have shewed what displeasure may ensue unto me. If this may be well accepted at your hands your honour shall hear of other things amiss no less worthy to be reformed than these are in doing of, honour shall win favour at God's hand, live of her majesty's people and honour immortal for your well doing. St. Peter's Hill. *Signed*: Tho. Randolph.

2 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 30. **547.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 234.

. * [ho]nourable, was the first day
convention; where the King aff speech in generality of
this assembly showed to the lords how he had from time
to time proceeded with the Earl of Huntly, touching religion;
whom now, after conference with divers learned ministers, he
finds ready to submit himself to the church, confessing publicly his
errors, with solemn protestation to become a faithful subject to his
majesty, and to defend the religion here professed to the utmost of
his power: and this not for fear of loss or hope of favour, but of
mere conscience, detesting all superstition and papistry. This
public protestation did not a little content the King and best
affected here, for that he was the head and chief pillar of the papists
and malcontents here.

The next day followed an accident which troubled the King. Earl Bothwell and the Master of Glamis, discontented with one another, put themselves and their followers into arms. The King sent R. Melvin to command them both in his name to keep their houses: Bothwell, notwithstanding the [King's comma]nd King presently come to his that he would not be made a p[art]y for any private man's quarrel; adding words unmeet from a subject to his [King]; these Scottish earls account themselves but followers to their King, and presume much upon their regalities. The King would not bear this disobedience, but commanded him to his house for the night, and the next day sent him to Lyt . . . [Leith] to remain in the custody of Justice Clerk. The barons and lairds sent to the King the next day, offering to bring Bothwell to him, and any other earls that he would name, bound, for these insolencies are not to be suffered in Scotland.

The Master of Glamis, not for any disobedience, but for arming himself in this city at this present, is committed to the Castle.

There landed the 26th at Anstruther in Fife 200 Spaniards, who wrecked their ship about the isle of Fair in the Orkneys. They came in fisher-boats to this Firth, meaning to hire a couple of ships

* Decayed.

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to take them into the Low Countries : they saved their treasure and are come hither unspoiled ; their captains are looked for in this city. A man-of-war might intercept them. It is thought their chief was general of the f]leet]. . . . the assembly of the . . . of these two points for [be]tter maintenance of the religion now here established : first, that there be more severity used for the abolishing of papistry ; second, that better provision be had for the stipends of ministers. Certainly both the King and the Church here are in most miserable state, neither of them able to maintain their households ; which must bring ruin to the whole state. Nothing is as yet concluded in this assembly. Edinburgh.
Signed : W. Asheby.

2½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1588.] 548. AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.

[Nov.]

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 339.

“ Heving ressevit your informacione this last Sonday wit ze that Mr. James . . . * deing in Kirkgvinzane, he come in Scotland at the Haymouthe and w . . . be the abbot of New Abbay to the Lord Herreis and their was petagoge . . . lordis bairnes. He was abowte xxvij zeiris of aige ; the occasione that . . . was petagoge for was to conceill his vocatione.”

“ He maid ane greitt lamentacione befor his deathe that he had noet tyme to do the thinge he come for. He is bureitt in the abbay of Swieitt Harte alias New Abbay, and ane throwthe of stane laid on his towmbe with his [name] upon it. His guidis that he had is distribuitt in the handis of thame that ther is no remeid to be had off, for it will never be granttit excepte it cum be confessione to ane preist. Ther cowlde nane of his workis be gotten, for the man is absent that had thame, bot heirefter is [*sic* : if] I can speid ze shalbe participantt.”

“ For newis, my Lord Mortone knawis of na releiff for his servantis [that] is camit hame that was his agenttis at court. My Lord Herreis is lyk to becum ane guid Protestant outwardlie, for he cumis to the preching and els to the assembellie of the ministeris in Drumfreis, and hes cawssit thame gett obedience of commones that was abstinate. His lordschip is to pas in Lowdiane and thair to remane for ane space.”

“ His majeste past over Forthe this last Thurisday, and beis agane in Edinburgh schortly. Thair beis ane conventione of the haill nobilitie the xxv of this instant in Edinburgh : it is that the papists salbe put at, and his majesties howse and servandis to be teikin ordour with first.”

“ Thair is fallin owte ane cummer betuix my Lord Bodwell and the town of Leithe : it movit first be ane sowldert of my lordis callit Jokie Maxwell and the watche of the town, this sowldert being gangand one the nycht to ane woman, and thair he was hurt, my lord cumminge to seik the revenge for his man, his lordschip is strik throw the dowbellet with ane halbertt and na bluid in effect, but ther vij of the town hurt and iij or four slane, and ther is fyve or six of the sowldertis slane and sundrie uther hurt. Swa my lord makis

* Decayed.

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"I here nocht yett of my Lord Wardanes doinge nor I howpe nocht for him befor the coventione."

1 p. Addressed: "To my assurit and luiffing brother Gotrie this with speid."

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 348.

Copy of same.

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549. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

Dec. 1.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 236.

. * several letters another of the Chan[cellor] in "Neperes" letters I have for he is not yet come. The s[hip is c]ome, and I have received all my gear safely w[ith] 2 pipes and 2 hogsheds of beer, which I thank you heartily for, as also for the great care and pains you take in my business.

I had written to you presently upon the receipt of your letters, but that I stayed to see what end this conven[tion] would take. This day it ends, and resolution is taken for matters of religion very st[rait].

The particular between the Earl of Crawford [and] the Master of Glamis has troubled the Convention, for there were great parties of both sides, and sundry times had almost led another th Earl Bothwell took part with Crawford, and disobeyed the King's charge in not keeping his house when he was commanded: so [for] his disobedience he is committed to ward Light [Leith].

The Master of Glamis is committed to the castle of Edinburgh. The Earl of Huntly is now become a Protestant, and hath sworn never to deal with papists again; he hath first sworn before the King and the ministers, and now again be[fore the] whole Convention. . . . he be trusted ag[ain] satisfied so that we Protestant the Chan[cellor] agreed, and this day the King, accom[panied] with the Chancellor, goes to Dunfermline to be merry for three or four days. The Chancellor continues after the old manner, and we ho[pe] all shall be well. Straight order is taken for p[ro]p[er]y, and commission given to the best affected in religion for the execution thereof.

Colonel Boyd is come from the Prince of P[ar]ma, who hath desired that intelligence may pass between the King and him. The said colonel is very busy labouring such as he knows to be [of] the Prince's faction.

It is plainly spoken that there is come good store of gold by the bishop of Dunblane's convoy. I find all m[en ex]ceeding cold towards England, and the Chancellor among the rest. I fear if nothing be done [for th]is King it will not be well, for the necess[ity is] so great that in some way it must be had.

A colonel is come from Denmark, and [adv]ances the King's marriage there by all means possible: what success it will take I know [not. I] am going to Dunfermline with the King: [on my] return I shall write

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. hear from William Keith is friend
is well and com

I have sold the salamander had [from] Mr. Herricke.
I would have him paid the first silver you receive. Edinburgh.
Signed: Roger Aston.

2½ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 4. **550. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SIR JOHN WOGAN.**

“ Sithens your comming heather it hath ben declared unto yow how earnestlie the Scotishe embassadour hathe dealt with her majestie for the restitution of such salt and goodes as heretofore hathe ben tacken awaie from one Roberte Browne, a Scottesishman, within Milford Haven, by Thomas Cooke and other pirates. And albeit hitherto litle or no restitution hathe ben made, yet we are enformed that by three severall deposicions remaining with the judge of the Admiralty it was at the first notoriously knowne that the said goodes appertained not unto the pyrates, but unto others, whereby bothe the officers and inhabitantes in the contrey that bought any of the said goodes are not only bound to make a full satisfaction for that which came to their handes, but also might be criminally dealt with as principall offenders.”

“ But her majestie being desirous bothe for justice sake and also for mainetenaunce of good frendship and neighbourhood with the Scottish King her good brother and his subjectes; for the reliefe of the parties interessed hath thought good that yow, Sir John Wogan, shold take some paines in the said cause according to such a memoriall as shall be by me her majesties principall secretarie delivered unto you in that behalffe, which you shall in her majesties and our name, communicate with other the justices of peace, or other officers in any countty towne or exempt place where the same shalbe needfull: requiring them that they wold be ayding and assisting unto yow for the performance of such thinges as are committed unto your charge, in such sorte as yf they had ben specially named in these our letteres, and even as they and every of them will, upon her majesties indignacion and their own perell aunswere the contrary, so as the contentes bothe of the said memoriall sent from us and such further commission as shalbe directed from the courte of the Admiralty may be duely executed without any parcialitie or favor to be shewed to the contrary.”

“ And what you Sir John Wogan shall have done heerein we pray you to certifie unto us by the begining of Easter tearme, so as thereupon we may take such farther order as shalbe thought convenient.” “ From the courte at Grenwiche ” [*sic*]. *Signed:* Chr: Hatton, Canc.; W. Burghley; C. Howard; H. Cobham; Fra. Walsyngham.

1½ pp. *No flyleaf or address.*

Dec. 4. **551. MEMORIAL OF INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR JOHN WOGAN.**

“ Wheareas the Queenes majestie is crediblie enformed that Robart Browne, a Scottishman, was robbed about two yeares since by Thomas Cooke and others, pirates, and his ship and lading of

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salt therein taken away by the said pyrates from him, being by estimacion thought worthe 900*l.*, weare brought into Mylford Haven and there bought publickly by the inhabitantes of the contrey thereabouts, and namely by the parties heareunder named; her majestie, understanding that it appeareth by deposicions taken in the countrey that the said ship and goodes weare notoriously knowne to appertaine to Scottish and Irish before any such sale was made thereof, hath thought convenient by this our order to will and command yow, Sir John Wogan, knight, that returning homie yow call the said parties before yow and to enforce every one of them to pay such sommes of money for the salt and goodes which they bought out of the said ship as are heareunder expressed, for that it is enformed that the same salt was at that tyme worthe such a price and so sould in the contrey. And yf any of them shall refuse to pay the said sommes of money or to geave presentely sufficient assurance for the payment thereof next after ensuing, then yow shall take sufficient band of them with sureties in round sommes to her majesties use for their personall apparance heare within xx^{ti} daies following, and not to departe without the licens of us the lordes of the counsaile or judge of the Admiralty, but to geave their attendance to aunswere the matter as principall offenders. And yf they shall refuse to enter into such band for their apparance, then we authorise yow to committ them to the common jaile of the countty of Pembrock, there to remaine without baile or maineprice untill they enter into band in maner aforesaid."

"It is thought resonable that John Vaughan customer of Milford shold pay for the ship and furniture clx*li.* and for fyve barrells [of salte] after the rate of a merke the barrell, deducting so much as he can prove that he hath alredey paid to Droghan Nollan, Irishman, or to the said Robart Browne, by vertue of any commission from hence."

"Jenkyn Davies of Haverfordwest to pay for 640 barrells after the rate of a merke a barrell, deducting so much thereof as hath ben paid by him selff or by Thomas Canon, executor of Morice Canon to the said Browne or Nollan before, by vertue of commission from hence; deducting xx^{ti} merkes which Thomas Canon must pay upon the receipt of a band of xx^{ti} merkes made over the said Nollan and refused by him. Deducting likewise c. merkes for c. barrells for which Thomas Canon not having yett aunswere the same, is to deliver to Sir John Wogan the bande which he hath of the partie to whome the goodes were sold. Upon the receipt of the said band the obligor is to be sent for and to be enforced to the payment of the money or to be dealt with as in maner before declared."

"John Hatherley of Clewland in the countty of Devon to pay for xxx^{ti} barrells after the rate aforesaid."

"John Kyrton to pay for xxij barrells after the rate aforesaid."

"Sir John Wogan to pay for 66 barrells after the rate aforesaid, deducting xiiij*li.* which he hath already paid."

"Hughe Rees of Haverford to pay for thre barrells after the rate."

"Christian Twigg to pay for one barrell after the rate."

"Rees Priddy of the Dale, Mistress Matthead and Jeffrey Bigges of Carnarthen, to pay for 82 barrells, after the rate."

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“ John Morice of Carmarthen, 40 barrels.”

“ Mathewe Synett, Georg Carne and John Lloid, 97 barrels.”

“ Harry Baby of Mertheltroy, two barrels.”

“ John Butler of Coyd Kenllais, one barrell.”

“ John Crowther, 46 barrels.”

“ All which are to pay after the rate of a merke a barrell, deducting so much as they can prove hath ben alredy paid either to the said Nollan or Browne.”

“ Further we authorize heareby in her majesties name, yow the said Sir John Wogan, to enter into the countties, townes and liberties in the three sheires of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan; and also on the towne and countty of Haverfordwest and all other townes and places heareafter expressed; and then calling unto him for his better assistance some of the officers of the place, notwithstanding theire liberties and privileges, to se the premises duly executed according to the express will and comaundement of her majestie.”

“ Countty Pembroke.”

“ The citie of St. Davids, the towne and countty of Haverfordwest, the towne of Pembroke, the town of Tynby, the towne of Newporte, the towne of Fiskard, the towne of Kilgarran.”

“ Countty Carmarthen.”

“ The towne of Carmarthen, the towne of Kydwelly, the towne of Llanstephan, the towne of Langharne, the towne of Llanelly, the towne of Llandeferone.”

“ Countty Cardigan.”

“ The towne of Cardigan, the towne of Aberustwithe.”

“ It is also thought meete that the said Sir John Wogan shall call the parties who, being bound for the apparance of John Kyst by to day, forfected there theire band, and to require them to pay the forfecture thereof, or to be bound to appeare heare for the aunswering thereof.”

“ Heareby also the lordes geave comaundement in her majesties name unto the said Sir John Wogan, to commaund all sheriffes, bailiffes and other officers that they shalbe ayding and assisting unto him for the straight execucion of the premises, which order theire lordships have geaven order to have recorded among the records of her majesties counsaile bokes, so as it may be alwaies forthecomming to be seene if any need shall require.” Greenwich. Fra. Walsingham.

3½ pp. Copy. Indorsed.

Dec. 5. **552.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS FOWLER.

I cannot deem but you have here received somewhat hard measure, chiefly in respect her majesty was made a party. For the late Lord Steward being indebted to her, and you given in to be indebted to him in 8000*l.* you were proceeded against severely, according to the course of the Exchequer; and also upon a conceit of practise on your part, which I have since prevailed to remove.

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Your goods are delivered into the hands of your father-in-law and your wife upon bond to be answerable if her majesty shall not otherwise be satisfied. Your writings have not been touched. My advise is, you being a gentleman of good fame and your credit dear to you, that you cause your account to be cleared, for which purpose you shall have your man and books sent unto you at any time : and that done, simply to acknowledge how far you are indebted, and to give order for satisfying the same.

You shall not lack any favour that I may procure you ; if I had been made acquainted with your departure, I could have directed you such a course as your withdrawing yourself out of the realm should have been needless. " From my howse in Sething Lane." *Signed : Fra : Walsingham.*

Postscript. " You shall doe well hereafter to sett downe nothing in your letter that may not be shewed publykely. You knowe that the countesses frendes are for her credyt and qualytye to be respected. Yf they shoold be drawen to be your ennemyes yt myght prove hurtefull unto you bothe there and here. Yf you have any thing of secrecye to be communicated unto me you may doe yt in a letter aparte."

1 p. *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 10. **553.** JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

May it please your honour to receive a letter inclosed from Mr. Aston, wherein he writes of the conformity of Earl Huntly in religion, and of the quarrel betwixt Crawford and the Master of Glamis ; of the good order taken against papists, and of the bruit of Spanish gold come in by the bishop of Dumblane. Also of Boyd and Tyrrie's coming from the Prince of Parma, with request for intelligence to be kept betwixt the King and the Prince, and of the Chancellor's coldness towards this state. He says the great necessity among them will compel them to take money somewhere, for they can get none here. *Signed : Ja. Hudson.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 13. **554.** ROGER ASTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Concerning this estate your honour may perceive here is nothing permanent ; many things alter daily. Huntly is now become of the religion, as himself says, but no great proof given as yet. For the assurances thereof he is growing in great credit ; the Crancellor and he are all one. The Spanish faction begins to grow in great credit. Crawford is come to remain in court ; Montrose is here, and so are Claud Hamilton, Sir John Seton, Colonel Stewart, with many others.

Here is one come from the bishop of Dumblane, a brother's son of his, called John Chisholm. He hath brought a store of Spanish pistoles, which is feared will work some mischief here. It appears by the proceedings of this faction they have some great turn to work. All good men grieve in great fear, and ministers begin to speak plainly in the pulpit of these proceedings.

The taking away of the guard from the Master of Glamis shows a

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great inconstancy in the King, for within twelve days he got a new gift under the great seal of that office, and this day it is taken from him again.

Alexander Lindsay, the King's minion, has sought the said office and gotten a promise thereof, but the Master would in no wise consent that the said Alexander should have that place, as he was his mortal enemy. Huntly will have it from them both, and is now to take up a new guard of his own choice.

I have dealt with the Chancellor at length in these matters and the cause why these factions are so suddenly advanced. He answered, her majesty was the cause thereof in that no care was taken either of him or others who were most willing to run her course, so that of necessity he was forced to provide for his own surety. He believes he has Huntly as he would desire. All that faction seeks him by all means possible. He gives them few words and rests constant to his old confederates, but this [*sic*] is thought by the wisest they will make him yield to their own course, or else they will cut him off after they have the King's ear, as they have almost already.

All good men begin to grow weary and will return home till they see how the world will go. I fear here will be a very evil starred country. Great blame is laid on the King, and the ministers cry out daily that he takes no greater care of his office. He gives all from himself and raises great taxations of his poor people, which brings him in great contempt. It is plainly spoken here he is running to his own destruction, as his mother did before.

Colonel Boyd is here from the Prince of Parma, working what he may. He hath so far prevailed, as I am told in great secret, the conservator, Mr. George Hackett, is going to the Prince of Parma. What his commission is as yet I know not. He goes by sea, and that within ten or twelve days.

Here are certain Spaniards to the number of three hundred come out of Fair Isle. Eight of the principals are come to this town: they seem to be "men of good" [*sic*]. They have got passport for their safe transporting, with commandment to see them furnished with ships and all other things necessary. They are determined to pass through the west seas. It is thought they are very rich, and I would they were visited by the way. What they do and what way they take, you shall be advertised.

It is resolved this day in Council that all controversies between Crawford and the Master of Glamis, as also between Bothwell and the said Master, shall to-morrow be agreed.

The Laird of Fentrie was charged to depart the country, who alleged the charges were not given according to the order, as they ought to have been; whereupon he had "to comper this daye before the counsell." He is ordered to depart before the tenth day of the next month, under pain of life, land and goods.

Although these proceedings seem to be very dangerous, yet I cannot perceive the King altered in his mind towards England.

Huntly seems very desirous of her majesty's favour, and this day, before the King, asked me if I thought he might not obtain the same. My answer was, if he would give as good a proof to the maintenance of religion and the amity between the King and her

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Colonel Stewart presses the marriage of Denmark by all means possible, and is like to prevail. *Signature obliterated.*

3½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 13. **555.** THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

"I perceave it hathe pleased my Lady the Cowntytes to geve my name in to the chequer for a det of 5000 pownd, which your honour wyll perceave or longe hard dealinge, for that I owe no suche det, nor I trust one thowsand." Till my books be made up, which I left with my servant to finish as the accounts of the out ports should come in, I cannot certainly say anything. When I hear what is become of my said servant and writings, I will follow your advice in yielding an account, and for that purpose will send for my man and books speedily, "thowghe God knowes he is deseased in his hed that could well marr him, and I thinke he never yet rode xx myle. How he hathe byn dealt with in this hasty imprysonment I know not, but I am informed that every my chest, cabynet and desk were broken up and serched." I marvel that my lady, whom I was most willing to serve, would deal so hastily hardly with me, before my debt was known due. It cannot be by her own disposition, but by some enemy. I have no remedy but patience. But for your persuasions I would never have yielded them either account or satisfaction, for I have foreseen the worst of all. I must have in the accounts of all the out ports for the last year before my books can be made up, both for the transportations from port to port and that I have dealt with some of them already. I know not if they have restrained my man from dealing further with them; if so, I know not how he can make up his books. The man is sufficient to answer what he shall receive, and he shall answer it to whom they please as he receives it, giving him an acquittance. I thank your honour for your good advice, and will so behave myself in this country as I will deserve no extremity at home. *Signed: T. Fouller.*

¾ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 14. **556.** MASTER OF GRAY TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

"I receavit yours from Pourie Ogilvy this 10 of Decembre, and renderit you hairtly thankis for your good vill and paines takin in the maiter Eduard Jhonstoun did carie, and no les then if it haid effectuat, for all is alyk to me as [you] might have perceavit be the privie tikit I sent you; for if the paines haid effectuat it haid renderit me that fare oblist and subject. Yet I am fre, and shall use your advyse in that to leav nothing undone, in hoyp, that uther-ways I am myndit to do: and shalbe verie laithe in grace of God to lippin ether my denner or soupper to that maiter in caice I should die for hungar."

"Marie, I am not satisfiit vith Eduard that insisted greatly in it, seing I vrot to your lordschip my full mynd that it ves a maiter I carid not greatly for."

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" I am sorie to know from Scotland that the King our maister hes of all the goolddin montaines offerit receavit a fidler's vages. If he luk yit about him for all come and gane, he may have more honest condiciounes ane uther vay, vither in surtie to the end I can not affirme, bot this fare in as great surtie as any I heir he hes receavit as yit of England: and in faithe if I vould medle me in maiters of estait I could mak him the offere. Bot to be plaine with your lordschip, I intend to medle no forder then my maister commaund me, til oneis I see Scotland."

" I am glaid so long as the King my maister runnis that Queen's course that it be as the vryte of hir surtie and hir estait; bot be my treuthe I rather sche lippinnit hir and hir estait to that varrand then the King our maister and his estait."

" For occurrences I remit to the laird of Pourie becaus he sayis he is to vryt to you." Paris. *Signed*: Mr. of Gray.

Postscript. " It vill please you delyver this tikit to Eduard Jhonstoun at his retourne."

1½ pp. *Holograph, also address.*

Dec. 16. 557. SIR JOHN FOSTER TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 302.

I have received a letter from the warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland, " who hath shott our meiting for dayes of trewes two severall tymes before this tyme," and now can appoint no day. I fear some alteration in the court of Scotland, for he was there and is newly come home, and his man saith he can appoint no meeting for want of obedience, nor can answer for none but his own.

Bothwell, Huntly and Crawford, who seem rather French than English, bear such sway at court that no justice can be gotten for them of Liddesdale for bills filed before the commissioners at Berwick, although the King have pledges for the chief of Liddesdale in his custody, and the Scots' pledges are still remaining with us, and so are like to continue except her majesty or her Council find a remedy. For the King is now led by those who are more French than English; if it so continue " I feare the borders cannot . . . hold, althoghe at this present yt standeth [in] reasonable good staye." I have written to her majesty's ambassador in Scotland to move the King for redress of such matters as were done before the commissioners at Berwick, but he can get no answer as yet. " [From] my howse nighe Alnewick."

1 p.

Dec. 18. 558. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

How much am I bound to your honour for your letter, and for persuading on my behalf from the conceit of practice! " I have had dyvers speches with this Kinge, which I wold the Quenes majestie her selffe had hard." He conjured me to tell him " what sundry specyall mens partes were towards him, of which your selffe was one. What I aunswered in your honors behalffe, my selffe to set forthe myght seme flattery."

His majesty accounts of you to be the only counsellor now in England, your duty to the Queen reserved, that would further his

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affairs. He takes you to be a faithful servant to your mistress, which he well allows of, and yet a well-willer to him. He thinks you would do for him that you cannot, because of some in your country; you are the first Englishman in his account. He is a virtuous prince, void of vice, "and can see into and speke of all matters of government as well as any elder the wysest here; but for executyon of any good order proffyttable to him selfe or country there is no care had."

"He geves to every one that axes what they desyer, even to wayne youtnes and prowde foles the very landes of his crowne or what ever fawles, leavinge him selfe not to maynteyn his smawle unkinglyke howshold. Ye, what he gettes frome England, if it were a myllion, they wold get it from him, so careles is he of any welth if he may enjoy his plesure in huntynge the wether serving, orf playinge at the mawe, at which all he wines is for his more hunt. He is careles of his aparell, with owt pryde, very religious, and misses not the sermondres iij dayes in the weke; and syttes for all this often in councell; and assuredly dothe detest the mannors and natures of this his owne people generally, save sum that he lykes; and they that wolde fayne have part them selves urges him to seke meanes to get muche from England, and to reyse taxes upon his owne people; in truthe they have lefte him nothinge of his owne." Even the wisest of his Council, not excepting the Chancellor, have so many quarrels of their own, and their credit resting on the King's favour, that they flatter and soothe him, "and to win them selves frendes to encounter theyre enemyes as sutors to his majeste for matters bothe ungodly, unresonable and unprofyttable bothe to Kinge and country." It is a strange government; the wisest here be no very deep men.

The King is persuaded to entertain a course with the Prince of Parma, and Hacket the "conservitour" is said to be an instrument, because he goes over for other causes to Camphier. It is but a tale; some other may perchance go shortly. His majesty would fain have the Lady Arabella for this young duke, his kinsman, whom he loves, and means to work for it. He told that to myself only; I beseech you use it as I may do you service. He assured me he would marry himself ere long. All the Spanish faction is at court; the wisest cannot tell what the sequel will be. They all go to church, and flatter the Chancellor and his party, and the King hath made agreements; but the guard is given to the Spanish faction from the Master of Glamis.

I have hitherto delivered the ambassador here all my knowledge, and he is so honest a gentleman that I would not offend him. I would be glad to know if it be your pleasure that I deal with him, or write only to yourself by way of Sir John Selby. I have good means to understand from both parties, but till I heard from your honour last I regarded not much any dealing here. Edinburgh.
Signed: T. Fowler.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. Indorsed.*

Dec. 22. 559. [WALSINGHAM] TO THOMAS FOWLER.

I have received yours of the 14th instant, which hath given me more light of the true state of that realm than any letter I received

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thence since I have been secretary. God send that young prince faithful counsellors that may help him to uphold religion and establish justice, the lack whereof doth greatly weaken the regal authority. Every great personage there pretendeth to be a king, and so committeth great insolencies on the weaker sort. "The use of a Starre Chamber myght worke a great redresse therein. Yt is almost impossyble for any prynce to be in suretye in a realme or kyngdome where the regall awthorytye is not merely deryved from the King. The only waye to woorke trewe redresse of that dyseased state is for the King to bend him selve altogether for a tyme to matters of government, caulying about him sooche as are not lymed with factyon but inclyned to justyce. Hard yt wyll be to bryng to passe a thorowghe redresse without a parliament compownded of persons that prefer the publycke befor ther partycular, by whos travayle and votes the extraordynarye regalytyes the nobyltye of that realme doe challenge, eyther by usurpatyon or otherwyse, may be kept within sooche lymyttes as the lawe may have his just and dew coorse without respecte of persons."

The barons and burgesses of the borough towns will be forward enough in this action, and such of the noblemen as are wise and religious; opposition will grow only from those who are fit to be bridled, who in so good an act should not be able to prevail.

The King by bringing such a matter to pass should work to himself surety, who now runneth like hazard as the kings his predecessors, and do an act worthy of a Christian prince to his perpetual fame. You see how I am transported with a desire of the good of that King and country to show myself *curiosus in aliena republica*.

For your own causes I will have care of you. Your wife I have not seen, who should not lack any futherance I can yield.

3 pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed.

Dec. 22. 560. THOMAS FOWLER TO [BURGHLEY.]

Never man found so good a friend as I yourself; you have dealt so substantially with counsellors, wife and her friends, yea, with servants and all, as no father could do more for a child. I pray I may be able to requite your lordship.

"I have dealt with this Chancelour, and for the better spede with his wiffe with whome I am well used, and he protestes that for his owne part he beares no mallice to you, but that he cowlde put all owt of mynde, yet wold he in no wyese deale to joyne him selfe in frendship with your lordship without the Kinge spake to him in it, for that his majeste had byn moved by Sir Robert Sidney and others to deale in the matter and yet never wold speke word to him; of which he knew not what to think. And then we fell to your service; and for a new comissyon he sayd, 'Whi that,' when you had advertysed sondry tymes there wold no good be don there for the Kinge. And he is of mynd that the Kinge shall seke no more, because it is great dishonour to him to crave and be sayd nay so often. He sayd they wold now take another cowrce or longe, and that I shold see. Thus far in effect, with many sirconstances and resons of bothe sydes; and in faythe I used all the wit I had to have browght sum good to passe."

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I see the King must first be won to speak, but I would hear from you how I should acknowledge your willingness to be "friended" with the Chancellor, that I may shortly deal with his majesty in it; "they meane to send one thether if the parliament hold, and yet are not agreed who."

I beseech you hold on your advice with my wife and let me know her part. She hath written now an extreme sharp letter to me, and I have answered it as well; yet in the end she prayed me to give you thanks for your pains and counsels. She wrote another letter two days after of more mildness. I am at a good point; do what they will, she and her friends, I will not trouble my self. "If she do use hir selfe well in my absence I will regard hir as aperteynes." She writes of want of money: pray let her have the rest of the money which was brought you.

I shall reckon with Montgomery at his coming hither, for Mr. Secretary hath written that my man with my books should come to me. Montgomery hath written his confession to me, and says he told them of 350*l.* your lordship should owe me. If any speak to you of it, I beseech you answer that you take order to pay it to me here, for I have your bill here. I mean him to come by sea. I perceive there are some letters which my wife hath not received that I would she had. My assurance of land to her is not to be performed for three years, or till I shall perform it. "God knowes what paynes you take in wrytynge hole bookes of paper to me. Sith your lordship can have no more of the cat but the skin, you shall have boddy and hart to serve you." I will not fall out with Montgomery, though he and others have dealt badly. I trust Holford continues constant.

I find fault with my wife's showing letters and complaining; two others besides you have written this to me. Take nothing upon you, but say you advised me to deal well with her, and pitied her. I would have your lordship keep your credit with her. Her father is a bad fellow, yet must I win from him the money he owes to his daughter's maintenance. Persuade him that he shall show himself a monster of nature if he will not make payment to his own child, and that if he do not, I may turn it over to the Queen, who will give no days. If my wife would have some other deal with him, I will appoint it so. I would your lordship and Mr. Holdford dealt with him to take order to pay her "at dayes resonable"; if not, I will assign it to the Queen.

I marvel I hear not from Mr. William Harbert; I wrote to him and other friends in London enclosed in Montgomery's letter, and these are not delivered. Edinburgh. *Signed*: T. Fowler. "I have byn at Chryghton and had great interteynment."

Postscript. "The ambassadour here wrote a letter to my wiffe which wold have done mucche good, and I cannot perceave it was delivered. I think it was put in a paquet to your lordship or ells to Montgomery."

3½ pp. *Holograph.*

Dec. 28. **561.** ROGER ASTON TO WALSINGHAM.

My last letter I directed to your honour on the 12th instant, and sent it to Sir John Selby: at which time there were great appear-

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ances of a sudden storm, but now it is calmer. The sudden alteration of the guard made all good men afraid, and [they] yet are not without suspicion. The King hath satisfied all men concerning his own part, and there is to be no alteration. No man fears the King, but they fear matters shall be brought so far as the King shall not be able to help it. The Chancellor foresees this, and by his credit will be able to avoid the storm; he is in suspicion by the advancing of Huntly. He excuses himself that he was constrained so to do or to hazard his life. He grows colder towards England, and cannot see there is anything meant to the King: "he will descharg him self, and lett the world se the falt is there and nott here," and protest his goodwill to the course of England.

The resolution concerning the despatch of the conservator is altered. The Prince of Parma has written to the King concerning Colonel Sempill and his behaviour here, alleging he dealt further than he had commission. The King has written back "and desierrt he maye be ponnest lyke a knave for his behavior here."

The Prince has written to Bothwell with offers of great entertainment if he will come there and serve. Bothwell is minded to receive the offers if he can obtain leave: I will not believe the King will so assist the Prince of Parma, seeing he professes the religion. This is a device of Sempill and others, and hath a further fetch than everyone believes: the drawing of this man may do great hurt.

Claud Hamilton remains in court, and hath offered to give over his right in this crown to the Duke. This is Huntly's doing to bring Claud in credit and accomplish their further intent. The Chancellor is not yet reconciled to Huntly or to the Justice Clerk.

Mr. Richard Douglas hath been at court, and hoped to have gotten some new commission for Mr. Archibald, but I see no appearance of it. He hath written hither to be reconciled with the Chancellor, but it will not be.

I received a letter from my brother, Mr. James Hudson, of the 17th instant, saying that by the dishonest dealing of such as had my book in handling "I am as nere to begen as ever I was." The value I should have is 500*li*.: Mr Hudson knows I have spent the best part of it already in the suit, and now it is to begin again. I beseech you let the warrant be recalled, and move her majesty to bestow something on me that I may the better serve her. I have run myself in debt in hope of that: my credit is almost gone, and no way to relieve it but by her majesty.

On the 26th instant the Countess of Angus was delivered of a daughter, by which means the earldoms of Angus and Morton are fallen into sundry men's hands. The Laird of Glenbarvie should be Earl of Angus, but it is thought the King will make claim to it as right heir, descended from his grandmother, "who was eritrikeces of it." The earldom of Morton should pertain to the Laird of Lochleven. The Duke claims the lordship of Dalkeith and Aberdour. Nothing is done in these matters as yet. Kinnell. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

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562. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

Dec. 28.

After the receipt of your last I wrote, and sent it in the ambassador's packet to Mr. Secretary: which letter I hope you have received. I perceive my business goes all wrong; take some pains for me therein and I shall requite you as I may. I have written to Mr. Secretary of that matter; what he thinks meet I pray you do, and let me know whether to come there myself or not. Concerning this present estate I can write no further than in my last.

"Delever this letter here inclosed. I dare not writt to his honor be the embasteres packett, for he is gelious of any thatt writes. Let nott any knoo I writt ether to him or you."

My lady Angus is delivered of a daughter; Glenbarvie seeks to be Earl of Angus, and Lochleven Earl of Morton.

When writing this letter I was called for to play at the "maye" [maw] with the King, so I was forced to be short. Kinnell.
Signed: Roger Aston.

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 29. **563. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.**

Though I know your honour is sufficiently advertised from this country, yet I must send you my knowledge among the rest, for I have conference with the Chancellor, Justice Clark, Sir James Hume, Sir Robert Melvyn, Colonel Stewart, Earl Bothwell and others. All are ill content with England, "and even exclayme of this good, careles Kinge to seke revenge or to get satysfaccion that may stand with his honour." One company would have him fall out with England and let Bothwell begin, who will undertake to make her majesty spend 200,000 crowns a year—without charge to this King, or lay the country waste to Newcastle with border forces; presuming that theirs are so much stronger than ours as her majesty shall be at charges with soldiers to strengthen those parts. But the wisest, such as the Chancellor and his followers, set down that the King shall first send to her majesty an ambassador, "not to crave, but to lay before hir the injurys she hathe don him," the good carriage of himself and his country towards her, he refusing all offers of her enemies and persuasions of his own subjects. Yet he finds promises broken, ambassadors withholden, "but cheffely they will have a tytell repayed."

If the Parliament hold they will send in that time, and crave a speech in the Lower House. If her majesty will not deal better with their King, then shall the same ambassador seek to make all those matters known to the subjects of England, "who this Chauncelour sayes the Kinge regardes and estemes theyre good wills more then ten quenes" and persuade them how hardly he is dealt with, to his disgrace among other princes, and discontent of his subjects: and shall pray them, if he shall be forced to run another course than he hath done, that they will impute the fault where it is, and at large set all these matters in print. This is agreed upon, but the King is not so forward to have the matter put in execution as they would have him; some say he regards not his

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honour; others, he cares more for his hounds than his state: yet they doubt he will prove a coward. I see that if he have maintenance for his house and pastime he cares for little more; and that he might have of his own if good order were taken.

The Chancellor told me he had endangered his life for the favour of England, and was hated of his countrymen for favouring that court so long; "they thought he was the Queen's pensioner, whereof he was clere"; and her majesty's dealing is such that he will deal no farther that way. He is now the greatest with Huntly, and both have been the means to make him captain of the guard, for which Glamis and Lindsey strove: it was changed thrice in 20 days. Huntly is foolish, hot and hardy.

Bothwell speaks most against England, yet swears he honours the Queen, for she used him well when he passed through England young, and if she satisfy his master he will serve her. By the commendations of a friend he takes my answers in very good part. Next the King, I would her majesty had him sure; there is more wickedness, more valour and more good parts in him than in any three of the other noblemen.

They are earnest with the King for his marriage, and he untoward, "yet never regards the company of any woman, not so much as in any dalliance." The more party is for Denmark, but the Chancellor for Navarre: "which the other myslykes because there is no geere to be gotten."

The King hath been more inclined to deal with England since the stay of the States' ambassadors; he said in anger "the quene used him lyke a boy."

Justice Clerk is fallen out with England greatly, and the Chancellor and he "discordes" about Orkney. Edinburgh.
Signed: T. Fowler.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 29. **564.** SIR HENRY WODDRYNGTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 238.

. * erst and by my wife . . . in some hope
of a disp . . . unto your honour my most . . . I, most
humbly to crave th . . . favour in this as all other my
occa[sions] . . . which I shall rest in duty and service—my
allegi[ance] reser[ved] to her majesty—most devoted unto your
honour; and shall think myself happy to be employed by your
honour in whatsoever my service may avail you.

I am informed out of Scotland of occurrents as followeth:—The King is at Keneale [Kinneil] with the Lord of Arbroath, who invited him thither these holidays. With him are Earl Huntly, Earl Crawford, the Chancellor and others. Huntly is captain of the guard, and he and his followers in favour with the King. It is thought the King means to make the young Duke the greatest nobleman in Scotland, and to match him with the Lord of Arbroath's daughter, and for that the Countess of Angus has borne a daughter, to assure him of most of the lands of the Earl of Angus, and presently to put him in possession of Dalkeith and

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“Laudore.” There are at Edinburgh 400 Spaniards and more, who were shipwrecked in the north-west; their captains are Johan de Modena, brother’s son to the Duke of Modena, captain of 30 hulks in the Armada, Don Alonso and Don Anthonio, gentlemen of good houses. They are very graciously received by the King for accomplishment of their requests. These seem of good ability and to have good store of money; but the common sort of them are in great misery. The King hath given direction to the provost and corporation of Edinburgh for their maintenance.

. also cre ships in secret days at the farthest into their country. to be their condnctor and follower of the Lord Bothwell. There are two Englishmen and a or Spaniard at Dunfermline with Huntley, very close kept, and have conference with the King when he comes thither. It is thought they practise to turn the King from her majesty. A Spanish ambassador and a French one are looked for in Scotland. The Master of Gray shall be “writ” to come home for alteration of present courses among the nobility. Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Woddryngton.

1½ pp. *No flyleaf or address.*

Dec. 30. **565.** ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

After I had directed those other letters from Kinneil to Edward Gonston to be delivered to you, I had occasion the next day to come to this town; and finding the said Edward undeparted, I write these lines more.

The King being at Kinneil the ambassador came thither to excuse the stay of the ambassadors of the Low Countries; but the King and he agreed not very well, for the King is heavily offended thereat, and regretted to me the day before the ambassador came, and said “the more he ded to plesse the Quene the les regard she had of him.”

I fear Huntly and his faction will draw him upon some course against his will and profit. Bothwell is for Spain, and seeks to go to the Prince of Parma, but the King has refused that altogether.

“I se so lettell sertenty in this stait as I knoo nott whatt to seaye to it. I begun to groo weryry, for when I se matteres frame nott as I wold have them I cannott butt meslike.”

The death of the Queen mother and fleeing of the Duke of Guise made a strange alteration in our court, some weeping for sorrow, others laughing for joy; “a man moughtt aperseutt bouth oure facciones be there countenanes.” But the King was glad; and when asked why he was so glad, considering the Duke of Guise was his kinsman, he answered “if he had bene his brother, being a percecutor of the chourch he wold thinke him well awaye.” All good men here are glad of the news; the ministers give public thanks for it on Sunday.

I will send you news from time to time, provided you make none acquainted with my letters except to whom I have written by this bearer inclosed in your letter, which I pray you deliver.

I have written something concerning my own business. If his

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1588. honour think good I would have my warrant recalled and some other thing appointed for me that I might have without trouble. You know what I have spent in this suit; and now new to begin. Take some pains to put it to some end, that I may know what to look for. I will come myself if you think good. Take Mr. Fulk Greville's (Fougrevele) opinion, who I am assured will assist you, and let me hear from you. Edinburgh. *Signed: Roger Aston.*

2 pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 31. **566. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.**

I have sent for my servant Montgomery to come to me with my books, if he can get them; and that he come by sea, which is less charges, and better for him who cannot abide travel. I have appointed him first to finish all account of the out ports, if my lady and her officers will suffer him.

I perceive one Wigges hath taken up sums of money due in my account of the last year, by the information of a Welshman that was a waiter under me and now gotten to him.

"I understand frome the Borders that by my lades meanes or sume for hir there is sum hathe undertaken to catche me and send me home to hir ladyship: which if that be performed I shall not nede to send for my man hether. Yet I think they may well catche sume fowles, bnt hardly the fowler."

I beseech you grant my said servant your passport if he come, as he shall if you and my lady please. Edinburgh. *Signed: T. Fowler.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

[1588.] **567. REASONS FOR NOT AVENGING MARY'S DEATH.**

Cott. Julius
F. VI.,
fol. 75b.

"I am unable to revenge the haynous murther committed against my dearest mother by the old enemyes of my progenitors, realme and nation, for divers respects. First, in respect of my tender youth, not trained up in dexteritie of armes ether to withstand injurie or to conqueis my owne right, being at all tyme bygane detenit in captivitie. Next, my excessive cowpit from hand to hand, from neydie to neydie, to gredie and gredie: havinge sufficient patremonie and casualitie, and yet has none at all in store."

"The divers factions of spirituall and morall estates, every one regarding him selfe and not me."

"Counsail perswading me securitie of my owne estate now, which could never have beene without factions if she had beene lefte alive."

"Persuasions never to conjoyne myselfe in matremonie except with a prince having affinitie to our owne religion or elles to be long unmarried; which may cause other princes to holde me in reverence."

"The puisance of England, which may worke a contrarie faction of my owne subjectes against all my intentes that cause me for

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1 p. *Copy.*

Add. MSS.,
36, 530, fol. 4.

568. PAPER CONCERNING THE KING'S MARRIAGE.

Reasons and considerations which are greatly necessary to be well examined and maturely weighed, concerning the future marriage of the King of Scotland.

Before setting down the aforesaid considerations in writing, and in the form of articles, it is not irrelevant to show that, in whatsoever direction it may please his majesty the King of Scotland to turn, three things depend upon his said marriage.

1. The welfare and repose not only of the churches of the country and realm of Scotland, but also of those of the whole of Christendom.

2. The profit and commodity as well of his nobility as of all his subjects and his country.

3. The greatness, authority and welfare of the affairs of his majesty, and the means whereby to recover, preserve and maintain his rights, as well present as those which are to come, either within or without the realm.

From which one consequence must be drawn: that it is not only fitting, but very necessary for his said majesty when marrying to choose an advantageous match, and the most so that may be, by means whereof he may bring advancement to the churches of God, commodity to his subjects and relief to his affairs; and which may be able, in case of need, to facilitate to him the recovery of his rights. And by this means he will marry, so to speak, for God, for his subjects, and for the preservation of his royal dignity, rather than for his own private pleasure or convenience. And before going further, it is necessary first to say that the marriage portion of my lady the Princess of Navarre, which consists partly in a large ordinary revenue, partly in ready money, is more profitable and much more useful and necessary to the King of Scotland than that of Denmark, which consists wholly in ready money; forasmuch as the one is spent immediately without any saving being made, and the other is preserved that with it a sum which cannot be small may be amassed every year.

Moreover, the King of Navarre has for the present no children, so that in case it were God's will that he should de cease without having any, my said lady the princess—he having no sister but her—would be his sole and universal heiress in all his possessions, which at this present amount to more than 1,300,000*li.* *Tournois* of rent by the year in Basse Navarre, in principalities, duchies, earldoms, viscounties, baronies and very lordly castellanies, whereof the most part are sovereign.

There is yet another very considerable thing in this marriage, which is that the ancient friendship and very close consideration which has at all times been religiously observed between the realms of France and Scotland, being at this present, and for some years past, as it were shron ded, worn out and quenched by reason of the

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civil wars, may not only be renewed by means of that marriage, but confirmed and assured more than before, yea, even for ever, so that the King, his nobility and his subjects may draw from it inestimable profits and commodities, and the church of God expect liberty and very great contentment. And should it be the good pleasure of God to dispose of the person of the now reigning King of France without his leaving any children of his body, there is no doubt that the King of Navarre is the nearest of kin and the most able to succeed to the crown of France; in which case he would have the means not only to give very great advantages to his majesty the King of Scotland on account of my lady his sister, but to advance a good number of the Scotch nobility, and to maintain an infinity of the subjects of the King of Scotland both in his ordinary guards and in his wars, as has been well seen to be practised heretofore in the time of the late King Henry II.; which could not be hoped for, either little or much, on the part of Denmark.

It is well known how many commodities my lord of Lorraine has ever drawn, and still draws daily from France through having espoused Madame Claude, sister of the King now reigning, as well in pensions, extraordinary gifts, ready money and other things, as in benefices, estates, dignities, offices and infinite other advantages, which he receives both yearly and at all times, himself, his children, his kindred, his nobility and subjects. One of his children had a little time ago as a gift from the King the bishopric of Metz, worth 5000*l.* of revenue by the year; and three months ago his daughter, besides the entire succession to the goods, as well movable as immovable, of the late Queen mother, as also besides the cost of her voyage and equipage, rings, jewels and garments which are of immense value, of the gift of the King now reigning, [had] in ready money 200,000 crowns on espousing the Duke of Florence: which cannot be expected or hoped for from a King of Denmark. But the point upon which his majesty the King of Scotland ought chiefly to fix his eye, is that in case it should please God to dispose of the Queen of England and to take her to himself, his majesty knows well enough how much he would need to be aided in order to enter into possession of the said realm. And forasmuch as for this reason it would be very expedient and even very necessary for him for many considerations to find an alliance which would then give him such assistance that by means of it he might assure himself to have enjoyment of it very soon, even in spite of all those who would hinder him therein; I leave it to his majesty and to his prudent Council to judge which of the two alliances, of France or of Denmark, could when that happens bring more help, aid and support, and that promptly.

I think also that one of the things which the majesty of the King of Scotland ought equally to consider, in the alliance and marriage of France, is that he and the King of Navarre follow one same doctrine and reformation of religion, yea, they hold the same ceremonies, order and discipline in their churches; which has so united them in mutual affection which they bear on this account to one another, that with that, and quickly, this alliance being made between them, a friendship more closely knit or contracted could

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[1588.] never be desired. Which could not but be as advantageous to their majesties and to their peoples as suspect and formidable to their enemies.

Moreover, as for the recovering of the crown of England—the decease of the Queen happening as has been said—the King of Scotland finding hindrance therein, there is no prince in the world who would have more reason and more means to aid the King of Scotland by his power and authority than the King of Navarre, so likewise, in case the King of Navarre should also be hindered in the enjoyment of the crown of France—as has been said—there is no king nor prince who could sooner or more easily aid the King of Navarre with his forces than the King of Scotland: this is why both their majesties have very great reason to draw closely together, and that as soon as may be, in a good and perpetual friendship, intelligence and correspondence, which cannot be better or more aptly done and achieved than by this marriage. By which means their friendship and union being so closely knit as should leave nothing to be desired, I leave it to all men of understanding to judge, these two realms of France and Scotland being wholly of one heart and mind, who in all Christendom could oppose themselves to their designs, and what king or monarch would be powerful enough to wish to hinder them from laying down the law to the pope and all the papacy, yea, even to all their enemies whenever it should seem good to them, however great they may be. From which I conclude that, the advancement of the glory of God being the point which Christian princes ought before all things to have specially in view, these two princes ought in all ways possible to them to achieve this alliance; and their good, faithful and wise counsellors not only to persuade them to it, but to labour on both sides with all their might to bring it about.

I leave on one side the rare virtues with which God has endowed my lady the princess, which are things above all to be considered, and especially the conformity of the good education which she has had in religion from her youth with that which the King of Scotland has also received, which will not be found in any [other] match that could present itself in all Christendom. And it is an important matter that not only the Scotch people—which has a great and noteworthy interest that his majesty the King should wed a princess who holds in all things the same religion and reformation as that which he and his realm hold—wishes very ardently that this alliance may be made, but also all good Frenchmen and worthy men throughout all Christendom, who desire not only the continuation of the reformation in their realms and country, but a general and universal progress and growth of the glory of God everywhere; which this happy French alliance promises without any doubt for the reasons aforesaid.

As on the other hand one knows how many troubles, divisions and misfortunes marriages wherein is no such conformity of religion and reformation may cause in realms and states in everything and everywhere; for mothers coming to dwell as guardians of their children, they very often, indeed almost always, try after the decease of the kings their husbands, to nourish and instruct their children in the manner that they have been themselves, which has

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[1588.] commonly produced no small change in states; which is at this day not without example, witness the son of the King of Sweden, whom the Queen his mother has caused to be instructed in a religion contrary to that of his father.

I omit an infinity of other reasons at the tip of my pen which might be set down in writing, which are of great importance, contenting myself for the present with these, which seem to me to be alone more than sufficient to prove the evident utility of the marriage of Navarre, and the necessity and need that his majesty the King of Scotland has to choose it rather than the other, for the good of his affairs, for the advancement of the church of God and the great and assured profit and utility of his nobility and other subjects: and I beg this may be received from me as from him who desires nothing in the world so much as the greatness of his majesty, the contentment of all his subjects, and finally and before all things the glory of God, which plainly depends upon this alliance; which, for the sake of the service which I have specially vowed to the majesty of the King of Scotland, I pray God to advance and make to prosper and shortly to achieve.

Beyond the reasons above alleged, it will please his majesty the King of Scotland to remember the despatch that he was pleased to send to the King of Navarre and my said lady the princess his sister, which is a form of engagement; so that his majesty will consider that it is very expedient to have a very great and singular regard thereto: in such sort that his majesty could not now in any wise whatsoever treat of such a thing elsewhere without making a notable breach of that which he has already done: especially since his letters and his sign are borne, which in truth—coming from Christian princes—are things which are held sacred and inviolable.

3 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *French.*

Cott. Julius,
F. VI.,
fol. 76.

569. CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF JAMES VI.

Divers think the Council of England to be authors of the marriage with Denmark, to retain the King from alliance with any other prince more suspect, and to deprive him of all foreign forces, they having laid a plot how to dispose of those of Denmark at their own cost, promising to make his son King of England by marrying with Arabella, whose title they will prefer.

The King received letters from Archibald Douglas advertising him of the Queen's dislike of the marriage pretended between the Duke of Lennox and the daughter and heir of Lord Hamilton, and that she prayed him to attend some fitter match for the said Duke.

The Queen employeth her factionaries underhand to hinder the marriage, for fear those two houses being joined she should not be able to find a party strong enough in that country to serve her turn, she and her predecessors having served themselves of one of them upon all occasions.

“It was told Courcelles that the King tooke it very ill, as though the Queen of England sought to controlle him in his owne realme, and that he was resolved to goe forward therewith notwithstanding.”

1 p. *Copy.*

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1588.

570. [] TO JAMES HUDSON.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 270.

. . . * time your . . . forbear till I hear . . . ent
that ye have dealt with . . . rather take up with him in
earnest than with Huntley for two respects: "first because
he and I were once great, and at this last tyme when the
variance fell betweene us there was litle confidence on eyther side,
and contrarily I trusted in Huntley, and for greedines of my lyving
he betrayed me."

"The next cause, of force I must follow the King and leane to his
standing, and Huntley partly through ignorance, partly through
greedines and partly for evill will to the Chancellor is already so
farre imbarqued that shortly he will imbarque himself against the
King directly, or at least it will show [he] will, f[or] he hath sayled
so farre that he cannot go [bac]k: and I have directly refused to
enter into this course and have assured the bishop of Dumblane that
I will do for my master and my contry."

"There are sondry [of] the blait men deceaved, for they beleve
the King of Spaine intendes only the reveng of the Queen of Scotis
death. The devill a souse he will give for the Queen or King of
Scotland, for his ambassador said to my self that his master had
nothing to do with eyther of them: and although the King would
have made him self Catholicque they we[re] not so foolish as to
trust him, for he said the Queen of England and King of Navarre
were good Catholicques till she had gotten the cro[wn] and he his
liberty."

"So the King hath taken a good course to the end he fall not
downe between [two] stooles, and seing the Chancellor is in this
co[ur]se] I have taken, we are lykely to agree the be[tt]er], for that
cannot be *commercium Judæis cum Samaritanis*."

If the Chancellor mean uprightly, declare the contents of this
freely with him: try him thus. I al[low] it no benefit to have
liberty to come home unless I be restored to my . . . shall
deal with him to sea . . . which is a . . . him, for I
. . . inform you at length . . . in this, then it is a sign of
his good . . . you find him frank, show him this.

Huntly and others have thrice within these four months "ben on
the very point to have sticked him," but prevented by feebleness or
disunion. I could tell him who took it in hand if I hear of his good-
will, as also what is foolishly intended touching Scotland. I show
him this more willingly for that if he were away at this time,
through foolish ignorance of our nobility the King should perish,
and the country go into slavery of strangers, and they that are the
cause of it in no better state than others. If you find him continue
his good will, show him this letter, but rive it immediately.

Huntly and others have offered the Duke of Parma to keep the
north of Scotland at his direction four months if he will send them
. . . ; which he refuses unless they despatch the Chancellor.
"Mary, he hath se[nt] them comfort to abyde the army of Spayn,
which he himself doth. As for meanes of money, [so] sone as the
army comes they will gett it."

"If the Chancellor were despatched, that . . . might seyse

* Decayed.

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them selves of the King and draw him perforce from favoring of England." . . . thousand men . . . a great profit . . . but I remit some of it to the bearer.

I shall advertise of all things necessary for his majesty's weal and honour, for I can show him as far as any subject he hath; as likewise the designs against England and his title. I will not meddle till I hear from his majesty; "for I sweare to youe I have never sent one word into England since my being here; so if his majesty commandes his Chancellor to England in intelligence I shall do as he advertiseth me."

Recommend to Sir William Keith my restitution to my living, for he knows what his majesty promised me, and if he "remembereth" his majesty thereof it will be a spur to him.

"Shew this to Sir William Keith, that a man doth twyse well in helping a frend by harming an unfrend, and shew the lyke to the Chancellor, for in that point they have both a lyke interest. Omitt no occasion to deale in this matter, and it shall turne as farre [to] his weale as myne."

If the King keeps me here, order must be taken that Archibald Douglas convey his packets to him safely, for the sea is very troublesome. "But I am to take the law and not to give it."

The bishop of Dumblane returned ill satisfied with the King and "far ware" with the Chancellor; all hope for the King here is gone. I know what the Duke of Guise said to the bishops of Dumblane and Glasgow.

3 pp.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 342.

571. NOTES OF MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

"1. If hir majeste shalbe pleased to gewe of her worst land, in exchange, that is to say, of landis that hath beyn exchanged wyth hir hienes of before, obite landis, attaynted landis in the tyme of hir majesteis gowernment, or of personage inpropiat, the one half in fea simple, the uthir in fea fyrme; thayr schalbe as much landis in valew be yearlye rent gevin to hir majeste for thayme as it shalbe hir pleasur to grant, and such landis as shalbe agreable to hir majesteis officiaris of the eschekair."

"2. *Item*, ane grant of so manye treis, to wit, of ockis, beye[his] or elmis to be takin furthe of all hir majesteis forestis, voddis or parkis in Ingland, be such parcellis as shalbe thocht expedient to aggre upon."

"3. *Item*, ane grant of so manye akerris of wodde owt of hir majesteis forest called the New Forest beside South Hampton, whearof Sir Charles Blunte is keapar."

"I do beleave that your lordschip will imagyne that the qualite of all these sutis must be measured according to hir majesteis pleasur; the matteris that thay ar gevin for, or that must be don for thaym, wherupon I shalbe glayde ta gewe your lordschip information when it schalbe your pleasur to lat me onderstand when your lordschips lasare may serve some schort space for that affect."

$\frac{3}{4}$ p.

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1588. 572. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 269.

. . . * advertised . . . the Lord Maxwell is . . .
also that the convention to be is [not] after the common form, but
by the King's privy letter to the best affected in religion, and for the
furtherance of it. Good men hope that the King's house shall be
purged of public papists. Huntly is not yet proclaimed in the
church with his wife, nor will be till he satisfies the church. Claud
Hamilton is less stubborn in religion than he was, as are the rest :
" so that it appearith ther zeall was only to have had the King upon
th[er] syd or forayne forssis for the better [ad]vanssment of ther
owin particullour cawss, whiche will maek manny ther of anny
Re[li]geon."

" This Saterdae 1588." *Signature cut off.*

1 p. *No flyleaf or address.*

[1588.] 573. STATE OF SCOTLAND.

Cott. Julius,
F. VI.,
fol. 194.

" The generall state of the Scottishe commonwealth, with the
causes of their often mutynies and other disorders."

" . . . t of . . . orcion . . . prince."

" Authoritye in matter of state.

1. Lawes making and obrogatinge.
2. Magistrates and and publique officers creating and deposinge.
3. Pardon and execution.
4. League and warre makinge.
5. Appeale which lieth not universally supream to the prince."

" Revennue by

1. Crown land aboute 50,000*li.* Scottish by yeare, which
commeth to 5500*li.* starlinge.
2. Custome which cannot be greate.
3. Confiscacions and wardshipps which for the most parte are
craved *pene imparative* [*sic*] by the nobilitie.
4. Mynes of the lead farmed to one Eustace.
5. Church landes weare of little or nothings.
6. Tenthes in lue wherof he hath the thirdes as exceed 300*li.* by
yeare Scottishe.
7. Taxe and ymposicion."

" Excesse improporcion of the nobilitye.

1. Number, which being more then so smale a kingdome can well
beare.
2. Authoritye.

Revennues. Some have 16, 18, 20 score chader of victuall by
yeare."

" Defect improporcion among the comonaltie.

1. Burgers, viz. ; merchauntes and other mecannicall men fewe
in number.
2. Tillers or husbandmen very poore.

1 p.

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1588-9. 574. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHELY.

Jan. 2.

" May it pleis your lordschip, I haife takin boldenes to send onto yow this poore Scottisman called Paule Thomsonne, ane marchant of Edinburgh, who wyth other marchantes of the sayde towne hath beyn heavilye trowbled, as he alledgis, contrarye to all ressonne, be the searchear of Hulle and his deputeis."

" The verite of his casse vill best appere to your lordschip be the testimoniale of the mayr, depositionis of vitnes takin be him, and otheris vrytis he hath brocht from the officiaris of the sayde towne. I most humbly pray your lordschip to cause such ordour be takin thayrin as hathe be your accustomat faivour to ale that nation heretofore aperid." *Signed: A. Douglas.*

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Jan. 4.

575. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Since the news here of the Guise's death "there is many heddes set a worke": some can hardly believe it, some sorry for it, the best sort glad of it, the King himself not grieved at all, but discontented at those that were, for which some of his own household did not "let" to say he was a beast to be so careless of his own so near blood, and so great a friend as he might have been. I say not his majesty knew of it. Yesternight, being at supper with the Chancellor, where were the duke and the earl of Huntly, at half supper comes in Thomas Murray from the King, "who is presently at Burley, quiet," and saluting the company very sadly, the Chancellor said "What now Thomas, methinks you ar sad?" "Allas," quoth he, "the Guise is ded away, the devell at [*sic*] one here I trowe is sorry for it, but my lord duke, you my lord Huntley and myselfe the third, for Fowler there and all the Englishmen are full blythe at this gere." At this some were merry and some gloomed. After supper the Chancellor took me into his chamber and said "We think this newse wyll make you in England prowde and the more careles of this poore Kinge." I aunswered, 'Noo, but I thowght it wold make us thank God that suche an enemy to the Gospell was taken away, and so ought you here to do.' 'Yet,' he sayes, 'you wyll think to have lost a great enemy and our King a great frend.' I aunsered, 'It may be so, for it is true.' 'But,' saythe he, 'whatever you think, this Kinge had no intelligence with the Guise of long tyme, neyther loved him nor his accions, and is nothing sorry he is gon, I assure you, but rather glad. Yet,' quoth he, 'I must tell you that this will make the Kinge of Spayne seeke my master and esteeme him more then before, for by the Duke of Guise that King thowght to have all Fraunce shortly at his devote but the Protestants, and to have subdued them too or long, and to have byn so strong that way that he neded not the helpe of this Kinge and cowntry to have taken revenge of England, but now that hoope prevented he haythe no way to serve his purpose so good as by the King my master with whose ayde he may anoy England more with spendinge ten thowsand pownd then any other way with a hundrethe thowsand and will see or longe that matters are more forward then yet aperes. I speke this to you,' quoth he, 'that I

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take loves my master derely and the amite of these two cowntries.' I aunsered, 'I did soo, and therefore was sory to here so muche, but wolde be much more to see the Kinge joyne himselffe with any forrayn forces, specyally papistes, agaynst England, which if he dyd and once entered into blood with the subjectes he might quite his parte of that cowntry for ever, for they wold hate him extremly and it wold not be easely conquered.' 'Nay,' saythe he, 'there is wayes I now to worke and preserve the goodwill of the subjectes, for they in the sowth partes take lyttell care for them in the northe part, and what if the Kinge will but wink at the putting over ten thowsand men into Ireland, which may be done and cost him not a plak, and make your Queen spend a hundrethe thowsand pownd or she get them owt. What will that offend the subjectes of England?' I replied, 'Yes, they wold fynd the charge of the war in theyr purses, which wold greve them.' 'All the better for us,' quoth he, 'I could prove to you.' 'Then came my lady and broke off our talk. Thus have I troubled your honour over long with what he said and what I said, yet I thought good to put it down that your wisdom may gather of it as please you. I find they would fain be doing, and finding the King unwilling they will try every way to get him to consent to one. For he hath a great care not to offend the subjects of England and boasts how well he understands the language and can speak it, and how much he delights in English pastimes of which—besides hunting—the maw* is one. In truth the stay is only in himself; God hold it, for they mean to be doing this spring. The best is they can resolve of nothing but it will be understood in time, "and all wayes mony will quenche the hottest fyer that they will kindell." Edinburgh.

Postscript. One tells me that Colonel Semple is come out of Spain by the Low Countries and lies quiet till the King's mind be known. *Signature crossed out.*

2 pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Jan. 7. 576. THE STATE OF SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig.,
B. IV.,
fol. 223.

"Shires and borroughes."

"Orknay. Orknaye is governed by foldes; that is in every ysland a severall justice who are all obediente to the Erle of Orknay."

"Argile and Lorne. Argile and Lorne governed by stewardest deputed by the Erle and are obediente unto hym."

"Hebrides. Hebrides are certayne yslands governed by divers parsons and appertayne to the Kings proprietie, whereof the Earl of Argyle is accomptable."

"Invernesse. In the sherifdom of Invernesse that lyethe to the northe theyre are noblemen, the Erles of Catnes, of Sotherland, Lord Lovet, all supposed to be papists and friendes to the Erle of Huntly. The townes in this shire are poore and of no greate force. There is one porte lyenge in Murraye Frithe called Crommartye, thoughte one of the beste portes in this yslande."

"Murraye. In the sherifdom of Murray no good townes and fewe noblemen besyde the Erle of Murray who is a papiste and friende to the Erle of Huntly and the Erle of Mortons base sonnes."

* An old game of cards.

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1588-9.

“Bouchan. In the sherifdom of Bouchan no greate townes but one called Bamfe; noblemen, the Erle of Bouchan, who is under age, Erle of Arroll, Abbot of Deere, named Keythe, papists and friendes to the Erle of Huntlye; so is all the shyre, whiche is very populous.”

“Aberdin. In the sherifdom of Aberdin twoo townes bothe named Aberdin; and noblemen, the Erle of Huntlye, Lord Forbesse, Lord Elphinston and many gentlemen; moste of them obaye the Erle of Huntly, savinge the Lord Forbesse who is well affected.”

“Marnesse. In the sherifdom of Marnesse that lyethe betweene the northe and Angus, no good townes. Noblemen, the Erle Marshall and the Erle of Glanbaruies landes nowe pertayning to the Erle of Angus. Theyse bothe are ennimies to Huntly, and the gentlemen of the countrie supposed to be good protestants.”

“Angus. In the sherifdom of Angus good townes: Dondee, Forfar, Arbrothe, Montrose, Brichem, a Bishops seage, Cooper. The inhabitantes of the townes are for the moste protestants; noblemen, Erle of Crayford, Lord Glammes, Lord Graye, Lord Ogleby, Lord Innermethie, papiste and yll devoted, all savinge the Lord Glammis. In this shire are intertayned for the moste parte all the Jesuites latelie come into Scotlande, beyng here borne. This contrie is best peopled of anye towarde the northe, and the Erle of Angus, though he beare this title, hathe no commandemente but that moste of the gentlemen holde theyre landes of hym.”

“Perthe. In the sherifdom of Perthe no greate townes but St. Johnston; and noblemen, the Erle of Gowry, Erle of Atholl, Lord Drumont, all protestantes and well affected.”

“Fife. In the sherifdom of Fyfe, whiche standethe moste of townes lyenge on the coste inhabited by marryners, are the townes of St. Andrewes, Carrell, St. Monans, Ainstruither, Perwin, Kirkawdy, Dyzert, Kinghorne, the Borntysland, *etc.* This shire is able to make a greate number of men and marriners. The noblemen are Erle Morton, Erle Rothes, Lorde Lyndzaye, Lord St. Clare, all well affected, and the gentlemen of the contrie who were wonted to obaye the bishops and priors of St. Andrewes do nowe followe theyse noblemen.”

“Sterlinge. In the sherifdom of Sterlinge, whiche is not greate, are the townes of Dumblayne, Culrosse, Sterlinge; and noblemen the Erle of Marre, Lord Elphinston, Lord Leviston, Lord Flemminge. Moste parte of the gentlemen of the northe of this shire depende on the Erle of Marre who is well affected. The reste depende upon the other lords that are not well affected.”

“Montithe and Stratherne. In the sherifdom of Montithe and stewardry of Stratherne no good townes. Noblemen, the Erle Montrosse, Erle Montithe, Lord Drumond. The gentlemen depende upon theyse lordes; the twoo Erles are yll affected.”

“Donbreton. In the sherifdom of Donbreton alias Lennox; townes, Dombreton, Glascowe, Romfrowe. Moste of the gentlemen hold theyre landes of the Duke of Lennox and are reasonablye well affected.”

“Clidsdale. In the sherifdome of Clidsdale whiche is devided into twoo wardes, the neyther warde possessed wholly by the

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1588-9. Hamiltons, the other warde, called Douglasdale, beyng for the moste parte the proper landes of the Erle of Angus, are many gentlemen and howses pertayninge to abbayes possessed by gentlemen who are followers of the Hamiltons and Douglasses, and well affected. The chiefe towne is Lanarke."

"Romfrowe. In the sherifdom of Romfrowe no greate townes but Erowin on the weste sea. Noblemen, Lord Rosse, Lord Semple, bothe yll affected; the gentlemen of the shire be theyre followers."

"Are. In the sherifdom of Are, noblemen, the Erle of Cassels, the Erle of Eglenton, bothe yonge, and theyre followers yll affected. Erle of Gencarne yll affected; the Lord Boyd and the sherif of Are reasonably affected."

"Wigton. In the sherifdom of Wigton, townes Wygton, St. Ninians [Whithorn?], Kirchonbrik; and noblemen, Lord Herry's, Layrd of Lohenwarr named Gordon, Laird of Garlys named Steward, Laird of Burgeny named Kennady, all yll affected."

"Nethisdale. In the sherifdom of Nethisdale, townes Domfrize, Duresdere; and noblemen, Lord Maxwell, Lord Creychton *alias* Santquar, Laird of Dumlanrike named Douglas, Laird of Johnston named Johnston. The sowthe parte of this shire lyenge neere the weste borders of England is full of broken men supposed to be yll affected and followers of the Lord Maxwell and Laird of Johnston. The northe part hathe followers of the Lord Creichton and Layrd of Dumlanrik who are well affected."

"Lithkoo. In the sherifdom of Lithkoo, no townes but Lithkoo; the gentlemen are followers of the Lord Hamilton, who is well affected, and the Lords Leviston and Flemminge who are yll affected."

"Louthien. In the sherifdom of Louthien, townes Edimburge, Liethe, Haddington; noblemen, Erle of Bothwell who is sherife, Erle of Angus, Erle Morton, Lord Seaton, Lord Hays of Yester, Lord Newbottle; the Erles well, the Lordes but indifferently affected. All theyse noblemen have theyre particular followers, but moste of the inferiors followe the Erle Bothwell as sherife."

"Mers. In the sherifdom of Mers lienge towarde England, no good towne; this shire is devided in twoo partes, the weste governed by the Lord Hume and hys followers, and the easte governed by the prior of Coldingham, who is now the Erle Bothwell, and followe hym. Bothe thoughte to be well affected."

"Tithioddale. In the shire of Tithioddale, whereof one Douglas is sherife by inheritance; the contrie is devided betwene the Scottes and the Carres, whereof the Laids of Bochlugh and Sesforde are chief and they depende bothe on the Erle of Bothwell, Bochlugh as hys sonne-in-lawe, and Sesford for that he holdeth of the Abbye of Keleogh, whiche is now possessed by Bothwell."

"Liddisdale. Liddisdale is the Erle Bothwells inheritance, but the people be very unruly, beyng all borderers."

"All the boroughes and townes in Scotlande are inhabited by Protestantes, but so wounded withe infinite pyracies committed on them and theyre goods that they crie oute that more then the thirde parte of theyre goods is possessed by pirates of England."

3 pp. *Indorsed.*

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1588-9. **577. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.**

Jan. 8.

May it please your honour to receive a letter from Mr. Aston, and two to me, wherein you may perceive the passions of the factions there for the death of Guise; as also the King's upright part, and his sorrow for her majesty's small reckoning of his good meaning towards her; with the danger that Huntly and Bothwell may procure by their evil inclination. "For his owin matter he wryts vpon a letter I wrot after we wer preventid of a particuler that was in his boowke whiche now is amendid." *Signed: J. Hudson.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Jan. 15. **578. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 258.

" . . . * deathe nor that . . . all, many here the . . . that it myght be untru. . . ."

"The 15 of this instant came . . . the said Mr. Archebald, and frome others . . . Lard of Wymes, which set forthe the whole tragedy at large, as well of the Guise as of many other his leage frendes and alies; as also of divers townes in Fra[nce] that had taken armes; of the Kinges sending hom the ambassador of Savoy with great threatninges, and of hir majestis great provisyons and reddynges to set forward with a great armada of shippes well manned and apoynted the xx of the next monthe; and that the King of Fraunce wold shortly send a great ambassage to hir majeste to joyne with hir in a renewed leage to abate the greatnes of the Spanishe Kinge."

"Then one wryghtes owt of Fraunce to Richard Dowglas a letter, which also was shewed the Kinge, that the Spanishe Kinge was preparynge his fle[et] anew and had great ayde willingly geven both of h[is] owne subjectes, the Italians and others, and ment onely to land in Scotland or Ireland, but allwayes to joyne with Scotland, yet not with the Kinge that now is, but wold acknowlege a papist Kinge within this cowntry, which the Poope wold geve power unto, not naminge any."

"When the Kinge here hard this letter read he said straye it w[as] Gloyd Hamelton they wold set up, for they wold have made him Lieffetenant Generall of Scotland by his [owin] device when he shold have byn sent to Rome to b . . . made a papist."

"Then my lord ambassadour cumes after this and playes his part with the Kinge, and S . . . oddy wrote of a practyce by the papistes of England with the Erll of Arrondell, who wold prove himself a tyttle to the crowne, and next, if he cowlde get it, the copy of the pedigree sent also hither."

"And my selfe came [also] this day to his majesty. He tells me muche of this [or that], and suerly withowt fayninge was very well satisfied w[ith me] in the premises, so that your honour may be suer there [is no] dowt here of the Kinges part, for they all will not [consent] to any accyon or faccyon to offend her majeste [or your] honour, nor will not bestow a crowne to send an ambassador [for that] purpose to England."

"Yet he sayd he wold send . . ."

Elizabeth.
1588-9.

" . . . within this two days after . . . wold goo if the Kinge pleased a . . . majeste a tale worthe the heryng bothe for [his own] good and his masters, and that a noble man of England had wrytten to him to have a famili[ar] cownse of dealinge together by letters and otherwise. I cold name the party but now all are quayled [and] bragge is a stayll dogge, for they well know not what to saye. Yet Dun John de Medena and divers capte[ins of the] Spanierdes are goinge hence with great credit as they s[ay] frome divers of the nobyllite here, as Huntley, Bo[dwell], Seton, and others."

On Sunday last I dined with Bothwell, where I found four Spanish captains whom he entertains. Car[michael] was there, but would God you had heard the co[m]bat by words that they fought with us, especially the Earl, the Spaniards and Captain Haggerston; but we did well enough.

"Carmihell was cawled the cannon-brynger and Inglishe pencyoner, and Ingland was conquered even there with wordes onely. But yet all was in partinge put up as table talke."

"There is . . . hundred thowsand pownd graunted as a subcyddy [to] fetch home a wyffe to the Kinge, and the Lord Ham[elton] apoynted the cheffe man to goo, but the matter ca[nn]ot be agreed upon whether, nor the mony reddey."

Creighton the Jesuit is come hitler and was near taken yesternight in the . . . gate. Edinburgh. *Signed: T. Foulter.*

2 pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Jan. 20. **579.** MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHELY.

"Pleis your lordschip be these wyth inclosed letteris, send from the marchantis of Edinburgh in Scotland, to be informed of the pytefull fortune thay are like to susteane be some land lordis in Northfolk eftir the harde escapinge of the vnmercifull wawis of the sea, oneles your lordschip may be moved vpon commiseration to sea some gud ordour takin for thair releave. How they are handlit and what thay dessire to be done for thayme your lordschip will best onderstand be thayr seworale letteris. The one I send inclosed to your lordship, the vther to Sir Francis Valsinghame. What your honouris shall think ressonable to be done for thayre holpe, that I will most hartelye pray your lordschip to sea performed."

"I am also dryven to aduertise your lordschip that thayre is tuo marchant schippis of the towne of Ayre in Scotland takin be some ill dewolid men of this realme vpon the coaiste of Brittanie, ladin vyth hearing and lynnynge cloathe. The marinaris and marchantis var sett one land at the landis and thay do affirme to me that the apprehendoris presentlye sellis thayr gudis at the Ile of Wycht. I wold also pray your lordschip to move that some gud ordour may be takin heirin." London. *Signed: A. Douglas.*

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Feb. 2. **580.** GOODS SPOILED FROM SCOTTISH MERCHANTS.

"The inventour of the guidis spoylzeit from the Scotisch merchauntis the secound day of Februar 1588."

Elizabeth.
1588-9.

Jobne Robertstoun and Auchbald Johnestoun, burgessis of
Edinburgh.

Item, xl ellis ane halfe blak dames at *vl.* *vs.* the ell, ij^cxijl. *xs.* [*sic*]. *Item*, xl ellis rid and quhyt dames at vijl., ij^ciiij^xl. *Item*, xiiij vnce collouris of traissis at xvjl., xiiijl. xvij^s. vjd. *Item*, xx ellis silk callit poyl de soy at iiijl., iiij^xl. *Item*, ii dozen selch beltis at iiijl. *xs.* is xijl. *xs.*^{ti}. *Item*, xx rin paper cost xxxijl. *Item*, xiiij ellis blak seirge at iiijl. xvij^s. vjd., lxvijl. *vs.* *Item*, xij ellis ane half claith of the seill at vijl. the ell; summa is iiij^xxivl. *xs.* *Item*, xij ellis claith of the seill at ixl. *xs.*, j^cxijl. *Item*, xiiij ell thre quarteris blak seirge at *vl.* the ell; summa is lxxijl. xvs. *Item*, xiiij ellis tauny claith at vjl. viij^s. the ell, iiij^xxijl. ix^s. *Item*, xv ellis ane quarter blak seirge at *vl.* ijs. vjd., lxxvj. xvij^s. *Item*, ij steckis seirge Daskot at xxvijl. the steck, liijl. *Item*, iiij steckis bukrum at iiijl., xvjl. *Item*, ane dozen weluot beltis for bairnes, iijl. *xs.* *Item*, ane dozen weluot hat bandes, *vl.* *Item*, ane pound blak satein pasmentis cost xijl. *xs.* *Item*, xxij vnce thre quarteris fyne satein pasmentis at xiiijl. the pound is xixl. xvij^s. *Item*, j l xij vnce blak traissis of silk at xijl. *xs.* is xxiiijl. *Item*, ane dozen hat bandis cost vijl. *vs.* *Item*, vj gilt dageris at iiijl. *xs.*, xxvijl. *Item*, iiij bauer hatis at *vl.* *xs.* is xxijl. *Item*, iiij bauer hatis cost iiijl. *xs.* is xvijl. *Item*, iiij gray bauer hatis cost ixl. *Item*, iiij bauer hatis cost iijl. *vs.* is xijl. *Item*, vj bauer hatis cost vijl. is xlijl. *Item*, vj felt hatis lynit with weluot cost xxl. *Item*, vj hatis lynit with weluot cost xvijl. *Item*, vj hatis lynit with weluot cost xijl. *Item*, vj hatis lynit with weluot cost xijl. *Item*, ane dozen hatis lynit with taffeta cost xxl. *Item*, ij hatis lynit with weluot cost xl. *Item*, viij gray hatis cost xxl. *Item*, iiij hatis lynit with weluot braid cost xvjl. *xs.* *Item*, ane hinger to ane bed sowit with silk cost xvl. *Item*, ane pair silke schankis cost xxl. *Item*, ix l. iiij vnce ane q^d blak satein pasmentis cost xiiijl. *xs.* is j^cxxvl. *Item*, j l. xiiij vnce pasmentis at xvl. the pound is xxvijl. jxs. *Item*, v gross specktekellis at vijl. the gross, xxxvl. *Item*, iiij steckis lyning bukrum cost vijl. *Item*, lxj ellis stenting canvis at xij^s. vjd. is xlijl. iij^s. vjd. *Item*, ij bushilis ane quarter plum damess cost xxvijl. xvs. *Item*, ane dozen weluot beltis for women cost vijl. *Item*, tua dozen hat bandis of weluot cost xijl. *Item*, xx ellis paking canves cost ixl. *Item*, iiij pair worsat schankis cost xvl. *Item*, v littill bushilis confectit socatis costis xl. *Item*, xij dozen red pointis cost ls. *Item*, ane braissin chaufat cost xxxs. *Item*, xv bellis, xxs. *Item*, ane purss in the quhilk thair tua aingellis, thre scotis angellis, thre franche crounis, tua scotis erwins, tua double doucatis, ane flemis gurdling of gold and iij crowins franche money, ij gold ringis worth x crowins, extending to iiij^xiiijl. xvs. *Item*, ane post sadell and ane suord, xijl. The saidis John and Awelbald claithis, lxxl.

Suma of the haill, ij^mlxxvijl. *xs.*

Johnne Johnstoun, burgis of Edinburgh.

Item, xx boundis threid at xxxijs. is xxxijl. *Item*, x pound v vnce silk pasmentis at xiiijl. is j^cxlviijl. *Item*, iiij pound collouris of silk at xiiijl. is xlijl. *Item*, j pound blak silk, xjl. *Item*, ix steckis

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1588-9. new bukrum, xxxvj^l. *Item*, x steckis auld bukrum cost xvij^l. xs.
Item, ane dozen hat bandis, v the dozen, xvl.
Suma is iij^l. xvijs. [sic].

Robert Alschinder, burges of Streveling.

Item, ane dozen hatis lynit with taffeta, xxl. *Item*, half ane dozen hatis lynit with weluot, xvij^l. *Item*, ane dozen hatis bandit with weluot cost xiiij^l. *Item*, half ane dozen hatis lynit with weluot cost xij^l. *Item*, ane dozen hat bandis cost iij^l. iijs. *Item*, ane dozen hat bandis cost iij^l. vs. *Item*, iij pound blak silk at xl. vs. the pound is xxxl. xvs.

Suma is j^l. iijs.

Robert Jousse, burges of Edinburgh.

Item, ane dozen hatis lynit with taffeta cost xxl. *Item*, xv bauer hatis cost lxxvj^l. xs. *Item*, ane dozen hatis lynit with taffeta cost xxvj^l. *Item*, iij dozen hat bandis cost xiiij^l. *Item*, ij dozen hat bandis of craip silk cost xxij^l. *Item*, ane dozen hat bandis of craip cost vj^l. *Item*, tua dozen hat bandis for bairnes, xxijs.

Suma, vj^l. xxijs.

John Wilsoun, burges of Edinburgh.

Item, xxxij pound collouris of silk pasmentis, cost xij^l. the pound; *suma* is iij^l. xxl. *Item*, xvij pound blak watting pasmentis at xij^l. ij^l. xxvij^l. *Item*, xxj pound collouris of watting pasmentis at xvl. the pound is iij^l. xvl. *Item*, vj traissing of silk at xiiij^l. is iij^l. xxiij^l. *Item*, vj pound fyne traissing at xvl. is iij^l. xxiij^l. *Item*, xij pound ane edgit blak pasmentis at xij^l. j^l. [sic]. *Item*, xj pound blak satein pasmentis cost xij^l. is j^l. xxxij^l. *Item*, x dozen silk gairtrins cost xij^l. the dozen, j^l. xxi. *Item*, xx peice fyne bout-claith cost vij^l. the steck, j^l. xxi. *Item*, xij steck roungeing bout-claith cost lxl. *Item*, ij dozen hatis lynit with taffetta cost xxi. *Item*, ij dozen hatis lynit with weluot cost lxl. *Item*, vj peice of craip of silk of j^l. ell at xxvjs. the ell is j^l. xxiij^l. xs. *Item*, xij steck craip of Leon of lenth iij^l. ellis cost xxijs. the ell, j^l. xxiij^l. *Item*, j^l. l steckis new bukrum at iij^l. the steck, vj^l. *Item*, l steckis lynning bukrum at xxxvs. the steck, iij^l. xxiij^l. xs. *Item*, v steckis Lyllis worsat cost xxl. the steck, j^l. *Item*, x steckis tueillit buerat cost xvij^l. the steck, j^l. xxi. *Item*, x dozen gilt [scheiris?] cost xlvijjs. dozen, xxiij^l. *Item*, l pound blak silk cost xl. the pound is v^l. *Item*, xx pound collouris of silk cost xiiij^l. the pound is ij^l. xxiij^l. *Item*, vj dozen round stringis set with gort cost xxxvj^l. *Item*, iij dozen tua plet bandis cost xvij^l. xvijs. *Item*, viij dozen small plet of grit bandis at viij^l. dozen, lxiij^l. *Item*, iij dozen hat bandis plet of silk cost xvl. *Item*, vj dozen hat bandis of craip of silk at xij^l. lxxij^l. *Item*, iij dozen weluot hat bandis cost xvij^l. xs. *Item*, vj dozen weluot beltis for men at viij^l. dozen, xlvij^l. *Item*, vj dozen weluot beltis for women at viij^l. xliij^l. *Item*, xx dozen selch skin beltis cost iij^l. the dozen, iij^l. xxi. *Item*, tua ballotis canves cost ij^l. xxi. *Item*, iij^l. gross of prenis [pins] at iij^l. the gross, iij^l. xxi. *Item*, iij steckis lane cost lxl. *Item*, l pound raa silk at iij^l. the pound is j^l. *Item*, xl ellis of burrat lassoint of silk cost xls. the ell, iij^l. xxi. *Item*, vij hundred weycht

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alme at xvl. the hundred cost j^cvl. *Item*, l pound weycht pepper cost xxxvjs. the pound, iiij^{xx}xl. *Item*, l dozen braid belting silk at iiijl. xs. the dozen, j^clxxvl. *Item*, xxx gross kairtis at viijl. the groce is ij^cxl. *Item*, l gross cambis at iiijl. xs. the gross, j^clxxvl. *Item*, lx boundis threid at xxxiijs. the bound, iiij^{xx}xixl. *Item*, j^cxx pound blew threid at xxs. the pound is j^cxxl. *Item*, lx bolt worsat pasmentis cost xxs. the bolt, lxl. *Item*, j^cxx rim paper cost xxxs. the rim, j^ciiij^{xx}l. *Item*, tua steckis fyne grongrane worsat cost xxxl. *Item*, vj steckis camredge [cambric] cost iiij^{xx}iijl. *Item*, xl dozen Floran rubains cost xxvjs. dozen, lijl. *Item*, iiij dozen Knapska bonetis cost lxl. *Item*, lxviij dozen peceling cost xxs. dozen is lxviijl.

Suma is vj^mvij^cxxvl.

James Temple, burgis of Glasgow.

Item, liij l. pasmentis of silk of sundry collouris at xiiijl. the pound is vj^ciiij^{xx}l. *Item*, xv pound blak silk cost xl. the pound is j^cll. *Item*, x pound collouris of silk cost xiiijl. the pound, j^cxl. *Item*, iiij^{xx}x ellis airnose taffeta cost liiijs. the ell, ij^cxl. *Item*, vj steckis camredge cost xvl. the steck, iiij^{xx}xl. *Item*, xxx dozen Florane rubains cost xxvijs. the dozen, xlijl. *Item*, xl gross cambis cost iiijl. vjs. the gross is j^cxxxijl. *Item*, xx gross quhyt wod cambis cost xliiijs. the gross, xliiijl. *Item*, x gross quhyt wod cambis cost xxxvijs. the gross, xixl. *Item*, l steckis new bukrum cost iiijl. the steck is ij^cl. *Item*, xxx steckis lyning bukrum cost xxxvs. the steck, lxjl. xs. *Item*, x peice belting silk cost xvl. the peice, j^cll. *Item*, lxvj ellis craip of silk cost xxvjs. the ell, iiij^{xx}vjl. *Item*, vj peice craip of Leon cost xvjl. the peice, iiij^{xx}xvjl. *Item*, x steckis boutclaith cost vjl. the steck, lxl. *Item*, lv boundis blak threid at xxxiijs. the bound, iiij^{xx}xiijl. xs. *Item*, ane ballot canves cost j^cxxl. *Item*, lv ellis gray canves cost xvijs. the ell, xlvijl. *Item*, l pound ra silk cost iiijl. the pound is j^cll. *Item*, x dozen hat bandis at iiijl. xs. the dozen is xlvl. *Item*, xxx gross prenis at iiijl. the gross is j^cxxl. *Item*, l pound weycht pepper at xxxvijs. the pound, iiij^cxijl. xs. *Item*, ix ellis blak claith at vijl. xvs. the ell, lxxl. [sic]. *Item*, xl pound quhyt succour candie cost liiijl. *Item*, tua chandelleres cost iiijl. xs. *Item*, tua baissingis of tin cost iiijl. xs. *Item*, my apperrellis and callewer, xvl.

Summa, iiij^mxxxvl. xvs.

Mongo Wilsoun, burgis of Glasgow.

Item, xx ellis seirge Florance cost vjl. the ell, j^cxxl. *Item*, tua peice gray stemming of xxx elis cost iiijl. vs. the ell is iiij^{xx}xvjl. *Item*, tua peice blak claith of xxx elles cost vjl. the ell is j^ciiij^{xx}l. *Item*, tua peice rousch broun of xxxj ell cost vl. vs. the ell is ij^clxiijl. [sic]. *Item*, tua peice paswencullour of xxix ellis cost vl. vs. the ell is j^cliijl. xs. [sic]. *Item*, tua peice claith of the seill of xxxij ellis cost xvl. the ell; summa, ij^ciiij^{xx}viijl. *Item*, xiiij ellis rid seirge at vl. the ell, lxxl. *Item*, l steckis bukrum cost iiijl. the steck, ij^cl. *Item*, l pound weycht silk pasmentis blak cost xiijl. the pound is vj^cll. *Item*, xxx gross cambis cost iiijl. xs. the gross is j^cvl. *Item*,

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1588-9. xx gross prenis [pins] cost iiij^{xx} l. *Item*, vj steckis boutelaith cost vjl. the steck, xxxvj. *Item*, iiij dosen kairdis cost viijl. the dosen, xxxijl. *Item*, xxx pound caddes cost xijs. the pound, xvijl. *Item*, l ellis gray canvis cost xvs. the ell, xxxvijl. xs. *Item*, ij ballotis poldave canvis cost ij^{c} xl. *Item*, vj half bushilis plumdames cost xll.

Summa, $\text{ij}^{\text{m}}\text{v}^{\text{c}}$ ixl.

Thomas Inglis, burgis of Edinburgh.

Item, xx ellis ane half seirge of Florance cost vjl. vs. the ell; summa is j^{c} xxvijl. ijs. vjd. *Item*, xv ellis fyne claith of the seill cost ixl. the ell; summa is j^{c} xxxvl. *Item*, xiiij ellis ane half of blak cost vjl. xs. the ell; summa iiij^{xx} xiiijl. vs. *Item*, ij peice blak seirge of xxix elis cost vl. the ell; summa j^{c} xlvl. *Item*, xvj ell rusche broun seirge cost vl. vs. the ell; summa iiij^{xx} iiijl. *Item*, xvj ellis cramosse vyolat claith cost vjl. the ell; summa j^{c} xijl. *Item*, xv ellis of gray stemming cost iijl. vs.; summa lijl. xs. *Item*, x grosse cambis cost iijl. xs. the gross, xxxvl. *Item*, xx steckis new bukrum cost iiijl. the steck, iiij^{xx} l. *Item*, x pound blak pasmentis of silk at xiiijl. the pound, j^{c} xl. *Item*, x groce prenis cost iiijl. the grose, xll.

Summa, j^{m} xliiijl. xvijs. vjd.

Patrik Aggir, burgis of Edinburgh.

Item, xxx pound caddes cost xvijl. *Item*, ane steck bumbasse, xvjl. *Item*, iij steck bukrum cost xijl. *Item*, ane dozen and ane half craip stringis cost xvijl. *Item*, his suord and apperrell worth xl.

Summa, iiij^{xx} xvj. [sie].

Robert Wederburne, burges of Dundee.

Item, vj half bushilis plumdames cost xll. *Item*, tua ellis weluot cost xxxl. *Item*, j^{c} pound weycht holeflask lint xxvl. *Item*, v ellis grongrane taffetie cost xxxl. *Item*, lxx pound weycht quhyt succour cost lijl. xs. *Item*, j^{c} l pound alme cost xvl. the c. is xxijl. xs. *Item*, j^{c} weycht nutgallis cost xxvijl. *Item*, xxxij gross prenis cost iiijl. the gross, j^{c} xxvijl. *Item*, xxxvj boundis blak threid cost lxl. *Item*, x gross cambis cost iijl. xs. the groce, xxxiiijl. *Item*, iij dozen knapska bonnetis cost lxl. *Item*, xv ellis gray canvis cost xvjs. the ell, xijl. *Item*, ane peice blak seirge of lenth, vij ellis, ane half cost vl. the ell; summa xxxvijl. xs. *Item*, ane hat lynit with weluot cost iijl. xs. *Item*, ane suord staf cost iijl. *Item*, ane half ball canves cost iiij^{xx} l. *Item*, xvj dozen hat bandis at viijl. the dozen, j^{c} xxvijl. *Item*, j dozen suord beltis cost xl. xs. *Item*, viij grose elsching heftis cost ixl. *Item*, vj pound caddes cost xijs. the pound is iijl. xijs. *Item*, ane gross worsat pasmentis cost vl. *Item*, ij steckis bukassie cost xijl. *Item*, tua steck seirge lpers cost xijl. xvs. *Item*, iij steckis round boutelaith cost xiiijl. *Item*, xix steckis new bukrum cost iiijl. steck is lxxvj. *Item*, xx steckis auld bukrum cost xxxvl. *Item*, ane peice Scotis claith cost ixl. *Item*, ane buist with sundry sort small waris cost lxl. *Item*, my aperellis worth xvl.

Summa, ix^clxvijl. xs.

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1588-9.

Johne Forret, burgis of Dundee.

Feb. 4. *Item*, ane ballot and ane half canvis cost $vj^{xx}l$. the ballot is $j^{c}iiij^{xx}l$. *Item*, ij^c weycht nutgallis cost $xxviiijl$. the c., $lvjl$. *Item*, vj half bushiliis plum damess cost xl . *Item*, his callever and apperell worth xxl .

Summa, $ij^ciiiij^{xx}xvj$ l.

James Nisbet, burgess of Edinburgh.

Item, xv ell fyne blak cost xl . the ell is j^cl . *Item*, ane ell and ane half fegnet taffeta with tua gross lang bouttouns cost $xxijl$. xs . *Item*, ane dozen baner hatis cost lxl . *Item*, $iiij$ braid hatis lynit with weluot cost $xviiijl$. *Item*, tua pound traissing silk cost $xxxjl$. *Item*, lxx pound weycht of cadis cost xij s. the pound, $xlijl$. *Item*, xxx pound sewing worsat cost $liiijl$. *Item*, my apparrellis worth xxl . *Item*, xv ellis blak stemyng at vl . the ell, $lxxvl$.

Summa is $iiij^clxxijl$. xs .

Roger Maknacht, burges of Edinburgh.

Item, l pound weycht cuschoneill cost $viiijl$. the pound, $iiij^cl$. *Item*, xx pound pasmentis of collouris of silk cost xvl . the pound, $iiij^cl$. *Item*, $xxijl$. collouris of silk at $xiiijl$. the pound, $ij^ciiiij^{xx}vj$ l. *Item*, xx dozen hat bandis cost vl . the dozen is j^cl . *Item*, l pound weycht of succour cost $xvijs$. the pound, $xlijl$. xs .

Summa of this compte, $j^mjcxxviiijl$. xs .

Robert Dons, master of the schip.

Item, xx pound weycht peppir cost $xxxvj$ l. *Item*, $xxxvj$ pound weycht succour cost $xxxl$. *Item*, $iiij$ bushilis appellis cost $xijl$. *Item*, $iiij$ half bushilis peiris cost ixl . *Item*, vj pound weycht ponder cost vl . *Item*, $iiij$ pottis cost $iiijl$. *Item*, ane lantroun leadlyn with glassis compassis cost $xviiijl$. *Item*, foretapmast foreschoudis fortakell fore bonnet of ane saill worth xxl . *Item*, x chamberis v baissis, ane cooper, ane crabb irne worth xxx l. *Item*, my callever and apperrellis worth $xxiiijl$.

Summa, $j^ciiiij^{xx}vij$ l.

Suma of the haill that is tane frome ws is $xix^miiiij^{xx}xij$ l. vs . vjd .

Qubilk extendis in Inglis money to the soume of xix^cixl . vjs . vjd .

Signed: A. Johnstoun, burges of Edinburgh. Johne Wilsoun, burgess of Edinburgh.

11 pp. *Indorsed*.

Feb. 4. 581. WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS FOWLER.

" Your two letters sent me by Sir Jhon [Selby's] meanes I have receyved and communicated the same unto her majesty, who restethe very well satsfysed therewith, especyally in procuring the staye of the nobleman that was meant to have ben sent hether at this assembly of owre parliament, which wouold have bred a great

Elizabeth.

1588-9. deale of offence without any profit. The best advyce that can be gyven to the King is to avoyde all coorses that may breed iealowsye."

"Your letters for your partycular served to verry good purpose, for that her majesty was greatly incensed agaynst you by some great personages there, uppon informacyon gyven that your repayre to that realme was about some notable practyce. To avoyd the myshap of interceptyng of letters, for that there may passe things betwen us not fyt to be made publycke, I send you a cypher to use as you see cause." The Court. *Signed: Fra. Walsyngham.*

1p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Feb. 5. **582. WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS FOWLER.**

This morning my Lord Treasurer sent to me to give you advertisement that for the defence of some of the lands belonging to the Lady Arabella now in question he should have need of the evidences of the said lands; and therefore to request you to send him word where the said evidences remain, and how he may come to them. Wherein I pray you with all expedition to give his lordship such satisfaction as you can. From the court at Whitehall. Postscript. Your servant shall depart from hence within these six or seven days. *Signed: Fra. Walsyngham.*

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Addressed. Indorsed.

Feb. 6. **583. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.**

I wrote to you by Edward Johnston, and since on the 6th of January and on the 16th. I yet hear not of the receipt of these. I may be mistaken, because of late I saw a letter of a councillor of England, which was intercepted in coming post, bearing date the 8th of January, wherein was written that Fowler's practices were known, and gave order to intercept my letters specially. It may be that some of mine to you be intercepted already, for to any other I write not any, but of my own business; and for any practice, God be my judge, I meant none, but would gladly have done any service to your honour for the benefit of her majesty and my native country. And I will presume that not any you could send hither may have more or surer intelligence of the state of this country or proceedings here from time to time than I have, from the better sort of both factions, though indeed the matters here be of small importance, though there is as great bandings one against another and divided in factions as ever. Whereof Huntly and Bothwell are the captains opposite, even to stabbing and shooting one another. The whole friends of either faction I have given the ambassador, with such other intelligence as I trow be the best he hath. "Alwayis the King carryeth" himself in such sort between both parties that neither of them can tell who hath him surest, and he telleth some secretly he will be no maintainer of factions, therefore he will be no partaker with anyone, but will shew himself when time serves. The chief occasion of this letter is to beseech you that if any shall inform against me, or any conceit be had of me other than well, to suspend your judgment till further proof, for in good

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faith I mean no evil and would fain do well, and if once again I find myself in your honourable favour then shall you know by whose means the said letter was intercepted, where, and whose letter it was, and that more will be so.

Yesternight there came to this town three Englishmen brought hither from Fernyhurst, where they have lain eight days, and came thither over the fells with one English guide. There they were used with great reverence, especially one of them. They are this night to be presented to the earl Huntly, and they say they brake out of the tower of London a twenty four days since, and were laid there for service done to the Scot's Queen, and for that should have been executed within six days after they came away; and they here take one of them to be an earl. Your honour knows if any such be gone thence, and I will know what they are within a day. But they lie close in a servant's house of the earl Huntly. Wemyss is coming thither, and as he passes into France hath commission to deal with her majesty from the King, whose marriage is now agreed upon to be with Denmark. The rest I refer to the ambassador's letter. Edinburgh. *Signed: T. Fowler.*

2 $\frac{1}{3}$ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 8.

584. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 251.

" . . . * great consultacion here . . . mariage, to make his choise ether of the princes of Navare or of the second daughter of the late King of Denmarque." The Chancellor at first persuaded for the French; now, considering her years and fearing her portion wasted by the King her brother, they are resolved that it will be a far meeter match for their King with Denmark, which is there greatly desired, and great sums of money offered, beside a firm league to be had with the princes of Germany against the Spaniards and all enemies of religion.

" In the last Convencion here a subsidie of a 100 thowsand pound Scotishe was graunted for the Kings mariage; and sithence the Lord John Hamelton and the Earl Marshall commaunded to be in a readines to be sent for the bringing hither of the Kings wife that shalbe."

" Of this mariage, if it go foreward, her majestie shalbe made acquainted by the Lord of Weimes, who retorning to the King of Navare shall take with him full instrucion and comission by the waie to imp[art] unto her majestie the Kings mynd at large, both for his mariage and towching the league."

" The factions here growe jelious on of another, and . . . combine for there better strenght with there . . . and frendes . . . labour who shall . . . here with the King. The chefe of the on part is the Earl Hun[tly], the Earl Craford, the Earl Mountrose, the [Lord] Claude Hamelton, the Earl of Murray, the Lord Seaton. Chefe of the contrarie faction, the Lord John [Hanc]elton, the Lord Chancellour, the Master of Glames, [the] Threasurer, the Earl of Marr, the Earl Ma[riscal]."

Bothewell is sought on b[oth] sides, for that he is " an under-taking man," as they term him here, but withall fickle, as no party is sure [of] him; feared of both sides, trusted of neither.

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“ Here haith ben of late and still continueth pleading in lawe for the erldome of Angus; the King claiming the land and title as heir general in the right of his grandmother, Ladie Margaret. The Laird of Glenbarvie, a D[ouglas], claimeth by entaile as heir male to the E[arl].

“ The Laird of Lochleven by writt is found ne[xt] heire to the earldome of Morton, and so now [en]joyeth both title and land.”

Almost all the Spaniards remain here yet in their begging state; [some] of them relieved by the nobility, [some] parted from hence toward the north of Scotland about the 16th of January. They hope men and money will be sent out of Spain, finding this country so facti[ous], and the nobility imagining this way to enrich themselves, that one party may be maintained by the King of Spain, the other by the Queen, and so little regarding their King's security, will hazard the wreck of their country and religion for their private gain.

“ The discontented parsons wourke secretlie what thei can both with Spayne and Parma, although thei are out of hope to drawe there King into anie practise with forrein prince so contrarie in religion.” Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

Postscript. “ There is a pique growing betuixt the Erle Huntley and the erle Bodewell; thei bandit on against another, and if the King take it not up in tyme it will cost on of there lives.”

3pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.

Feb. 11. **585.** WALSINGHAM TO SIR JOHN MAITLAND.

Add. MSS.
23, 241,
fol. 9.

“ This gentleman, Mr. Randolph, whatsoever hath ben there undeservedly conceavid of him, is one, I can assure you, that caryeth a sound and earnest disposition to do all good offices for the knittinge of perfect frendship and inward good intelligence betwin the two princes; in furtheraunce wherof I doubt not but that you will for your part frendly concurre with him and assist him to the uttermost of your power; and you may undoubtedly beleieve that the gentleman will there acquite himself in such sorte as the King your master shall have just cause to rest well satisfied with his actions and manner of proceedinge, and yourself and others that shall further him in the course of his negotyaciun to thinck your travells very well bestowid. Besides, because he is one whom I have alwayes used and accomptid of as my inward, good frend, I shall thincke me self particularly very much behouldinge unto you for any favour he may receive at your handes.”

“ Some there do not stick, as we heare, to mislyke of the choice that hath ben made of him in respect of his age, supposinge that a yonger man might have ben fitter to be sent to the King. But we do here assure our selves that the King being wyse, and all others that are of best judgement in Scotland, will rather commend the choice in respect of the yeres and gravitye of the gentleman, knowinge right well that thimployment of such ministers doth witnes that there is the greater accompt made of thos princes to whom they are sent; whereas thimployinge of yonge ministers may for the most parte in common sense and reason argue the contrary.” Greenwich. *Signed: Fra: Walsyngham.*

1 p. Addressed.

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1588-9. **586.** WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS FOWLER.

Feb. 14.

"Yours of the 6th of this present I have receyved, and am sorry to see such factyons reygning in that realme. Your letters have hetherto come surely to my handes. Whatsoever other conceyved of your doings ther, I have wrought a good conceypt in her majesty of you, and therefore I praye you be not discouraged. By the use of the cyphere such as shall seeke to intercept your letters shall gayne nothing."

"I am now, therowghe the indysposycyon of my boddye, retyred from the coort to my owne howse, where I shall remayne at least two monethes." The Savoy. *Signed: Fra: Walsyngham.*

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 15. **587.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig.,
D. I.,
fol. 249.

. . . * the 6th of February I received the 12th, with the late advertisements out of France.

"Touching the staie of Morris Desmond and Lasci I was not foregtful, and the King here condescending thereto willinglie, to staie such as her majestie would appoint, whereof I did advertise before Christmas; but his commandment would take no effect, suche friendes and favour thei did find here of divers of the nobilitie, to harbour and convey them secretlie awaie."

"A marchant of Lyth that haith his sone in Spaigne in the Inquisicion, and his ship and goodes staid there to his great losse, procured, upon the arrivall here of Juan Medina, the Kings warrant to staye as prisoners three or foure of the best capteins for the deliverie of his sone and goodes. But this marchant dourst not touche anie of them, being threatned by his own country men that thei should be taken from him and sent awaie, notwithstanding ye Kings warrant for the same." That obedience is not here that is in England to her majesty.

"The . . . may comaund mucche in theise partes, and the churchmen bould to reprehend the def[ectes] emongest them; but nether the autoritie of the prince greatlie obeid, nor the discipline of the churche with anie devocion followed, which must nedes bring the ruine of this state."

"I have ever . . . disposed, even when the . . . pride and in hope of conquest and th . . . with the leaguers, trusting by there strength to bring there plotes to effect; yet this [King] was constant in his princelie course of prof . . . amitie with her majestie; and that of himselfe ag[ainst] the myndes and persuacion allmost of all his no[bilitie] and subjectes except verie few, and such [as] were honourable used at her majesties handes, [as] the Lord John Hamelton, the Master of Glames, [and] the Earl of Marr. These noblemen are not [for]getfull of the favoures thei receaved in England."

The Chancellor hath incurred hazard of his life, endeavouring to risk this good purpose for amity of these two crowns and to continue the King in this course. Her majesty's remembrance of him of her liber[ality] will do good to perfect that which is to be

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desired in this isle, and I hope will have good success to the security of both princes and the well-affected subjects, for I find the King well bent that way.

Your letter to the Chancellor setting down what you judge her ma[jesty] will be brought unto, and what shall be convenient for the King to accept, with . . . of his careful dealing here, [and the] good opinion her majesty conceiveth of his doings will make him the willinger to perform good offices. "The leaving of his letter unanswered haith discouraged him greatlie, and could in following the course he tooke in hand." There is no man that carrieth the King so much as he, nor better affected to religion and England; therefore I judge him to be the fittest to be entertained by her majesty for the furtherance of such causes as are to [be] managed in this court.

"Here arrived latelie three English fugitives cau[led] Stocker, Bellamy and Heath. Upon there arrivall here it was geven out that the Earl of Arundale was escaped out of the Towre, but presentlie I understode by a letter from Mr Aldread of theise three that were broken o[ut] of Newgate. I acqeainted the King of their coming, desiring that they might be stayed [till] I understood her majesty's pleasure tow[ards] them. Whereunto he condesce[nded], but they find favours here to convey them from place to place and cannot yet be apprehended. The Laird of Farnyhurst f[irst] received them from thence to a house of . . . of Pluskye . . . daily removing . . .

These inclosed were sent me from [Lord] Hamilton, desiring that the three may be sent into France. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. Asheby.

Postscript. "I am requested to put your honour in mynd for [the] pasport for the Lord of Fentrie."

3½ pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address. Indorsed.*

Feb. 20. **588.** THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Here hath been of late great boastings between Huntly and Bothwell, and yet but dissembling as the Chancellor and others think now, who was in hope that Bothwell would have driven the other out of court at least, if he had not slain him. But they agreed suddenly between themselves, not making any of their partakers acquainted with their purpose; and the Chancellor and his followers therefore misliked Bothwell of all men, as one whom none can trust, and yet dare not greatly shew it, so desperate a man is he.

All is quiet here, and like to be. I am secretly informed that John de Modena, that went hence in a barque of Colonel Stewart, took with him three or four of the gentlemen of his company, and no more, with some few servants, leaving behind him divers good captains for the land, and a great company of poor soldiers. So that there is in this country presently 1100 or 1200 Spaniards in better or worse sort, many great men, and the captains and leaders proud and gallant, keeping house in this town. The said Modena went hence with direction from divers noblemen, as Huntly, Bothwell, Seton and others, to let the Spanish king know how many

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well willers he hath in this country, and to procure but 4000 Spaniards good shot and leaders, with a sum of money to be brought hither by his conduct with speed, which they here assure to receive and warrant to bring this king by fair or foul means to accept of them, being a number not dangerous, and yet as they hope will serve their turn. The King is innocent of this I am sure, and I yet dare not tell him, for I cannot avouch my author, but I have conferred with the Chancellor about it, who thinks it likely to be true. He is surely well affected himself.

This King doth reason against the Spaniards, taking the part of England, reproving sharply any that speaks against Queen or country; especially Bothwell that will conquer England with words, "that I wishe many tymes your honour were but one ower to here this kinge, so you were not knowne."

It is also said that these Spaniards already here await the coming of the others, and these leaders left here for that purpose. It is advertised hither that the Spaniard arms strongly again, and intends his landing here with his whole forces, and divers good men doubt it, wishing a provision for it between these countries. They send Wemyss with divers instruction whereby they seek much, and they have persuaded the King to ask enough, for he is sure to get little enough. I assure your honour that whatsoever her majesty yields to, he will for his own part content himself. But all his care is to stop the mouths of his evil affected subjects, that the more is done for him the better he may satisfy them with reason. It were not out of the matter to request this King to send all the Spaniards already here out of his country as enemies to her majesty and himself; and upon her majesty's request I am sure he will do it.

Colonel Stewart, who hath laboured the King's marriage with Denmark, is now become on the Chancellor's side and would fain be accounted on the English faction. He would fain win some credit again, but his credit here is not great, though well with the King by this dealing with Denmark. He sets out to me the many allies the King of Denmark hath in Germany, proving by affinity the whole protestant princes are his friends, and that this King is greatly to be strengthened by that match more than any other, not being a papist; and hath prevailed against the Chancellor's determination, which was altogether for Navarre. The Colonel confesses that the council of Denmark advises to get the Queen of England's consent in so great a matter, yet he says they will proceed if it could not be gotten. He assures he knows the Spaniard will come hither this summer, and answers my objection that he was four years making his other forces, not for that he was not able to do it sooner, but that he saw not the time proper "tyll the Guise had brought to passe his owne credyt in Fraunce suffycient to mate the Frenche Kinge," who in no policy could suffer the Spaniard to prevail in England. And the state of France by the Guise's death is such as serves the Spaniard's turn better than ever, and they will stand no more upon joining with the Prince of Parma, but will land themselves where they see most convenient. He takes upon him to know much sundry ways, concluding that he wishes all the princes of the religion to join.

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Wemyss had been there ere now but for want of money to furnish him. All the treasurers here could not furnish 500 crowns, but at last they have borrowed it till the subsidy come in. "I trust to aliter sum part of Wymes his instruceyons. Bodwell wold fayne have come ambassadur in to England." *Signature cut out.*

2 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 20. 589. PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR IN SCOTLAND.

"After our harty commendations, we do send to you by this bearer a certen pacquet sealed up with our seales, for the better understanding whereof and for your procedyng therin, this you shall understand. The letters that ar in ciphre have bene by some good dilligence taken uppon on [*blank*] a Scottishman appoynted to have carryed them to the duke of Parma. The party is in person here, and shall be sent thither to be used for the prooff that it was he which carryed those letters. The letters that was in ciphre ar deciphred and wrytten in plane for to be redd; the others are sent in ther proper nature; and for warrant of the trew deciphryng of them we have caused some few lynes of the ciphred letters to be superscribed by interlineation with the trew and playne wordis in commen letters; and to the intent that the rest may appeare to be also truly deciphred we do send to you the trew alphabet of the ciphres so as any man skillfull therin may perceave the letters to be trewly deciphred."

"The contentes of these letters ar such as you may se to be of great weight and to be used very secretly and substantially; and in very truth we ought to acknolledge the continuance of Godes favores in ordening the discovery of these notable hydden practices, so daungerous to the cause of religion professed in both these realmes; and therewith also so daungerous both for the Queenes majesty and that Kyng and both ther realmes and faythfull subjectes as no on practise hath bene more coningly and suttelly plotted these many yers. And for prooff that these ciphred letters come from the partyes therin named, and that the contentes ar not anywise fayned, but certainly conteaning the myndes and purposes of the traytors therin mentioned, the scope of ther secret actions, the truth of all circumstances, for the naming of the parsons that ar in prison, the Jesuittes that ar ther secretly harbored, and the behavores of the erles and lordes now conspyred in all ther actions, ar unfallible proves of the truth of all the contentes, which we do mention to you as not dowtyng of your judgment so to censure the same, both by reason of the present contentes and of your own knolledge of the dependances of a great nombre of circumstances better know to you ther than can be to us."

"After you have well perused these letters in ciphre and their decipheryng with other letters which do concurr therwith, hir majesties plesur is that you should, as soone as conveniently you may, without delay resort to the Kyng and delyver to hym hir majesties letter, wherby she requireth the Kyng to gyve you credit; and than you shall require hym that you may in most secret sort

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impart to hym a matter of great weight both to be known to hym, and that in secret sort, and circumspectly to be considered, for the remedy of the great daunger therupon dependyng, if it be not both secretly, wisely, stoutly and pryncely used. And if it so may be well used, you may certainly pronounce to his majesty that he shall assure himself and his state of a perpetuall great quietness, and shall therby advance Godes honor in the cause of religion. And this beyng by you aforehand declared, you shall than shew to hym the letters on after another, both in the ciphres and in ther explained sort, and such other letters as be wrytten out of ciphre. And you shall shew to hym the alphabet, wherby his majesty may himself playnly see the truth of the translatyng therof."

"And whan he hath sene and red them, which wold be doone in secret manner, for avoydyng of suspicion by the standers by, than you may fele his mynd to whom he will communicat the same, and therin as you se cause to shew your judgment and opinion how you shall thynk the parsons fitt or unfitt whom the Kyng shall name unto you, and so use the matter by good perswasions that nether manny be acqueynted therwith nor any that may seme to you unmete to understand the same, for feare ether of discovery of the matter to the parsons who ar the principall offenders or partenors with them."

"And you shall do your best indevor to styrr the Kyng to tak to hart these notable traytoroos conspyraces and to use all good spede to the apprehendyng of them all at one instant, as neare as may be possible; and that, beyng so apprehended, they be committed to more saff custody than it semeth ether the erl Morton or Brus or others be, that the terror of ther strait imprisonment may terrefy their factious dependantes from attemptyng anythyng to the disquiet of his estate."

"You may remembere to hys majesty that this suffrance of the Jesuittes, as Creighton and his complices, ar the roottes of these conspyraces, and the contynuançe of the number of the Spanyardes that have long remayned ther have suerly corrupted very manny of his subjectes, and hath made them very bold to attempt these treasons; and therfor the sooner they be banished the country and committed to the seas the better it shall be."

"We cannot in particular sort inform you how the King shall procede herein, but all celerite with secrecy wold be used to apprehend the principalles and to commit them, and we dout not but such as be sound counsellors and relligious will, with ther counselles and ther forces, assist the Kynge both in ther apprehension and imprisonment, and in sealyng of ther wrytynges, letters, and off the monny sent thither from the duke of Parma mentioned in the letters; and afterward in procedyng ageynst the principall offenders by order of law, to the rootyng out of such wycked, corrupt membres, so manifestly tendyng to the subversion of the whole state of the realm and to the destruction or captyvite of the Kinges own person, as by the letters is most manifestly promised to be attempted."

"These daungers so apparant cannot be by you amplefyed to much, ether to the Kyng or to such as he shall impart the same as to receave their advise."

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“ And because the comming of this present messynger or your access to the Kyng, or your delyvery and his readyng of these letters in the sight of any, may percase gyve to the guilty consciences of some of the offenders some spark of suspicion of the interceptyng of these letters or of the discovery of ther practises, we do send to you at this tyme certene wrytynges and requestes of Mr. Ortell, the agent for the states of the Low Contres, as petitions from hym to the Kyng in the name of the states, which you may shew to the Kyng, so as it may please hym to referre the consideration therof to his counsell by you, to be treated withall. And if some of the offenders shall be of the nombre of those counsellors you may also more collorably deale with them herin, wherby they may conceave that your dealing with the Kyng at this tyme is only about those matters for the Low Countres, and so you may inform the Kyng, or any confident counsellor, that you are to deale for those matters, to avoyd suspicion of discovery of the other.”

“ We mynd to send the party that had the cariadg of the letters, hereafter to be at Berwick, untill the letters shall be communicated to the Kyng, and than if the Kyng shall thynk it good to have hym brought thither to avow from whom he had the letters, he may be sent, but not befor, for otherwise his coming into Scotland shall gyve light to Bruss and his complayces to provyde for themselves.”

5½ pp. *In Burghley's hand. Indorsed.*

First inclosure with the same:—

(Scottish Lords to the King of Spain.)

We cannot in words sufficiently express the great regret we have felt at having been disappointed of the hope that we had for so long had of seeing during this past year the successful results desired and expected from your majesty's preparations; and our grief has been so much the greater that your naval army should have passed so near us without visiting us, who were awaiting it with forces sufficient to receive it peaceably and to aid it against its enemies, in such sort that it would have found no resistance in this country, and with our support would have given England matter enough.

If it had at the least come here only for refreshment it would have preserved a good number of vessels and men that we know to have perished near our islands and on the coast of Ireland, and would have discovered an incredible number of friends all ready to throw in their fortunes with it, in such sort that we dare to affirm that not half so many could have been found in England, whatever the English Catholic refugees in those parts may say, who through rivalry and even un-Christian envy greatly under-rate our means of aiding you, in order to magnify their own alone, and to make themselves alone deemed able to do all, in order by such means to advance their credit with your majesty and your people. But the experience of this past year has sufficiently testified that they have not come forward in as great number as we have done to aid your forces, and hence your majesty, most prudent as you are, will, if it please you, take such account of one as will in no wise neglect

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the others, and will be able to make use of both for the end you have in view, without hazarding your forces at a venture either for one or the other in particular. We leave it to some of your own subjects who have been in these parts to tell you what commodities and advantages there are for descending here, where the expense employed upon the equipment of one galleas would yield more fruit than the service which might be obtained from ten of them at sea; and we can assure your majesty that having once 6000 of your men here, with money, that it would be possible to make a levy of other soldiers of this country as freely as in Spain, who will serve you no less faithfully than your natural subjects. And although we could not, without reproach of presumption, give advice to your majesty as to your affairs in those parts, yet as to that which concerns your service here we can speak more frankly as being on the spot, knowing by ordinary experience many things unknown to your people, being foreigners. The too late arrival of your army in our waters deprived it of the opportunity of retreating in such safety as could have been done by coming sooner, by reason of the high winds which reign here in autumn. Also the want of pilots of experience upon the coasts of England, Scotland and Ireland seems to have been prejudicial to the said army, which we can remedy with regard to Scotland by sending pilots from hence, if it please your majesty to have them for your use.

Likewise, saving better advice, it seems to us quite useless to combat the enemy at sea, if it can be avoided, for many reasons, and among others because those who have been fighting by sea will not be able, weary as they will be, to make a descent and fight again on land with other fresh forces; so that it would be better to slip away by one way or another to spare both men and ships; and the forces of England remaining at sea without fighting would thus be disappointed, and will not be back in time to assist those who will be attacked by land. Moreover, by sending part of the forces hither in advance, the other going later direct to England, and that secretly by way of Ireland, your majesty will cause your enemy's forces to be divided, and perhaps will cause them to send the greater part hither, if one can make them believe that all or the most part of your forces have arrived here; England will at least be by so much denuded, and many forces diverted which would resist your descent upon and invasion of their coast; and we can well promise that 6000 men coming here, and money to raise others, we shall within six weeks after their arrival be well advanced into England, in order to join and assist the forces which your majesty shall send thither.

The Chevalier William Simple, colonel, can tell your majesty the whole, who has left us; also both before and after his departure we caused many such advices to be written by the Sieur de []; and addressed the whole to my lord the Duke of Parma, to whom your majesty has from the beginning referred us in these matters. Edinburgh. 14 Jan. 1589.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *French. Decipher. Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same.

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Second inclosure with the same :—

(Robert Bruce to the Prince of Parma.)

Mr. Chisholm arrived in this country five days after his departure from thence, and with the requisite diligence came to seek the earl of Huntly in his house of Dunfermline, where, having presented to him your highness's letters of the 13th of October, he fully declared the credit committed to him, according to the contents of your highness's letters, wherein the great humanity of your highness has been perceived, and your affection towards the advancement of the glory of God in this country; with other consolations well fitted to relieve the weariness and grief conceived in the hearts of the Catholics by reason of the success of your army so contrary to their expectation.

Also some days afterwards, when the opportunity offered for me to receive the money, the said Chisholm delivered to me 6272 crowns of the sun, and 3700 pistoles of Spain. And in all his actions since then he has likewise borne himself very dexterously and as an honest man, even then when upon the suspicion conceived of his so sudden return the King sent to take him, as also since, when things being smoothed, he presented himself to the King in this town, who was quite satisfied with the pretexts put forward by him for his said return.

I will also, God helping me, in the keeping and distribution of the money last sent and that yet remaining of the first sum, be guided by the instructions of your highness, and according as I must answer to God in my conscience and to your highness in credit, and to every one in the reputation of an honest man. And I will manage it in such wise that by God's help a result very pleasing to your highness shall be drawn from it. It is true that I find it, as any one else would do who should undertake such a charge in these parts, enveloped in many difficulties. For on the one hand I am in great danger from heretics and those of the faction of England, on account of the open profession which I make of the Catholic religion and of the suspicion which these last have of my secret practices and dealings against them. On the other hand I have much ado to moderate the desire which some Catholic lords have to have this money now, on account of the hopes which they hold out as to pretended opportunities, which will never succeed according to their promises. The earl of Huntly has made request to have one third of the sum sent as soon as it was delivered to me; but as yet he has touched none of it, and shall not touch a halfpenny hereafter but by sure tokens. In the meanwhile I have paid him in incontrovertible reasons, wherewith he has at length contented himself.

I would entreat your highness, by the first letter which it shall please you to write hither to the Catholic lords, to remove from the three who first wrote to those parts in the name of the others an error which makes them think that because they were the first who made offer of their service to the King of Spain, that therefore all the money which comes hither ought to be divided among them in three parts, and delivered immediately after it arrives, without giving a part to the others besides themselves, who are many in

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number, well affectioned to the King of Spain's service and yours, and as resolved as they are to hazard themselves according to their power for the advancement of this cause. These others in no wise wish to depend upon them in the acceptance of the means which proceed from your liberality, but to acknowledge them as coming directly from your highness, to whom alone they desire to be bound and obliged therefor, and not to the other three; of whom the earl of Morton has hitherto been contented within reason, and also the earl of Huntly never showed himself the slave of money until he was induced thereunto by the third, who is my lord Claud Hamilton, his uncle, who is a little covetous of wealth and thought under such pretext to make his profit.

The said earl Huntly is constrained to remain at court, for otherwise he cannot please the King, who in appearance loves him above all others after the Duke of Lennox his "brother-in-law." He has fallen from his constancy in his outward profession of the Catholic religion, partly through having lost all hope of your support before the return of the said Mr. Chisholme because of his long delay in those parts, partly by the inducement of some politicians, partly to avoid the manifest dangers of all those who call themselves Catholics, partly to keep himself in the favour of his King, who urged him strongly to sign the confession of the heretics and the league of England. But for all that his heart is in no wise alienated from our cause. For his spirit is always good, although he has not the strength to persevere and to execute such as would be requisite in so great an undertaker. But these faults could be remedied by placing about him a resolute man of credit to assist him, as we have determined to do, since neither the baron of Fentry nor I can converse with him openly any longer. For the said laird of Fentry is made prisoner by the King's order in the town of Dundee, not daring to pass the gates thereof under pain of a great sum, until an opportunity present itself to him to fly the country within a limited time; and I, by an express command of the King, am forbidden to approach the said earl, by reason that they have attributed to the said laird of Fentry and to me his constancy in the Catholic religion and his absence from court against the King's will. His imprisonment affects our course a little, and does not allow of my introducing him, as it pleased you to command me and as I desire, to dispense the money conjointly with me. So that, in order to supply his place I have associated for that same end a very honest and very discreet man named Father William Creighton, a Jesuit, who was detained some years in the Tower of London after having been taken at sea coming hither from France. And I will likewise avail myself of the prudence of Mr. James Chisholme, elder brother of the said John, who brought hither the money of your highness: for he is a trustworthy man, discreet and on our side, and very little suspected. Meanwhile part of the money is in the principal house of my lord Livingston, a most Catholic lord, the rest is yet here in Edinburgh in sufficient safety, to aid, if need be, the Catholic lords who will soon assemble here to resist the designs of those of the English faction, who purpose at the same time to reside here at court with power to arrange all things to their fancy.

As to the like sum, or greater, which your highness has a desire

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to cause to follow the last sent, it would be well in all events that it were sent soon secretly hither, to supply the necessities which may arise, and to give weight upon our side when things shall be in the balance, as there is great appearance that they soon will be, on account of what has been said above. And in case that necessity should not require any distribution, the said sum will be kept and reserved for better opportunities, or until the arrival of your forces in this island.

There is a suspicion, and there are also sufficiently probable arguments, that Thomas Tirrey, who brought hither the letters from your highness to our King, has not conducted himself according to his duty: for he has accommodated himself in his demeanour rather to the inclination of our Chancellor, who is of the faction of England, and abuses the credit which he has with our King, than to carrying out the instructions given him over there. He has not presented to the King, nor made mention of, the letter of Colonel Simple, a copy of which I have caused to be presented to his majesty by the earl of Bothwell as if it had been sent to him with another from the said colonel to him, which he received from the said Thomas Tyrrye at his arrival, who has reported to the said Chancellor all that the lord Don Bernardino said to him at Paris to the disadvantage of the said Chancellor.

He has also reported to the King that the bishop of Dumblane having returned to those parts said to your highness and to others many things to the great prejudice of his majesty: and it is also thought that he was the cause of the suspicion that he has conceived of the coming of the said Mr. John of Chisholme, nephew of the said bishop. However that may be, those other reports aforesaid which he has made have not served to conciliate but to alienate the affection of the King, of his Chancellor and of many other heretics, of the said lord Don Bernardino, of the said bishop and of the Catholics of those parts who have had to do with them.

As to myself, albeit I do not willingly speak to the disadvantage of anyone whatsoever, and especially of those whom I have recommended as I did the said Thomas Tyrrie to the said lord Don Bernardino, yet I prefer the love of truth to men, and would not by concealing it give prejudice either to the common weal or to the fidelity which men owe to one another, and especially to that which we all owe to the King of Spain and to your highness; of whom I am now especially a devoted servant, by reason of 500 crowns of aid for expenses and 40 for entertainment by the month, which it has pleased your highness to give me freely in the name of the King of Spain, without my having ever required it for my part, nor any other thing for myself personally up to this present. For which reason I ought so much the more to render most humble thanks to your highness for the same, and to endeavour hereafter to merit by my very humble and faithful services both the said entertainment and the reward which it has pleased your highness of your grace and favour to promise me.

The said gift of your liberality came to me very fittingly, for by reason of danger to my person I had been obliged to increase my ordinary retinue for my greater safety, which I could not longer have supported without this help. For, from all the lords of

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Scotland I have never obtained more than a part of the money which I formerly spent in negotiating for the good of this cause in Spain with the King of Spain and with your highness in the Low Countries. As to the 400 crowns which were needed for the deliverance of Colonel Simple from prison, I have put them in the account with the surplus which I had spent of the first sum, according as your highness was pleased to command me.

Earl Morton, to whom I have given consolations in writing while in prison, has begged me earnestly, also in writing, to call to the mind of your highness his most affectionate service, feeling himself much honoured by the care that it pleases you to have of him. By the grace of God he is no longer in danger of his life by way of justice, it not being possible for his enemies to prove anything against him of all that which they supposed in his accusation. Also the King's affection is not so much alienated from him as it formerly was; and in case anyone wished to harm him, or that it were now requisite for the good of our cause to deliver him, we always have means to get him out of prison; and in the meantime we only await the King's pleasure touching his liberty in order to avoid afterwards all the pursuit that would be made if we should deliver him extraordinarily.

When his liberty was offered to him on the King's behalf, provided that he would subscribe to the confession of faith of the heretics, he answered that he will not do it for the King's crown, nor for a hundred thousand lives if he had them to lose, and offered to confound the ministers by public dispute. I will solicit my lords his friends to procure from the King his liberty soon, for he matters more for the good of our cause than any one of the others, by reason of his forces being near to England and to the chief town of Scotland and usual dwelling places of our kings, and that he is also the most resolute, steadfast and energetic of all the Catholic lords.

It is no little marvel how we subsist, considering the means that the heretics have to harm us, and their worldly wisdom surpassing ours, and their ill will and intention against us. Verily one can but attribute this effect to God, who, when the certain news of the return of the army of Spain by the further side of Ireland was spread throughout this country, and the heretics of the English faction were triumphing thereupon, and when the steadfastness in outward profession of the earl of Huntly and some others was shaken, caused the earl of Angus, the chief of the English faction, to die, and at the same time stirred up some dissension among the heretics on account of some estates which some of them affected to usurp against others at court; and by the earnest prayers and holy persuasions of two Jesuit fathers converted to our holy faith two heretic earls of the first in authority and power among them, one of whom is named the earl of Erroll, constable of Scotland, converted by father Edmund Hays, the other the earl of Crawford, converted by the said father William Crichton. They are both able and wise young lords, and very desirous to advance the Catholic faith and your good enterprises in this island; which they have resolved to testify to the King of Spain and to your highness by their own letters, which I will send, God helping me, by the first opportunity.

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In the meanwhile they have required me to make offer to you of their humble and most devoted service, promising to follow all that which the said Jesuits and I shall think good to do for the preservation of the Catholics, and to dispose and facilitate the execution of your enterprises here; which they can do more easily than those who are known to be Catholics, whose actions are always suspected by the heretics on account of their religion, of which these two earls have not yet made outward profession: but in that as in the rest they submit themselves to our will and to that which we shall find to be most expedient.

The said fathers of that company reap much fruit in Scotland, and as soon as a lord or some other person of importance is converted by them they at the same time dispose and incline his affection to the service of the King of Spain and that of your highness, as to a thing inseparably united with the advancement of the true religion in this country. If I had commandment from your highness I would give them a little alms in his name to aid them, and to eight others, of whom four are also Jesuits and the four others priests of the seminary of Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine, who are all the ecclesiastics who produce so much spiritual fruit in Scotland, and win for you here an increase in the number of your friends and servants.

After the departure of Colonel Simple from hence, the lords sent letters by the said Father Crichton and some other gentlemen after the army of Spain to induce it to land in this country, but it had already started for Spain a few days before their arrival at the islands where it had been resting, so that it was no longer possible for them to reach it. Those in this country who are of the faction of England have been in marvellous fear during the uncertainty as to the descent of the said army, and openly confess that if it had landed here they would have been wholly lost.

The earl of Bothwell, who is Admiral of Scotland, and as gallant a lord as there is in all the land, albeit he makes profession of the new religion, is nevertheless extremely desirous to aid you against England, having made a levy of some troops of soldiers and maintained them all this summer, under pretext of going to subdue the islands, in order with his ordinary forces to join the whole to yours had they come here.

He lets himself be ruled by me quietly enough, notwithstanding the difference of our religion, and has often said that if the Catholics will give him an assurance of possessing, after the restoration of the Catholic faith, two abbeys which he holds, that he will from henceforth be altogether on our side. He purposes to send Colonel Hackerston to accompany into Spain some captains and officers and nearly 400 soldiers, all saved from shipwreck in our islands; and because they are in great need he has resolved to furnish them with ships, victuals and other things needful, to testify thereby to the King of Spain the inclination he has to do him most humble and affectionate service.

He has also offered, if we think good, to leave this country in order to go and offer himself to your highness in the Low Countries, and by your advice to go afterwards to do the same to the Catholic King in Spain. But hereupon we will consider what is most

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He has offered to maintain and defend me against all those who would attempt anything against me; and for that end, as also to treat in the name of our King with the King of Spain and your highness, he is procuring a warrant from his majesty, of whom he already has a promise.

For every Catholic lord we have elected a gentleman from among the best Catholics, faithful and beloved of all their kindred, to serve them with their counsel, and to assemble themselves upon all occasions in order to resolve upon what is most expedient in that which concerns the good of our cause, according to the will and intention of their lords, who have bound themselves to approve and execute their resolutions, without in any wise opposing them. And by this means we hope to proceed with more solidity and effect than we have hitherto done. Nevertheless those lords will not know of our intelligence in those parts, and our final intentions, except as matters in hand shall require, and that superficially and without revealing ourselves too much.

Your highness will hear by the private letters of the lords what remains to be told to you. Edinburgh. 24 January, 1589.

5½ pp. *French. Decipher. Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same.

Third inclosure with the same:—

(Material points in the first and second inclosures.)

That the Earls of Huntly and Morton and lord Claud Hamilton have intelligence with the King of Spain and Duke of Parma, as appeareth by these their letters jointly to the King, and the earl of Huntly's to the Duke: which intelligence hath continued long time, they having offered their service to the said King in the name of all the Catholic nobility, as may appear by Bruce's letter to the Duke; and accordingly by Bruce addressed themselves from time to time to the Duke, to whom they were referred by the King of Spain for advice and direction.

That they were ready to receive the Spanish fleet coming hither last year for suppression of the religion professed here, with forces to assist them against the enemies of popery in Scotland, and to annoy England, and were sorry the Spanish fleet passed without landing.

That they sent Crichton the Jesuit with certain gentlemen after the said fleet, to cause them to stay and to land in Scotland for the subversion of religion.

They solicit the King of Spain to renew his invasion of this island by way of Scotland; whose apparent designs are the subversion of the Gospel, but final intentions are such as Bruce saith to the Duke be concealed from their own instruments, whom they have selected for a council of the best Catholics of every family for

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the advancement of their religion. So that they cannot be judged to be other than tending to the captivity of the King and the conquest of the whole island.

Bruce hath received divers sums of money, and lately 10,000 crowns by Chisholme, and looketh for more from the Duke, to be distributed among the Catholic nobility or employed for some great enterprise in Scotland, with the assistance of the Spanish forces required by the joint letter of Huntly, Morton and Hamilton, in the name of the Catholic nobility.

That these enterprises to be executed in Scotland are for the service of the King of Spain and Duke of Parma; Bruce's letter in express words. That the Duke, upon their solicitation by Chisholme, hath offered to come in person to assist them, may be gathered by Chisholme's letter to Colonel Simple.

That Huntly dissembleth his religion, as appears by Bruce's letter, and by his own letter to the Duke, to make himself master of the King's person, and so, the Spanish forces arriving, to strengthen his enterprises by colour of the King's authority, having already for that purpose wrought a change of the King's guard, appointing such as are at his own devotion: and requireth the Duke's advice in that behalf.

That Erroll and Crawford are seduced from the religion to the service of Spain by Hayes and Crichton the Jesuits, who daily draw men to papistry and to the service of Spain as things inseparably joined; as appeareth by Bruce's letter to the Duke and Erroll's own letter.

That Bruce is the King of Spain's feed servant, and hath received 500 crowns from the Duke, and hath entertainment 40 crowns a month. He hath long negotiated with the King in Spain and the Duke in the Low Countries.

That the Catholic lords have a plot to take Maxwell out of prison at their pleasure.

That Bothwell is practised by Bruce to join in the said causes, having through Bruce offered his service already to Spain, and meaning to send Hackerston with the wrecked Spaniards to the King of Spain, and to procure warrant from the King of Scotland to treat with the King of Spain and the Duke of Parma.

That John Chisholme, who brought the money to Scotland from the Duke, abused the King of Scotland with false pretences of his return out of the Low Countries.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Indorsed.*

Two other copies of the same.

Fourth inclosure with the same:—

(Earl of Huntly to the Prince of Parma.)

I have received from John Chisholme the letters which your highness was pleased to write to me of the 13th of October, full of the most Christian affection to the good of our cause; for which I very humbly thank your highness.

The support of 10,000 crowns sent to this end is received by the "sieur de [Bruce]," which will only be employed to provide for the

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After the departure of Colonel Simple from hence, I found myself menaced on all sides, and pressed in such sort by our King that I was forced to yield to the extreme difficulty of the moment and to subscribe with his majesty (not at all from the heart) the confession of their faith: otherwise I should have been forced to quit the country suddenly, or to take the field to resist his forces and those which he could have drawn from England to his aid, which I could not have done, especially just then, when by the return of your army into Spain I had been deprived of all hope of your help.

But if on the one hand I have failed, through apprehension of the dangers which threatened me with ruin, on the other I will endeavour to amend that fault, whereof I repent with all my heart, by some action tending to the good and advancement of the cause of God, who has put me in such credit with his majesty that since my return to court he has dismissed his former guards and has made me establish others about his person of my own people; by means of whom and of their captains, who are also mine, I shall ever be able to be master of his person, and your aid on arriving to despoil the heretics by his authority, in order therewith to fortify and support your enterprises. Whereupon I entreat your highness to give me your advice, and ever to be sure of my immovable disposition in my first resolutions, although my outward actions be sometimes constrained to conform themselves to the necessity of the occasions, as the " sieur de Bruce " will write to you more fully; to whom I refer myself for the rest. Edinburgh. 24 January 1589.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *French.*

Fifth inclosure with the same:—

(Earl of Erroll to the Prince of Parma.)

God having lately, by the clear light of the holy Catholic faith, driven from my understanding the shades of ignorance and error wherein I had hitherto been bred, I have been immediately persuaded that in gratitude for so great an effect of his divine grace towards me I am especially bound to procure as far as I can that to which the enterprises of his Catholic majesty and your highness chiefly tend. To this end, as also for the advancement of some civil causes and actions which have very great affinity and connection with our people here, I much wished to testify by the present the affection which I bear to the welfare of both, having, before my said conversion, ever been one of the number of your friends and servants out of respect to the latter; to which the former, that of religion, which is the greatest and the most important thing in the world, being now added, I am now also become altogether yours, which I very humbly beg your highness to cause to be signified to his Catholic majesty, and to assure him on my behalf that he has no servant in this land more devoted than I, nor your highness either, as you will hear more fully both as to my intention and private affairs by him who shall take the present to your highness. Edinburgh. 24 January 1589.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *French. Indorsed.*

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Sixth inclosure with the same :—

(“ John Jamieson to William French.”)

[John Chisholme to Colonel Sempill.]

I have no doubt that you have already sufficiently full information by the last letters which Doucher sent you as to my return and safe arrival in these parts the 5th day after my embarkation, thanks be to God : and about the 4th day I found myself with our pilot and Douchar, towards whom I acquitted myself of my duty, by delivering and discharging myself of all that which I had in commission and commandment to deliver, notwithstanding the adversity I was in after my return, [] being ordered by the intercession of our enemies and the ministers to take me, in order to know and obtain from me the truth of that which some had reported, by whose relation they held me in suspicion, holding my accusation in suspense [through] some of those who had come in the other bark : but I will not yet name any one of them in particular, assuring you that by God's grace, notwithstanding all evil relations and reports they do not know and will not know the best men, my honesty and loyalty being proof against all the riches in the world.

The letters brought from our agent with the other have been given and well received, but the letter of G. Frenche has not been delivered, the reason for which I leave to yourself to consider, which you will be able to do without great study, inasmuch as the fashions and customs of the bearer have been well enough deciphered for you for a long time past, notwithstanding the good opinion that was held of him : but as is said by the common proverb and saying, “ All is not gold that glitters.” God be praised that they have not known still more, for I kept back the other letter of the said Frenche.

Our new friend to whom Frenche wrote has had the copy and has shown it to him to whom he was commanded, who took it in very good part, wondering that the bearer had not given it.

For the rest I have assured all our merchants of the affection of our agent, and what was his opinion and counsel for their safety while awaiting the consolation of the hope which they have of things to come notwithstanding what has passed. In whose name I have assured them that he would never abandon them in their time of need and persecution : and in order the better to encourage them that he would be ready to come in his own person to help them on every suitable occasion ; upon which they gave thanks to God, with many thanks to our agent for his good counsel and consolation, and assuring our agent of their unalterable heart and affection without any falling back ; with an increase of two other honest persons and chief merchants no less devoted, and content with the counsel given : with perseverance of will to follow all the good injunctions prescribed for their welfare and repose, considering the certainty of help, and the good inclination which they have had to be proof against all occurrences. 8 January 1589.

1 p. *French.* *Indorsed* : “ Jan. 1589. John Chesholme to Colonel Simple : by the name of John Jamison to W^m Frenche.”

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Seventh inclosure with the same :—

(Robert Bruce to William French [Colonel Sempill].)

“ Sin the receipte of your letter fra John Jamesone [John Chesholme], I wret to you at lic lengthe as the shortnes of time suffered me, and sent my answeare by ane called Johnne Abercrommie, whoe departed here frae in the barke wherein Thomas Tirrie arryved. I praied you to excuse me that I might not write then to our millar, and the meane time signified unto you whowe I had receaved fra the saide Jameson [Chesholme] bearer six chalders tua bolles and 72 lippies of French stuffe [six thowsand two hundred and seventy two Frenche crownes], and three chalders and 7 bolles of Spanishe vittall [three thowsand seven hundred pistolettes], comprehendinge the 4 bolles [fowre hundred] which ze have reteined, of the which altogether I have given him a discharge: and his answeare to our millar [the Duke of Parma] touchinge your foure bolles [hundred], as ye willed me both by your letter to me and the direccion given to John your man.

“ And as for the other tua bolles [two hundred] whilk I had charge by you to receive of your sister, I never as yett made mencion of them unto her, but obeyed your owen will therein, as I promised conforme to your desire, which I shall obeye also at this presente concerninge this matter, and shalbe likewise readie in times cominge to doe whatsoever you will laie to my charge for your weale and contentment, for to kepe vniolable the mutual correspondence in frendshippe and brotherlie love which I owe unto you, whoe hath begunne alreadie soe faithfullie with me that I feare I shall never be able to requite it with the like pleasures in due estimacion.

“ Alwaies my true affection shall never be inferior to my dutie towardes you, of whome I acknowledge the 5 bolles [five hundred crownes] unto me and some entertainment monethlye which is come to me in due saison, for in respecte of so manie eminent dangers as threatneth travellers I have bine forced to augment the numbers of my marriners [servants], which I could not well have sustayned without that helpe, which beareth more then the halfe of my ordinarie charges.

“ If ye thincke it expedient you maie procure encreasement of the landlordes [the King of Spaynes] handes when ye goe to him, as also that I maie have the charge and comaundment or the like of that wee speake of at your last here beinge, when as it shalbe time to beginne our trade [practise]; in the meane time I praie you to advertise me of your will in all thinges, which I will followe precisely, together with the prescriptions already sent by our millar [the Duke of Parma].

“ And because I maie not my selfe deale with everie one of our partners [confederates], whose number is encreased as you well understand by our letters sent to our millar [the Duke of Parma] by the advice of Davidson [Creyton] one of the men unto whome you graunted once before your departure one bolle [a hundred] of vittell [crownes] to healpe ther urgent necessitie.

“ Wee have appointed to everie one of them one factor, which shall conveyne ordinarelye for to resolve what shalbe best to be don

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at everie occasion that maie be presented, and to theire factoures are all our partners bounde to give advises of theire trafficke and proceedinges : soe that now we maie saie we have more assured a waie to proffitt then ever wee had. And I hope that of the same wee shall understande shortlye some good fruite will ensue to your contentment, for the nomber and good will of our partners encreaseth daily, and occasions are offered to proffitt : at the which onelie and theis chiefly which cannot be omitted I shall expose our vittell to be solde [deliver our mony], which yf you please to cause to augment as I have written, it were farre the best, for thinges maie soe fall out that wee maie obtaine the whole trade of this countrie in our handes, which wee cannot be able to entertaine without greater abundance of merchandise [treasure] whereof there shall never be knowledge had throughe me but when I must bringe it to the markett to sell.

“The pilott [the erle Huntley] knowinge of this last vittell [mony] by our millars letters and the bearers reporte made great instance to have the thirde thereof delivered incontinent in his handes, but I paide him onelie with raisons, whereunto he coulde no waie resist, for he for his particular was in no necessitie, hauvinge an ease by his subscription against his promise made unto us, and by us in his name to others : and as for the weale of our trade [practises], there was then no occasion servinge thereunto, nor wherein he might proffitt beinge in the state whereunto he had reduced himselfe. Therefore if he wolde not effectuate some thinge of him-selfe for to recover his good name defiled by his last misbehaviour, I coulde not creditt him of no vittell [mony], excepte I wolde lett it appeare that I betrayed my master, givinge his goodes for no effecte and to them that keped not touches with him.

“Truthe it is that beinge so longe without worde after your departinge he was almost despaird of good succes, hearinge together soe manie thinges reported to our disadvantage, and beinge pressed extraordinarelye by his maister [the King of Scotland] and together induced by some mens evill persuasions, he stooode not therefore by his promise. Alwaies he repenteth himselfe gretumlie now, and seketh to amende faultes by some desired effecte.

“Your man hath not remained in his house but uppoun his owne charge for such causes as he can shewe you, and speciallie because the pilott [Erle Huntley] forced to bringe himselfe in suspicion [sic].

“Jamison [Chesholme] hath behaved himself verie honestlie in all his proceedinges : but Thomas Terrie hath not done his dutie to you, for he never did enquire for measter his heir cominge, and when I sent Edwarde Foster unto him to knowe yf he pleased to speake with me, he saide he had nothinge unto me but comendacions from frendes.

“But this is little or nothinge yf he had not omitte to present Innocantes [Colonel Simple's] letters for the pleasure of his competitor [the chancelor or Carmighel], whoe hath caused his master [the King] to write to Innocantes [Colonel Simple's] disadvantage, knowinge nothinge of his guid will be his letter, whereof Ducher [Robert Bruce] caused present awne coppie by our newe neighbour [the Erle Bothwell] unto his master [the King], whoe

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liketh verie well thereof and shewe that he never hearde of it afore he had directed and sent awaie an answeare to the other. I write to the said Thomas to knowe howe he had proceeded, and receaved of him the answeare herewith inclosed, whereby you will perceave his shiftes.

"I have not seene your servant John since his here cominge: he hath bine ever since in the westlande and I feare that his shippe shall departe before wee shall heare from him. I trust I shall understande by him when he shalbe readie to goe of some thinge that shall fall out for the weale of our trade or them.

"Touchinge our direccions there I shall doe as you have ordained, as likewise in all the rest, wishinge of God and [*sic*] guid succes in our adoes both here and there.

"From my residence in Leith the 24th Januarie 1589."

2 $\frac{1}{3}$ pp. *Explanations interlined. Indorsed:* "Robert Bruce to Colonel Simple by the name of Frenche."

[Feb.] 590. [] TO [].

I intended to have set down to you the whole discourse of the designs against the realm and Scotland and the [] by Spain this twelve months past, like as it was written, but I thought it impertinent to send, and therefore have sent only that touches the present, which I intended not to have done till I heard from the King my master, yet in respect of the present necessity I have changed deliberation. As for that which is intended against that country, it may be seen, and I am sorry Edward Johnston parted so soon, for the same day he parted I heard of the coming forth of the Spanish army, and sent a letter after him, but he was gone. If that people might have constrained the Duke de Medina to have landed before he had joined the prince of Parma "it had bene theyr weale," for they had been master of the seas and have had to deal out with a small force, for he cannot pass 15,000 soldiers and scarce 4000 mariners.

I could have found the way to make him crave to descend of his own will, for I ken what commandment he had, and could have given information that it should have seemed that he found matters according to the commandment he received. But now this is all "inutile, seing desseings resolute" cannot be called back. "The people shall not wite me if I have not done all that I might, for I was worthy little if I cold do no more then they accompted of me."

For the pity I have of my poor King and country I think the next is to assure themselves of Scotland, which is very easy if they be diligent and lean not, in their accustomed fashion, to their own proud counsel. But consultations now will not keep their course, "it mon be actions." For as little as they let of Scotland, I knew that the taking of the earl of Morton, that is but a small matter, was so "mickle" thought of by the duke of Parma that it put him in great doubts, for they think it the winning of their cause to be assured of Scotland. But before I go further I will tell you the present state of Scotland and the Spanish project, which is the same the late Queen of Scotland set down in form of testament before her death.

The general is to apprehend the King, who is three ways open to

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Catholics, whom they suspect to love him. They say, "it is to norish him with the pope or the King of Spayne"; to be instructed in the Catholic religion that he may have in marriage the King of Spain's daughter; this sort are Huntly and Crawford. To other Catholics, as Claud Hamilton and Morton, they open the very project that he shall never see Scotland; but this is since the bishop of Dumblane's "hard answer and miscontentement." For the pope would not excommunicate the King of Scotland till the bishop of Dumblane saw if he could win him by fair means, as a thing proper for his own preservation and of the ecclesiastic estate, to have many kings rather than one great monarchy, which his predecessors Clement de Medicis and Julius III. proved by Charles the fifth. The third sort open it to the Protestants as a thing only for alteration of Court, as Hamilton and Glencairn who have only particular causes. "This hes bene two times attempted alreddie and by sondrye accidents dissapoynted." For remedy and for the assurance of England in my opinion the only way is to send as ambassador to the King Mr. Randolph, as best loved with the King and best acquainted with the state of Scotland, and with him Sir Robert Sidney or some young gentleman, "and with them any trifles he likes best," to see if they can move his majesty to apprehend Huntly and some others. But if the King be loath, to shew him his own danger and of his state and see if he will cause to be apprehended such as be chief "poussers" of yon noblemen, as William Crichton the Jesuit, Fentry, Colonel Sempill and Robert Bruce, instruments for the King of Spain. If these were apprehended, albeit some strangers were sent into Scotland, as is craved and is to be performed, yet destitute of concurrence, the King is able to overthrow them, and if he were not hunger shall put them out of it. But the number is not great who are destined to go: four regiments, Patoun being one. If this they do not, they are likely to have as greatly to do on that side as on this and give you the inconvenience the division of your forces will be. If they will send the ambassadors I shall set down to you how to accuse the foresaid persons, upon advertisement how, and how oft, they should have taken the King, who should have done it, and how the ships were made ready and by whom, in what ports, and what colour they found ever if the design misgoverned; and in the meantime their ambassadors being there I shall send one of mine own to the King with this same advertisement, which shall confirm all that they shall speak; but if I should write now it were dangerous, "being in the breacs." I wish the King had the money they have. I ascertain that Robert Bruce is keeper of it.

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same.

Feb. 27. 591. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

I received your honour's letter of the 22nd February on the 26th, with divers others all safely to my hand. On the 27th, in the afternoon about five o'clock, the King sent the Earl of Huntly from the townhouse to the castle, where he lodgeth this night, there to be kept prisoner. You shall receive within a day a second letter

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with all the particularities of the King's resolute proceeding herein. The Chancellor hath played the part of a faithful and wise servant towards the King in furthering and nourishing his well disposed mind in this action. The King lieth this night within the city, and the town hath put themselves into arms for his defence; for the other party is strong, and many Spaniards about the city. The apprehending of this man will daunt the rest and I hope have good success. Edinburgh.

Postscript. It is thought very requisite that the party taken with the letters be sent to Berwick with all speed and security that he escape not. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1588-9]. **592. JAMES VI. TO THE EARL OF HUNTLY.**
[Feb.]

"I am movit, my lord, upoun the eirnest desire of zour letter sumquhat to satisfie the request thairof by thir presentis, in resolving zow heirby quhat is the best course ze can tak for reparacioun of thir thingis past. I wald wishe zow then first to considder, quherin ze have offendit quherfra ze ar fallin and quhat is zour present state that theirby entering in deip consideratioun thairof, their may the easelier appeare unto zow the onelie way of remedie. As for zour offensis, I will not at this tyme aggrege thame unto zow, bot this farre onlie I will remember zow of, how farre ze haif promesit obedience unto me in following my will in all thingis, in doing quhatsumevir I directed zow, quhilk ze affirmit to be zour richt honour; how farre promesit ze to gif pruiß alsweill in religioun and conurse; how farre promesit ze to contempne all freindschip or fellowschip, bot sic allanerlie as I sould mak zow.

As for particular men about me, how farre and how innumerable tymes bad ze me anser for zow unto thame, and with quhat solempne aythis perswadit ze me thairto, and was it not zour hardest speache that incais they could nowayis be put out of suspicioun of zow, ze wald be in generall freindschip with thame, bot mell in na materis furyr then awaiting upoun me and quhyllis dwelling at hame. And sen zour parting frome me quhat promesit ze to George Home that day upoun the fieldis, in cace any man had delt with zow to withdraw zow? Quhat wrait ze to me efter that out of Dunfermeling, and quhat freindschip promesit ze in that letter to thame that wer about me quhom with I had joynit zow in freindschip?"

"Quhat wrait ze likewayis out of Montroiss: and as for any contrare persuasioun ze could sensyne have gotten, how many millioun of tymes, and specialie that nycht in the cabbinet, efter that suspicioun amang zow in the abbay, did not I then, I say, amangis innumerable uther tymes resolve zow that ze could not baith trow me and thay bissie reportaris about zow, and asseured I zow not that I could not be zour freind gife ze trusted thais practizeris? This farre to zour offensis."

"Now as to that estait quherfra ze ar fallin. Considder onelie this ane thing quhilk is ower mekle the allane, quhat favour and credite ze had of me, how farre I assurit for zow to all honest men

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[1588-9]. baith in religioun and course; and how suirle I buyldit upoun the laist promeis of zouris, I will twiche na mair of this. And as to zour present estait, luke not, I pray zow, to zour present detentioun, uncouth forme of entreatment, or any unsell particularitie following therupoun. For these ar bot effectis flowing frome a cause, and sa bot a pairt of the fructis of zour present estait. Bot cast zour eyis upoun zour estait indeid: first, consider quhat I, and nixt quhat all uther honest men man think of zow. As for me, quhat further trusth can I haif in zour promeis, confidence in zour constancie, or estimatioun of zour honest meaning?"

"I, quhome to, particularlie as a man, quhome to ze was maist obleist, and generalie as a Christiane King ze haif so inexcusable broken unto. And as for all uther honest men, quhat can they think of zow? Ar thir the fructis of zour new conversioun? Is this a lykelie purgatioun of zour letters intercepted be England? Or is this a guid prui of zour honest course in my service? Quhat then is the only remedie of all this? Na thing bot this. As ze haif offendit twa personis in me, a particulare freind and a generall Christiane King, sa man ze mak amendis to baith thir. As for the generall King, ze man aggrege and not diminish your offencis. Conceale na thing of zour pretense; be not ashamit to declair how, and quhomebe ze was movit thairunto. Discover planelie the butt ze shott at, and gif any further wes intendit be any utheris; how farr preciselie ze aggreed unto; quhat further ze knew of; or wes meanit or intendit be any uther."

"And becaus ze desyre to speik with me, that it may be to this effect only, and so zour speche may be profitabile to ws both, as for my satisfioun as a particular man, willinglie without irking to be content with quhatsomevir forme I sall please to use zow in: to remit fully to my discretioun zour contentment in all thingis; to use zoursel in quhatsumevir thing as I sall direct zow; to deliver the bande gif ze haif it or may obtene it; never to trust heirefter bot sic as I trust, and finallie to repent zow of all zour faultis, that in hairt and mouth with ze forlorne sounne ze may say '*Pcccavi in cælum et contra te.*' James Rex."

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. Addressed: "For Sir Francis Wallsinghame."
Indorsed: "The coppie of the earll of Huntle his letter to the Kinges Majeste."

1588-9. 593. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

March 1.

I received your honour's letters within four hours after I sent mine of the 21st. I beseech you pardon my over earnest desire to know if you had received my former, which I was led into by the sight of a letter from James Hudson which was intercepted. The letters lately come hither touching the practice with Spain are like to make strange work in this country; as yet it is doubted the rather by the King's too much affection to Huntly. The King at the first would scant look upon the letter, esteeming it an invention, yet within few hours by good help—what my part therein was the ambassador knows—he was procured to come into this town, and called his Council in the Tolbooth, and ere they parted Huntly was sent to the castle, not close prisoner, and Earl Bothwell, Earl

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Montrose and Erroll conferred with him at length. Within an hour that Huntly was in the castle the Earl Erroll fled out of this town, and the Bailie of Erroll, called Hay, brother to Hay the Jesuit, also the Laird of Cluny, chief counsellor to Huntly, with others. The next day the King went to the castle to dinner, where he entertained Huntly as well and kindly as ever, yea he kissed him at times to the amazement of many; and the next day with him again, and hath given his wife, servants and friends free access to him, which makes his friends use threatenings and proud words to many, specially to Englishmen. They will have it that all is devised to set them and their King together, "yet the Kinge answers noo."

Poor Roger dare not come near us, and friends warn the ambassador and myself to look well about us, for Huntly's friends are in fury. And all this the King is cause of by this fond dealing, which not any can alter, yet he saith he will do much; but they of the best and wiser sort doubt him greatly, and are determined that if he dissemble, if they may have the Queen's support, they will not leave one of the Spanish faction in Scotland, and yet serve their King the better. And they desire to know shortly and secretly what her majesty will do, if need be. "It is thowght that this Kinge is to muche caryed by yonge men that lyes in his chamber and is his mynions." Few keep Huntly company.

Thus I trouble you with "my evell scryblynge tyll I be used." Edinburgh. *Signed in cipher*: 51.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Decipherment inserted from No. 17.*

Decipher of the parts of the same.

March 2. **594.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHELEY.

When I first moved the King, right honourable, and made show of the letters, I found him unwilling to read them, and more to believe the matter contained, saying it might be a matter feigned, and it was dangerous to touch the credit of noble men; if it could not be proved it would breed a feud for ever. But within an hour I found means that he was better persuaded; [he] sent for me to bring the letters again, called his council, and, after long perusing and debating, the Earl of Huntly was committed to the captain of the castle to be conveyed prisoner therein, but with no charge of strait keeping, as in this case required. He was no sooner in the street but the Earls of Erroll, Montrose and Bothwell awaiting his coming, he went aside to a [street] with them, and having long conference together in secret, Bothwell went from them to the King sitting in council in the Tolbooth, and thought to have persuaded Huntly's stay. But they kept Bothwell and sent new commandment for his proceeding to the castle.

Erroll retired to his lodging, disguised himself and fled that hour. Not long after the King sent for him, but he was gone, and with him two or three principal gentlemen, papists and counsellors to him and Huntly.

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Huntly's committing pleased divers good men, but the next day the King went to dinner in the castle, where Huntly not only kept his place in familiarity with him, but he gave him an extraordinary shew of favour and gave leave for his wife, friends and servants to repair to him; and the next day went to visit him again. This makes Huntly's friends stout, and threatens revenge both to English and Scots. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. Asheby.

$1\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

March 4. **595. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHELY.**

The King has begun well in committing the Earl of Huntly to the castle, but the proceeding puts many in fear of the sequel and amazeth the well affected in religion and such as favour England. "He saith well and sheweth a fervent zeale in religion; but it is not sure to trust to farr to flesh and blood."

Her majesty might send a gentleman to the King, if he proceed not to her liking, to let him understand her pleasure plainly therein. It will greatly comfort the well-affected; and if by her majesty they be backed, the papists will be vanquished, for the barons and lords and borough towns are zealous. They give out that this is devised in England to make the King cut off his nobility. The coming of the party that was apprehended with the letters is greatly desired. If he come not they all affirm it is a practice feigned by England. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. Asheby.

Postscript. This is the fourth letter I have written since the committing of Huntly. The King visits him daily, and every man that will has access to him, which makes Huntly's friends stout and threaten revenge.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

March 5. **596. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHELY.**

The long stay of the party which was taken with the letters sent hither makes evil affected persons believe and constantly give out that this practice was feigned in England or by the Lord Chancellor here, and sent of purpose to be intercepted. There is none yet apprehended: the Earl of Erroll, as I writ before, fled the same night from Edinburgh, and divers gentlemen of quality, counsellors to the suspected earls. The Lord Claud Hamilton is come, offering himself at the King's pleasure, and is thought shall be committed this day. The discontented persons here are many and strong, and if her majesty hold not hand to them with speed they will put the well-affected to great danger. "A penie now spent will save manie a hundred," for they are now to be laid hand on, and prevented lest they put themselves into arms hoping to be countenanced by Spain, whence they expect this summer both men and money. I have sent your honour the names of the earls and lords who will affect that course which is most agreeing to their religion. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. Ashby.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

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597. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

March 5.

This mild proceeding of the King amazes the well affected and maketh the contrary faction proud and threatening revenge; and if her majesty back not the Lord Chancellor, and that with speed, the envy and malice that the evil-disposed bear him will wreck and cut him off from the King, who carries him yet from them all to the daily hazard of his life. If this man should be taken away by the practice of the papists, it is feared that the discontented would carry the King at their will and pleasure. It is greatly looked for daily that the party taken with the intercepted letters should be sent hither with all speed "for thei stick not to saie, that this is a practisse of England, or els contrived here by the chancellour." I send your honour the chief of both the factions here, and if her majesty hold not hand with speed the papists will put themselves into arms, for they expect force and money out of Spain, as is here constantly affirmed: and truly their want is such they will take from any prince to the ruin of their King, country and religion.

"The lord Claud Hamilton is comed to this towne and is thought shalbe committed this daie." Edinburgh. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

1 p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

Inclosure with the same:—

(Papist and Protestant Earls in Scotland.)

The Papists and diseontented Earls and Lords.

The Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Huntly, the Earl of Montrose, the Earl of Erroll, the Earl of Crawford, the Earl of Bothwell, the Earl of Cathness, the Earl of Athol, the Earl of Sutherland, the Lord Maxwell, the Earl of Murray, Lord Claud Hamilton, Lord Seton, Lord Hume, Lord Graye, Lord Livingston.

The Protestants and well-affected to the confession of England.

The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Mar, the Lord John Hamilton, the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Morton, the Earl of Rothes, the Earl Marshal, the Master of Glamis.

"Manie barons and boroughe townes verri well affected in religion."

March 6. **598. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.**

The ambassador for her majesty here is a very honest and good man, "my very frend, and for my owne particuler I wishe not a change whiles I am in this part." I know your honour loves him well and he honours you much, as his duty is. I must hide nothing from you that you may the better discern things. I would not write the like to any other. The Chancellor and others look for answer of their desires, and surely the time requires they were regarded and comforted that be good men, for here is evil I know, and of the great, and more papists of the nobility than were looked for. If it be thought necessary to grant any requests in my other letters, if it please you, direct the ambassador in it as if it came of her majesty's and Council's own consideration.

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Bothwell would fain be in the Queen's books; he is a man able to make great trouble; and Huntly "now semes he wold run an Inglishe cowrce." I beseech you advise me what course to run. I have means that others have not, and will do all service if it be accepted. "I feare sum be offended, but here is the moste confused estate and government that ever was in any country." This poor King is weary of his life. Even now Bothwell is boasting to the Chancellor that Claud Hamilton is come to this town, and for anything the King or other can say they will rail and boast, and will have that the letter intercepted is devised here by the Chancellor's practice, and sent into England to be intercepted, of purpose to the wreck of these noblemen. Others say that it is a device of England "to set them here to gether by the eares"; but all cry out "where is the man that was taken with the letters; and if he cum not the common people will not be satysfied but it is a practyce." Therefore pray God he comes and in time. Edinburgh. *Signed*: T. Fowler.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Partly in cipher not deciphered.*

March 6. 599. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Since my last of the 6th instant I have had conference at length with this King's Chancellor and other councillors. It is true that his majesty continues his shew of favour to Huntly daily, in going to him and using him well, yet he finds the treason appear more and more according to the letters, but he is loath to believe that Huntly is so far in it as is mentioned. Such are his oaths, his offers and protestations that they persuade the King somewhat to credit that Bruce and the Jesuits might set down for Huntly what himself never knew; and the rather because Tyrie writes in his letter that he offered a letter to the King which at first he would not receive but afterwards his majesty received it and perused it. This in my own hearing the King challenged Tyrie of, and proved that he never offered nor delivered him letter from any papist, and the said Tyrie, confessing his hand and letter, acknowledged his fault, and said he did it to maintain his own credit. All fear of this King's dealings in this matter is past, and he is so far bent now to follow out the course against all the rest of the conspirators and other papists, "of which theyre is plenty here even of the fattest," with such severity that he needs no spur. And if he find Huntly guilty he hath vowed his death. This King hath been much afraid of his own life since this began. The gward that Huntly had charge of being discharged, the King hath given order to the Chancellor to take up a hundred horsemen for the apprehending of offenders, and God knows they know what way to pay them. The Chancellor and other the best here say plainly that her majesty must be at charge to maintain two hundred horsemen about the King till these matters be put to point, and should do well to encourage him by promise to aid him in proceedings against the Spanish faction and they would presently avoid the Spaniards. But it stands upon shipping and victualling them, and they would fain have help out of England for it. The principals shall be kept here, if her majesty please. "The

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1588-9. Chancellur playes his parte in theis matters stowtly, wysely and honestly, ells all had come to nothings." You may marvel that I deal in these causes. So far in truth it is laid upon me by such as I cannot well refuse, and I can do much with them if your honour prove me in any particular for her majesty's service. And they that be wisest here think that in this dealing I may be bold, for it is accounted the service of her majesty and country as well as for the King and his.

Claud Hamilton, Erroll, Crawford with sundry others are sent for and expected this day. They are sure the King must be borne with to shew Huntly some favour, for he loves him much, but if by the rest he be tried guilty he will hate him more. If this Council understand shortly her majesty's good meaning to help their inability it will set forward their proceedings; and they have persuasions I know against it, yea, that they shall do the King better service to join all in one to help their King to England timely. For God knows the greedy desire of a number to be there, hoping to better their poor estate. But the King yesterday at his dinner speaking to me of England, and how many persuasions he had had by French and Spanish to attempt against it, said he could never be persuaded to like them, yet he had hopes from other means, as in serving God and maintaining true religion, making proof that he could govern well the people he already had charge of; and in using himself so towards England not to offend any subject but to win the love and good opinion of them all; and he would never do anything against the Queen that was appointed by God as well as he. This he spake before a number, of which some were nothing pleased therewith. The other day upon his sudden show of affection to Huntly after he had committed him, the best men here doubted him, and in good faith I was angry at him, and have been since plainer with him than your honour would think I durst. Edinburgh.

" Bodwell and others ar so unruly, the papistes party so stronge, as if the good men have not helpe in tyme the other will prevayell."

Signed: T. Fowler.

2 pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.

March 8. **600.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

On the 6th March I received two letters from your honour, the one dated the 19th of February, which was the longer on the way, as the bearer, a Scotchman, was stayed seven or eight days at Berwick, the other of the 1st of March with a letter to lord Wemyss.

Touching the Spaniards I have dealt with the King divers times, and found him willing to have them embarked and sent away. The chiefest stay hath been their want, that they are not able to pay their passage; and partly the fear they have to be intercepted by England. But better it were to give them free passage than that they should make their abode in these parts where they find too many well-willers, especially all papists and discontented persons, and, finding the disposition of this nation towards England, seek all means to increase it to the uttermost, entering into practice, and putting them in hope to have both money and forces out of Spain to

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1588-9. aid them in all attempts they shall take in hand. They wish the King of Spain had known the affection of this people last year ; it would have been a fit retreat for his navy and had saved him at least a million or two. " Rather then thei should stayer here it were better her majestie were at charges to ship them awaie in Scotishe vessells."

The King hath commanded that order should be taken to purge the country of them, and ministers urge it daily ; but it will hardly be brought to pass except her majesty be at the charges ; such is the poverty of this prince and country. Truly his state is such as without her majesty's gracious dealing and liberality he shall be no way able to bridle the insolent attempts and practices of his papists and discontented nobility, which make him suffer great indignities at their hands, to the hazard of religion and wreck of the state if it be not prevented in time. The best way to have the country purged of the Spaniards will be, as I judge, to have some consideration of the lord Chancellor—besides her majesty's bounty towards the King—who hath nourished the mind of his prince in religion and affected the good amitie of her majesty before all other princes. And this he does to the hazard of his life through the practice of the papists. The lord Chancellor, countenanced by her majesty, will be able to keep the King in this good course, and encourage others to follow in his steps. Some consideration for him now will save her majesty many thousands.

I understand there is a ship of Leith of one John Greires which is now in Dunkirk ; it is here said he carried letters from hence to the Prince of Parma. That ship is to return hither with money and direction from the duke to the papists here. It were not amiss if some man-of-war were kept about Newcastle and Berwick to intercept five or six captains of the Spaniards making [ship, as] they will shortly depart from hence ; besides apprehend a pirate or two with letters of mark from the prince of Parma and countenanced by lord Admiral of Scotland. The names of the pirates are Peterson and Haggerston, who intercept such provision as is sent to Berwick. Edinburgh. *Signed*: W. Asheby.

Postscript. After I had written this, Lord Claud Hamilton was sent to the castle about five in the afternoon, and Huntly set at liberty and lodged that night in the King's chamber ; and it is feared the guard of the King's person shall be committed to him. But the King saith to me he shall go into the country ; he dealeth thus mildly with him to lay hands on others.

Erroll is fled and refuseth to come in. The faction is strong and the King afraid to deal with them till he hath strengthened himself and laid hands on such as be most dangerous. He is levying 100 horsemen and commits them to the Chancellor for his guard, whose life is greatly sought.

3 pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

March 8. **601.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

[A letter in almost the same words as No. 600 to Walsingham of the same date, except as follows] :—

" The captains of the Spaniards here shalbe committed to her

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1588-9. majestie, if she will be at the charges to send awaie the souldiours; otherwise I see not how thei wilbe sent awaie. There is but on Irishe man here caulled Desmond; the King haith promised he shalbe stayd."

Postscript. I received your honour's letter of 4th March even as I was writing this to you. *Signed: W. Asheby.*

3 pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley.*

March 8. **602.** [THOMAS FOWLER] TO WALSINGHAM.

Because your honour keeps your chamber it may be you have more leisure than before to read letters of no great importance. This country affords such variety of matter daily as I think none the like. Papists are daily discovered and enemies to England both papist and protestant are so many as, if the King and those few good men that mean well to the amity be not supported, expect no other than this realm shall be a place to receive foreign forces against England, yea, though to their own ruin.

This King is not as her majesty is, but that any his subjects being gentle or noble may speak his mind frankly to him. He hath so many to answer that ask "What England dothe for him, nay what evell," say they, "doo they not, or hathe not executed towards your majesty? Have they not cut of your mother's hed? Have they not defaced your tytell to England? Doo they not kepe frome you your brythe righte which your good dame left you, and do they not by all device seke to kepe you unmaryed, besides styrring upe faccyons in your cowntry, ayding your men at the horne and many thinge ells? And what recompense make they you? Marry, sir, they will geve you a puer pencyon to make your majesty theyr pencioner to your mare disgrace and shame to all prynces that knowes it"; and concludes he were better not live to be a King than to receive such shame, as they term it. These very words in effect I heard spoken boldly to him twice within twenty-four hours. His majesty would fain answer it, and doth so far as he may, but sure there is a worse inconvenience that if he be not made better able to command and rule his subjects they will rule him ere long.

There is here a great company thirsting after the wealth of England, and if by any means, either by help of foreign soldiers or foreign money, they can bring it to pass, they will make an attempt; yea, rather than fail of themselves they would make a proof, if the King only with a few of his council did not repress it, as yet they have done, but doubt they cannot long continue. I heard the earl Bodwell tell the King of late that the world thought there was nothing in him that would suffer what he did. "And, quod he, if you will doo nothinge your selfe to righte your wronges geve us leave that be your subjectes to play our partes."

On Sunday last past was a sevensnight the said earl obtained a licence of the King to send to the Prince of Parma, for what purpose I yet know not. It was granted upon the special request of the said earl. If the King were supported he could and would put all this matter to silence.

Elizabeth.
1588-9.

Yesternight Claud Hamilton was committed to this castle; not close prisoner, but so as he may break away if he list. Huntly was set at liberty that instant, went presently to court and was as welcome as ever and supped with the Chancellor; the rest followed slackly, yet none come in. So I conclude that if this King be worth the having he must be taken hold of and some way bound in league to her majesty, to cut off the hope of all these envious Scots that lays upon him daily to break with England, and ere long no doubt by one way or other will enforce him. Edinburgh. *Signature crossed out.*

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

March 8. **603.** ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

Cott. Calig.,
D. 1.,
fol. 232.

" . . . * understand . . . where you w . . . with these few lynes . . . at lenth of the iij of . . . and dederet the same in a packett to Mr. Secretar, wich I hope you have receved or now."

All is well here. The King conti[nueth] always and the Chancellor guides all.

Huntly has written to his majesty and craved pardon for his former behaviour, offering himself in religion and all things at his m[ajesty's] pleasure, "and thatt he will withoutt epocriese satesfy the Kerke allwayes." He remains at home, and so I hope he shall do still.

"Souer John Seton is clene discourted. Oure papes are nott so forwarth as thei wer; I hope thei shall be les and les. The King is resolved to sobmett himselef to her majesty and counsell to do with him as the ples."

The great ship that l[ay] in the west isles is blown in the air by order of John Smollett. Most part of the men are slain. "Macclen enterntening grett frenship with them desieritt the borrowing of ij cannone and a hundreth hugbotteres to besege a hwes of Anggues Maconhales and delevered . . . a sestores sone of his [master] in pleg for the safe delivery of them agane. In this mene tyme Jhon Smollett, a man thatt has grett trust among t[he] Sp[ani]artes entred the ship and cast in the pow[der] and a pesse of lintt and so departed. Within [sho]rtt tyme after the lintt toke fier and . . ."

"My lord . . . has desieritt me to send for xiiij yerdes of . . . velvett, blake, to lyne him a gowne; and also w . . . of blake velvett which, if you could gett suf[icient] I wold have sentt."

"Davy Morre your ould fren[d is] sore hort be the men of Atermoety and in d[anger] of his lyffe."

"The letteres that came last from [Mr.] Secreter consarning the matters of the Lowe Countries be ansured to her majestes contentmentt."

"All . . . here are well and wold be glad to se you . . . William Keth is nott yett retornitt. The Master of Glames is come to courtt. The King has promest . . . nott take the gard from him butt be his own cons[ent]." Edinburgh. *Signed: Roger Aston.*

$1\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Elizabeth.

1588-9. **604.** BURGHLEY TO THOMAS FOWLER.

March 9.

"I commend me hartely to you, and do by hir majesty's commandment assure you of hir good allowance of your carefull and dutifull service ther at this tyme. Wherof both the ambassadors ther did advertise me, and by your unknown letter wrytten to an other that sent it me, he beyng absent from the court, I also understood and did communicat to hir majesty; who commanded me to thank you. And so you may now at this tyme merit, for suerly if the cause be wisely handled ther the King may work savety both for Godes cause, hym self and all his good subjectes." Westminster. *Signed: W. Burghley.*

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 10. **605.** WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

I received your honour's letter of the 4th of March the 8th as I was despatching the last packet to you. The proceeding with Huntly hath not been such as the beginning gave hope. After his imprisonment the King visited him daily and committing Claud Hamilton to the castle on the 7th March he set Huntly free and gave him the guard. "The next daie he rodd a-hunting, which he forbare all the tyme of his emprisonment." The 9th he dined with Huntly at his lodging, and supped with the Earl Marshal where he made a friendship between Huntly and the said Earl Marshal, who had been at feud long together. This extraordinary favour puts the well-affected in fear and Huntly's party emboldened. I told the King her majesty would not like this proceeding: "he answered that he desires so to be accompted of as he doth meane to deale in this accion, which shall appeare err manie daies passe. He takes this way at present till he can lay hands on such as he desires and then her majesty shall see that he will execute it thoroughly to her contentment; but few believe this, for he is fearful and not able to deal as the case requireth, and except he be countenanced by her majesty he can no way bridle the insolent and traitorous dealing of his nobility and the papists.

"Thei shote at the chancellour to cut him off that thei might thoroughlie possesse the King, which would greatlie hazard here the state of religion, and this countrie made a receptacle for all forrein forces." I see none so fit as he to manage the affairs of this country; he hath carried the King hitherto in religion and affecting the amity of her majesty, and is ready to do many good offices if he be backed. Warning has been given him that he will shortly be in peril of his life. The King is levying a hundred horse for two or three months to strengthen him "the better to quenche this fier now kindled," and to suppress these conspirators against religion and his country; but it will hardly be performed except her majesty aid in time.

Touching the Spaniards, as I writ in my last, the captains shall be stayed and the others sent away. To perform it the sooner her majesty's help is requisite, rather than let them disperse here ready to work mischief: "and a staye shalbe in lyke manner of Desmond

Elizabeth.

1588-9. [Lasci?] went awaie with Juan Medina." Edinburgh. Signed:
W. Asheby.

Postscript. There is one Peter Lowe, a Scotchman and a pirate; he hath taken an English* ship of Wells in Norfolk laden with corn for Berwick. He came to Montrose and there sold the corn. The master of the ship came to me to procure the King's warrant for the ship and corn. I sent him to Montrose, but for all the King's warrant the poor man could get neither ship nor goods. This pirate is borne out by the Lord Admiral of Scotland, so the town of Montrose dare not deal with him. It were good if a man-of-war were sent by her majesty to these coasts to keep this pirate and his fellow Haggerston in awe, for they will do hurt on the coast of England as they did last year; besides they might intercept messengers coming and going from the King of Spain and prince of Parma. This ship was taken about Coquet Island, and the men set on shore at Bambrough Castle in Northumberland.

The coming of one of her majesty's into these coasts would encourage the King and the protestants and keep the adversaries in fear.

*Marginal note struck through reading as follows:—"This englishe ship was taken about [Burnt] Island the latter eand of februarie."

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